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**ARS ORIENTALIS**













ARCHIBALD GIBSON WENLEY



# ARS ORIENTALIS

THE ARTS OF ISLAM AND THE EAST



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## ARCHIBALD GIBSON WENLEY: AN APPRECIATION

By JOHN A. POPE

ARCHIBALD GIBSON WENLEY, SECOND DIRECTOR of the Freer Gallery of Art, died on February 17, 1962, after 19 years in that post. Born in Ann Arbor, Michigan, on May 5, 1898, he was educated in the local schools, served in a Naval Reserve railway artillery battery in France in World War I, and graduated from the University of Michigan in 1921. He entered the library school of the New York Public Library and got his certificate in 1923. Soon thereafter, through a series of coincidences, he was introduced to John Ellerton Lodge who had just been appointed the first Curator of the Freer Gallery. He used to tell the story of this fateful meeting. Mr. Lodge was frankly looking for a young man to train in the study of Chinese art, and he asked Wenley if he was interested in the subject. The reply was typical of the straightforward factual approach that characterized the man to all who knew him in later years. "But, Mr. Lodge," he said, "how can I tell if I am interested in Chinese art when I don't know anything about it?" "That," said Mr. Lodge, "is the best qualification you could have." For the older man was anxious to train from scratch a young student of good intelligence who had no preconceived notions about the subject. And so it came about that Archibald Wenley entered upon a career in Chinese studies. His training began in China whither he was sent to join Carl Whiting Bishop then conducting archeological surveys under the joint auspices of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and the Freer Gallery of Art.

Wenley reached Shanghai on August 1, 1923, where he was met by Bishop and K. Z. Tung, his field assistant. It was an auspicious moment. A month later the party was invited

to visit Hsin-cheng Hsien in Honan and see the great hoard of bronzes that had just been unearthed there and to take part for a few days in the actual excavation of the site which was still in progress. So at the very outset of his career the young student witnessed what was perhaps the most important archeological discovery in China up to that time, an event to be surpassed only by the revelation of Anyang some six years later. This was the beginning of more than two years in the field during which time he took part in archeological reconnaissance and surveyed and excavated in many of the historic parts of the country. He visited, *inter alia*, the Liang sites near Nanking, and surveyed the Late Chou capital of Yen-tu near Peking, where he took part in what must have been one of the very early aerial archeological reconnaissances in a rickety Chinese government plane. In Shensi he studied the principal monuments of the Wei River basin: Old Ch'ang-an, the tombs of Ch'in Shih-huang-ti, Han Wu-ti, and Ho Ch'ü-ping, and that of T'ang T'ai-tsung. In southern Honan he took part in a survey of Yü-ho-chen and dug at the site of Lei-ku-t'ai. In northern Shansi he studied the Yün-kang caves and made a survey of the great necropolis at Fang-shan. And between these excursions he spent long months in Peking working at the language and the history of China.

In November 1925, Mr. Lodge sent him to Paris where he embarked on three years of linguistic and historical studies at the Ecole des Langues Orientales Vivantes and the Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises; and finally, to complete his preliminary training, he went to Japan where he lived two years in Kyoto working on the Japanese language and reading the history of Japanese culture.



When he formally joined the staff of the Freer Gallery of Art in 1931 as Associate in Research, he became the first museum man thus solidly trained in the languages, literature, and history of China and Japan to embark on a career in Far Eastern art; he was a pioneer in the new generation of museum curators who approached the subject with an interest and knowledge that went far deeper than the aesthetic appeal that had attracted most of their predecessors. It was to John Lodge that he owed this rigorous indoctrination and it was a debt he never forgot. For the most part his 12 years as Associate in Research were a continuation of his studies. Working with objects in the collections he broadened his knowledge of the arts themselves, venturing especially into the fields of bronzes, Buddhist arts, and paintings, both Chinese and Japanese. Now and then he published a brief note or article, but this was not his main interest; and he concerned himself first and foremost with the documentation of the objects. Untold pages of folder sheets bear witness to his industry and his growing knowledge of the subjects in those early years.

During World War II the services of the Gallery staff were placed at the disposal of the nation and Wenley's contribution was in the translation of Japanese sailing directions in Far Eastern waters for the Department of the Navy. In the midst of the war Mr. Lodge died, and in January 1943, Wenley was appointed Director to succeed him.

His first concern on assuming his new post was to run the Gallery as a fully functioning center for research in Oriental art as envisaged in the founder's will and put into practice by Mr. Lodge. To this end he added to the staff and began resumption of the publication program which had been initiated by Mr. Lodge, but had been allowed to lapse for some years. The first volume to appear was the catalogue of the Chinese bronzes added

to the collection by Mr. Lodge, and this was put out in the Oriental Studies Series as a memorial volume to the first Director. Later on he founded the smaller series known as Freer Gallery of Art Occasional Papers and encouraged all sorts of special publications by members of the staff. From his earliest days in the Gallery he had taken the initiative in building up the library to make it an effective research tool. Under his direction it grew from a mere roomful of miscellaneous books on Oriental art to a first-class special library with two full-time librarians to serve it. Of some 40,000 titles relating to the material in the collections, about half are in Western languages and most of the rest in Chinese and Japanese. Some two hundred periodicals are fully analyzed in the catalogues for easy reference. Wenley's major innovation at the Gallery and in some ways the most important contribution he made to its research functions and to the welfare of the collections was his establishment in 1951 of the Technical Laboratory. Here, with a staff of two full-time chemists, the Gallery carries out a program of research which may in the broadest sense be described as an investigation into the methods and materials of ancient craftsmen in Asia. The results of these studies have a twofold value in that they add to our knowledge of the history of technology and at the same time improve our techniques in the field of conservation. Even in its short lifetime the laboratory has attracted international attention.

But quite aside from his admirable conduct of the Gallery as such and his addition of some hundreds of outstandingly fine objects to the collections in keeping with Mr. Freer's expressed wish, Archibald Wenley will be especially remembered for his unique contribution to Oriental studies in promoting the education of the younger men who are to be our successors in the museums and universities. Among Mr. Freer's bequests was one to the

University of Michigan, a sum of money from which the income, as he said, "shall be used to add to the knowledge and appreciation of Oriental art. The said income shall be used primarily in aid of research to be conducted by experts regarding the art objects embraced in the collection of Oriental art transferred or bequeathed by me to the Smithsonian Institution; for the publication of the results of such research, and for the preparation of text of descriptive scientific catalogues of said collections whenever the necessary information can be prepared." This important provision of the Freer will had never been fully operative; some of the income had been used for the publication of *Ars Islamica*, but there was no regular program. Wenley initiated discussions which led to the signing of a formal contract setting forth the terms of collaboration between the University and the Gallery. This provided for the appointment at Ann Arbor of a Professor of Oriental Art, and the establishment of a permanent Freer Fund Committee which sees to the expenditure of the income in accordance with Mr. Freer's hopes and wishes. The scope of *Ars Islamica* was broadened and the title changed to make it a receptacle for papers on all phases of Oriental art which is the present publication, *Ars Orientalis*. Some of the income was set aside for establishment of Freer Fellowships under which properly qualified graduate students who are within sight of the doctorate at the University may further their studies either in Ann Arbor or working at the Freer Gallery studying the actual objects under the supervision of the Director. To further solidify this arrangement, the Director of the Gallery was appointed Honorary Research Professor of Oriental Art at the University and the Professor in Ann Arbor is reciprocally appointed Honorary Research Associate at the Gallery.

Also in the interest of educating the coming generation, Wenley served as Chairman

of the Louise Wallace Hackney Scholarship Committee of the American Oriental Society. This Committee administers the income of the fund left to the Society by the late Miss Hackney to encourage the study of Chinese painting. He took an active part in establishing the standards of qualification for scholarship holders and in outlining the program of study they shall pursue; and his Committee made the final judgment of applicants and awarded the grants. These two programs have already produced four graduates, two of whom are members of the Gallery staff, one of whom is the present incumbent of the Professorship of Oriental art at the University of Michigan, while the fourth is curator of Oriental art in a leading museum. Other students are currently at work under both auspices.

In his conduct of the Gallery, in his Sino-logical research, and in his professional relationships as scholar and administrator, Archibald Wenley was a man of strict conservatism and of absolute integrity. In an age when more and more museums are turning to the meretricious methods of Madison Avenue and more and more directors are poisoned by the passion for publicity, he stood firm in his belief that quality speaks for itself and that no amount of ballyhoo can make a masterpiece out of a mediocrity. He had no patience with ostentation; and nothing was more repellent to him than the practice of displaying fine works of art in the cheap glare of neon lights, nothing further from his taste than the notion that a museum should be regarded as a sideshow. Yet he was by no means severe, and all who knew him will remember his ready humor and his unfailing courtesy. Those of us who were associated with him daily over the years have lost a friend. We will not forget his encouragement and his wise suggestions about our various projects, his readiness to drop whatever he was doing and help dig in on the solution of a knotty problem or

the translation of a difficult passage in Chinese or Japanese; and, most of all, we will not forget his highest praise for a job well done. "That's all right," he would say, by which, as in all other matters, he meant neither more nor less than what he said.

# WRITINGS OF A. G. WENLEY,

1898-1962

1924

*Some Shensi monuments*, The Chinese Social and Political Science Review, vol. 8, No. 4, pp. 106-115, illus.

1925

*A buried city at Peitaiho*, The Chinese Social and Political Science Review, vol. 9, No. 1, pp. 82-87, illus., map.

*The Hsin cheng bronzes* [a letter to the editor], China Journal of Science and Arts, vol. 3, No. 3, p. 137.

1928

*Notes on the tomb of Ho Ch'u-ping*, Artibus Asiae, vol. 3, pp. 34-46, mount. illus.

1934

*Iron weapons in ancient China*, tr. from an article in Weng, W. H., *Chui chih chi*, Peiping, 1930, 9 l.

1937

(R) *Ancient Chinese bronze mirrors*, by R. W. Swallow, Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. 57, pp. 443-445.

1940

*Bibliography—the art of China and Japan*. Prepared for the Harvard Summer School, July 1—August 10, 8 numb. 1.

1941

*A note on the so-called Sung academy of painting*, Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, vol. 6, pp. 269-272.

(R) *A study of Chinese paintings in the collection of Ada Small Moore*, Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. 61, pp. 297-299.

1943

*Carl Whiting Bishop, 1881-1942*, Notes on Far Eastern Studies in America, No. 12, pp. 27-32.

1944

*China* [with John A. Pope]. 85 pp., illus., 25 pls. on 13 l., maps (part fold.). Smithsonian Institution, War Background Studies, No. 20. Washington.

1946

*A descriptive and illustrative catalogue of Chinese bronzes acquired during the administration of John Ellerton Lodge* . . . [with John A. Pope]. 108 pp., frontispiece (photo), illus., maps, 50 pls. Freer Gallery of Art, Oriental Studies, No. 3. Washington.

*Early Chinese jade*, The Scientific Monthly, vol. 68, No. 5, pp. 341-347, illus.

1947

*The Grand Empress Dowager Wên Ming and the northern Wei necropolis at Fang Shan*. 28 pp., illus., port., maps. Freer Gallery of Art, Occasional Papers, vol. 1, No. 1. Washington.

1948

*The question of the Po-shan-hsiang-lu*, Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America, vol. 3, pp. 5-12, illus.



1949

- (R) *Selected Chinese antiquities from the collection of Gustaf Adolf Crown Prince of Sweden*, Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. 69, pp. 238-239.

1952

- (R) *Han tomb art of West China*, by Richard C. Rudolph, Far Eastern Quarterly, vol. 11, pp. 232-233.

*A Hsi Tsun from the Avery Brundage collection*, Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America, vol. 6, pp. 41-43, illus.

1953

- (R) *Early Chinese coinage*, by Wang Yü-chüan, Ars Orientalis, vol. 1, pp. 252-254.

*A spray of bamboo*, by Wu Chen, Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America, vol. 8, pp. 7-9, illus.

1955

- (R) *Aspects of Chinese painting*, by Alan Priest, United States Quarterly Book Review, vol. 11, No. 1, p. 51.

1956

*Clearing autumn skies over mountains and valleys*, attributed to Kuo Hsi, Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America, vol. 10, pp. 30-41, 2 pls.

*An early Chinese landscape painting* [with Laurence Sickman], Artibus Asiae, vol. 19, pp. 56-58, plate.

1957

*The appearance of a fourth Ta tso tsu ting as proven by the inscriptions*, International Congress of Orientalists, 24th, Munich . . . pp. 632-633.

*A breath of spring*, by Tsou Fu-lei, Ars Orientalis, vol. 2, pp. 459-469, pls.

*A radiocarbon dating of a Yünnanese image of Avalokitesvara*, Ars Orientalis, vol. 2, p. 508.

1959

*A parallel between Far Eastern and Persian painting*, Aus der Welt der islamischen Kunst; Festschrift für Ernst Kühnel . . . pp. 350-356, illus.



# ACHAEMENID AND SASSANIAN CUT GLASS

BY AXEL VON SALDERN

MANY ANCIENT CUT-GLASS VESSELS OF RARE types have recently come to light. These pieces supplement our knowledge especially of two periods in the history of glass: the late Achaemenid and early Hellenistic period on one hand, and the centuries between the late Roman and early Islamic times on the other. Some of these objects were recently acquired by The Corning Museum of Glass.

The earliest vessel mentioned here represents a very important addition to the small corpus of vessels of Achaemenid derivation. The other objects discussed here verify the assumption that there must have existed one or more centers in the Near East during late and post-Roman times which produced a great amount of luxury glass vessels for local use and for export.

All these vessels appear to have been part of an uninterrupted tradition in the making of high-quality glass objects with cut decoration, a tradition which seems to have begun in the eighth century B.C.<sup>1</sup> The types and techniques which Assyrian, Achaemenid and Hellenistic factories developed over the centuries formed the base for the well-known lathe-cut vessels of early Roman Imperial times.<sup>2</sup> Specialized workshops within the Roman Empire, in turn, produced a great variety of luxury items, from the early faceted beakers<sup>3</sup> to the late Roman geometrically cut vessels found in Scandinavia (*infra*), from cameo glass to the *tours de force* of ancient glass, the *diatrete*.<sup>4</sup> The ap-

parent gap between the late Roman cut glass and the early Islamic group found in Samarra, Nishapur, Gurgan, and Rayy is, to be sure, not one in the development of this art, but one in our knowledge of this period. The objects to be published in the following will, we hope, serve to close this gap.

## I

The first object is an omphalos bowl<sup>5</sup> (*fig. 1*). The slightly curved lower part has a concavity at the center corresponding to a clearly marked omphalos on the interior. A rosette with 32 petals decorates the underside, the petals being countersunk and having triangular elevations in the spaces between their rounded terminations. A groove is cut along the shoulder from which the wide rim flares outward. The bowl was either made in the "lost wax" process, or it was formed in a double mold, with an exterior and an interior half mold between which the ground glass was placed before the melting. The petal decoration was cut with the help of a rotating wheel. The whole surface was then polished.

The bowl belongs, chronologically and technically, to a small group of late Achaemenid or early Hellenistic vessels.<sup>6</sup> Unfortunately,

---

*Rothschild Lycurgus cup*, *Archaeologia*, vol. 97, 1959, pp. 179-212.

<sup>5</sup> Corning Acc. No. 59.1.578; first illustrated in *Journal of Glass Studies*, vol. II, 1960, p. 138, No. 3; H. varies from 3.0 to 3.5 cm.; rim 17.5 cm.; clear glass with a very slight green tinge and mostly spherical bubbles; broken in five major and many small fragments; small restorations at rim; the surface is pitted and "frosted" and shows a slight iridescent sheen; acquired on the European market.

<sup>6</sup> Axel von Saldern, *Glass finds at Gordion*, *op. cit.*, n. 1, p. 34ff., with references to parallels.

<sup>1</sup> A. v. Saldern, *Glass finds at Gordion*, *Journal of Glass Studies*, vol. 1, 1959, pp. 23ff.

<sup>2</sup> For a recently published group cf. L. Berger, *Römische Gläser aus Vindonissa*, Basel, 1960, pls. 2-3.

<sup>3</sup> C. Isings, *Roman glass from dated finds*, Groningen, 1957, form 21.

<sup>4</sup> D. B. Harden and J. M. C. Toynbee, *The*

the provenance of the omphalos bowl is unknown and will, therefore, not help to narrow down more accurately the chronological limits of the group. The closest parallel to this piece seems to be a bowl with petal decoration in the British Museum which I proposed to date in the "seventh century B.C. or later."<sup>7</sup> In view of its relation to the new omphalos bowl, however, it may very well be Achaemenid or even early Hellenistic because the Corning piece is also closely related to a fragment from Gordion, the stratification of which dates it around the mid-third century B.C.<sup>8</sup> On this fragment there are also triangular elevations between petal terminations practically identical with the ones on the omphalos bowl. In addition, the profiles of both pieces seem to be almost identical.

This comparison suggests that the bowl may be as late as the third century. However, it should be pointed out again that when lacking external evidence absolute dates are highly tentative. Therefore, it may have been made about the fourth or early third centuries B.C. somewhere in the Near East, possibly either in a factory situated along the valley of the Euphrates and Tigris, in Syria, or in Alexandria.

## II

The second object is unpublished. It leads to a group of carved vessels of apparently widely divergent character (II-IV) which seem to bridge the gap between the late Roman and early Islamic luxury-glass production.

<sup>7</sup> Slade Bequest: B. M. 70.6-6.7; v. Saldern, *op. cit.*, n. 1, fig. 11.

<sup>8</sup> No. 1956, G82; v. Saldern, *op. cit.*, n. 1, fig. 16. This comparison suggests also a revision of the reconstruction of the vessel to which the Gordion fragment belonged; it may have been a bowl like the one published here. Other vessels seem to belong to the same family; cf., for example, a bowl now in Cologne: S. Loeschcke, *Beschreibung römischer Altertümer*, gesammelt von C. A. Niessen, 3d ed., Cologne, 1911, No. 154, pl. XXII (here fig. 2).

The object is a deep conical straight-sided beaker of greenish glass with cut decoration (fig. 3).<sup>9</sup> The decoration consists of horizontally oriented bands and groups of bands. Starting at the bottom there are vertical ovals surmounted by a triple row of square cuts; these are followed by two other groups, each including an arcade frieze surmounted by a triple row of square cuts.

An almost identical second beaker, though with slight variations in the geometric design, as well as a cup and a shallow bowl of the same family were found in the same location and appeared on the New York market. The cup, now in the collection of Jerome Strauss, is of the same material as the two beakers though a little heavier; it is straight-sided, with a slightly splayed rim and has a base on which it can easily stand.<sup>10</sup> The cut decoration consists of a seven-pointed star at the base surrounded by a circle of cuts. The wall is divided into three sections; at the bottom there are large round cuts surmounted by arcades and divided from each other by vertical grooves; this band is followed by a frieze of round cuts alternating with horizontally hatched panels; and the area below the rim has a row of rectangles above the groove.<sup>11</sup>

The bowl (figs. 4, 5) in this group is of rather thick, slightly greenish glass with

<sup>9</sup> Corning Acc. No. 59.1.580; H. 18.7 cm.; D. 8.4 cm.; blown and cut; one large vertical crack; minute and a few elongated bubbles and some strain cracks; exterior and interior are "frosted" and iridescent, smaller and larger patches of brownish decomposed glass adhere mainly to the interior surface; acquired on the New York market.

<sup>10</sup> H. 7.0 cm.; D. rim 10.8 cm.

<sup>11</sup> Practically identical beakers and cups were found by a Japanese expedition in northwest Iran: Masuda-Seiichi, *Glass ware of the Sassanid age, Museum* (Tokyo Nat. Mus.), No. 110, May 1960, p. 25 (in Japanese). After I had completed this paper the Corning Museum was fortunate enough to acquire an almost hemispherical greenish bowl, again decorated with this particular facet pattern.



brownish decomposition.<sup>12</sup> The exterior is decorated with a pattern of concentric circlets and ovals. The central motif consists of three circlets around a disc; five similar motifs are arranged around the center, each composed of two concentric oval grooves around a disc, alternating with groups of vertical dashes and oval cuts. The lower rim section has three rows of horizontally oriented facets with a single groove along the edge.

The two tall beakers, the cuplike beaker and the bowl, as well as the examples found by the Japanese, form a closely related group from the point of view of glass material, decomposition, shape, and type, as well as execution of the decoration. The tall beakers are practically identical while the cups represent a shorter and broader version bearing about the same decorative pattern.

Apparently very similar to the beakers discussed here are two other beakers of identical height found in Babylon, of which one was in the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum, Berlin.<sup>13</sup> Other beakers of the same general type though with different, less variegated but often deeper-cut patterns have been found mainly in Scandinavia, especially in Norway.<sup>14</sup> These latter are

<sup>12</sup> H. 4.2 cm.; D. 14.7 cm.

<sup>13</sup> C. J. Lamm mentions them in his *Mittelalterliche Gläser*, Berlin, 1929–30, pp. 148–149, under pl. 53, No. 4. He thinks that they are late Parthian to early Sassanian, a date which seems to be too early in view of their shapes.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Almgren in A. Kisa, *Das Glas im Altertume*, Leipzig, 1908, vol. 3, p. 907ff.; B. Hougen, *Snartemo funnone*, Oslo, 1935, p. 28, pl. V; Gunar Ekholm, *Orientalische Glasgefäße in Skandinavien*, Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua, vol. 10, 1936, p. 61ff., esp. fig. 5 (from Lund); *idem*, *Några romerska glasbägare i norska fynd*, Bergens Museums Årbok, No. 3, 1936, p. 3ff., esp. fig. 4 (from Bremsnes); *idem*, *De orientaliska glasens vägar mot Norden*, Fornvännen, vol. 51, 1956, pp. 246–266; *idem*, *En västlig och en östlig importgren i nordens järnålder. II. Glasen med facettslipning*, Viking, vol. 20, 1956, pp. 81–96; A. J. Eggers, *Der römische Import im*

usually dated in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. and considered by Ekholm to be “Oriental” imports. Many of them are deeply carved, others are overlaid with glass of contrasting color like the beakers from Piwonice (Kalisc district) or from Tu.<sup>15</sup> The closest parallel known to the author, besides the two pieces probably from Babylon, is the glass from the Högomgraven.<sup>16</sup>

Our beaker is not free standing although the small base is carefully ground. While this is not necessarily an indication of its being post-Roman, it should be said that the almost pointed conical form is a type preferred during the fifth century, not only in the East, but also in the West.<sup>17</sup> These examples, however, are, save for the form, dissimilar to our beaker, as they are of thinner glass and not cut.

Similarly, the bowl is also of a shape which can be assigned to about the second half of the fourth or the early fifth century.<sup>18</sup>

*Freien Germanien*, Atlas der Urgeschichte, vol. 1, Hamburg, 1951, text vol., esp. pp. 180–181; *idem*, *Zur absoluten Chronologie der römischen Kaiserzeit im Freien Germanien*, Jahrb. Röm.-Germ. Zentralmus. Mainz, vol. 2, 1955, p. 196ff.

<sup>15</sup> Ekholm, *Fornvännen*, 1956, p. 250, fig. 5,g; W. Hensel, *Recherches archéologiques sur les origines de l'état polonais*, Archaeologia Polonia, vol. 1, 1958, fig. 12; J. Werner, *Studien zu Grabfunden des V. Jahrhunderts aus der Slowakei und der Karpatenukraine*, Slovenska Archeologia, vol. 7, No. 2, 1959, p. 422ff., fig. 1, pl. I, No. 2.

<sup>16</sup> Ekholm, *Viking*, 1956, p. 87; *idem*, *Fornvännen*, 1956, fig. 2.

<sup>17</sup> F. Rademacher, *Fränkische Gläser aus dem Rheinland*, Bonner Jbb., vol. 147, 1942, p. 296ff., pl. 50; D. B. Harden, *Glass vessels in Britain, A.D. 400–1000*, Dark-Age Britain, London, 1956, p. 140.

<sup>18</sup> Compare Rademacher, *op. cit.*, p. 314ff.; W. Haberey, *Spätantike Gläser aus Gräbern von Mayen*, Bonner Jbb., vol. 147, 1942, p. 256ff. The Mayen bowls and related pieces, however, are, though mainly of about the last quarter of the fourth and the early fifth centuries, again of a different fabric and not cut. The bowl discussed here is definitely later than the sectional bowls with engraved scenes discussed re-

The beaker in Corning and the other examples mentioned above are said to have been found at Amlash, northwest of Teheran near the Caspian Sea.<sup>19</sup> Because of the lack of archaeological evidence no more can be said at the present than to assign them to the very late fourth or fifth centuries A.D. The problem of their provenance will be discussed at the end of this paper.

### III

The third object is an almost hemispherical faceted bowl (*fig. 6*).<sup>20</sup> The body of the bowl is covered with four rows of round, hexagonal and pentagonal facets; at the bottom there is a circle of concave roundels surrounding an even deeper and larger central concavity.

Shinji Fukai<sup>21</sup> suggested that bowls of this type are "formed in molds." I believe, however, that at that time bowls were more likely blown and manipulated at an open furnace. This seems to be confirmed by a pear-shaped bottle on the New York market which is blown of thick glass and bears a heavy partly iridescent decomposition similar to that of this bowl group. The cut decoration includes a central circular cut at the base and rows of circular cuts around the walls. If the upper section of this bottle were cut off, a bowl iden-

tical to the one in Corning would emerge. It can, therefore, be assumed that both bottle and the bowls were made the same way. The bowl is again said to have been found in Amlash, Iran. It belongs to a vessel type that has lately received much attention.

The best-known bowl in this category is the one in the Shōsō-in Treasure House in Japan. Many of the contents of this repository were dedicated in A.D. 756.<sup>22</sup> Another was found in the Mausoleum of the Emperor Ankan who died in A.D. 535.<sup>23</sup> The glass of both vessels is very well preserved while the many excavated examples are covered with a heavy enamel-like flaking scum.

Of the greatest interest, as to the date and provenance of the bowls, are the recent finds from the Near East and the finds from Ctesiphon<sup>24</sup> and Kish, the latter published by

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cently by D. B. Harden, *The Wint Hill bowl and related glass objects*, *Journal of Glass Studies*, vol. II, 1960, p. 45ff.

<sup>19</sup> Apparently near the area where the Japanese expedition worked.

<sup>20</sup> Unpublished. Corning Acc. No. 60.1.3; H. 8.2 cm.; D. 12.9 cm.; thick clear glass with a few minute bubbles; partly heavy pitting, areas are covered with enamel-like scum; acquired on the New York market.

<sup>21</sup> *A Persian treasure in the Shōsō-in repository*, *Japan Quarterly*, vol. 7, No. 2, April-June 1960, pp. 169-176 (in English). This term, however, was not used in the original Japanese article published in *Kokka*, vol. 68, 1960, pp. 401-413; I am grateful to Professor K. Yamasaki for this information.

<sup>22</sup> C. J. Lamm, *Mittelalterliche Gläser*, pl. 53, No. 5, with previous literature. M. Ishida and G. Wada, *The Shosoin*, Tokyo, 1954, No. 61. Most recently exhibited in Tokyo: *Treasures from the Shosoin*, Tokyo National Museum, 1959, No. 49. Shinji Fukai presented a paper at the Fourth International Congress on Iranian Art and Archaeology in New York, April 1960. This paper dealt with the subject he had treated in *Japan Quarterly*, vol. 7, No. 2.

<sup>23</sup> Ishida and Wada, *op. cit.*, p. 12; Shinji, *op. cit.*, pl. III; *Design* (publ. in Tokyo), vol. 1, 1960, p. 38.

<sup>24</sup> Among the recent finds are four bowls discovered near Amrash (Amlash), northwest of Teheran: Masuda-Seiichi, *Glass objects from the Alburz Mountains, Iran*, Museum (Tokyo Nat. Mus.), No. 108, March 1960, p. 25ff.; Shinji Fukai, *op. cit.*, n. 21, p. 169ff., with reference to similar Russian finds in Azerbaijan (tomb at Sudagiran in the Mingechaur district) and in the Ural (present town of Karl Marx on the Ufimusco Plateau). L. M. Waidof and P. B. Ahimerof date them to the 1st-3d and the 3d or 4th centuries respectively. (Cf. for the Russian finds Naoshi Hirai, *A newly discovered glass cup found in South Russia*, *Kokogaku* (*Journal of the Arch. Soc. of Nippon*), vol. 41, No. 2, January 1956, pp. 66-70 (in Japanese); *idem*, *About the glass bowl from South Russia*, *ibid.*, vol. 40, No. 4, March 1955,



D. B. Harden.<sup>25</sup> The shapes of the Kish bowls vary from shallow to deep and straight-sided. They all have similar decoration of cut facets and discs and similar heavy enamel-like de-

pp. 43-45. The bowl from the Ural was published by P. B. Ahimeroff in the *Journal of Soviet Archaeology*, 1958, No. 3. Cf. also Laslo Ferenci, *The question of chronology of a few Caucasian sporadic finds now in the collection at Zichi*, *Az Iparművészeti Múzeum Évkönyvei*, vols. 3-4, 1959, pp. 303-319, figs. 4, 6 (in Russian); Z. A. Simonovic, *A glass vessel from the mid-first millennium A.D. from the lower Dnieper*, *NAUK*, vol. 69, 1957, pp. 22-30.

A few museums have recently purchased similar vessels (for example, the Metropolitan Museum: *Journal of Glass Studies*, vol. II, 1960, p. 139, No. 8); others are on the market. These pieces are usually said to have come from northern and north-western Iran. Some of them have a faceted decoration similar to the one on the bowl published here; others have larger roundels and grooves. One, for example, has a row of countersunk ovals enclosed in deep groovelike recesses; the spaces between the discs along the lower level are occupied by cuts and horizontal dashes; the bottom shows two very deep concentric furrows enclosing a countersunk central disc (H. 8.6 cm., D. 11.4 cm., *fig. 7*). Other previously known examples include the large group found at Ctesiphon; E. Kühnel, *Die Ausgrabungen der zweiten Ktesiphon-Expedition*, Winter, 1931-32; *Baudekor und Kleinfunde*, Berlin, 1933, pp. 29-30. O. H. W. Puttrich-Reignard, *Die Glasfunde von Ktesiphon*, Diss. Kiel, 1934, p. 39ff., dated in the 6th and early 7th centuries. (Cf. the notes on Sassanian glass by K. Erdmann, *Die fatimidischen Bergkristallkannen*, *Forsch. z. Kunstgesch. u. Christl. Arch.*, vol. 2, 1953, p. 192.)—Fragmentary bowl found in Babylon before World War I and now in Istanbul, *Archaeological Museum* (No. 8126; Lamm, *op. cit.*, pl. 54, No. 4)—Bowl with large facets having central knobs, formerly (?) collection Countess de Béhague, Paris (Lamm, *op. cit.*, pl. 54, No. 5)—Three faceted bowls in the British Museum, one coming from Tello (1891.4-13.1), the two others bought in Aleppo (1911.4-4.12 and 13); none is stratified (information on the B. M. bowls kindly given to me by D. B. Harden).—In the Kabul Museum there is supposed to be a bowl similar to the Shōsō-in bowl (information kindly given to me by Miss Dorothy Blair).—A fragment found by A. von Le Coq at Qum-Tura,

composition. One Kish fragment with large countersunk discs, belonging to the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, was sent to Mr. Ray W. Smith for study; it was restored and then exhibited.<sup>26</sup> Two other fragmentary bowls, very similar to the Oxford piece and also coming from Kish, are in the University Museum, Philadelphia (*fig. 8*). The date of the Kish finds is about the sixth century A.D.

All these bowls discussed in the foregoing are closely related to each other. They are made of thick, nearly colorless glass. The most common form is hemispherical, but shallower or deeper examples (Kish) exist. Only very few, especially the Japanese examples from the Shōsō-in and the mausoleum of Emperor Ankan, are well preserved. The others show decomposition to a great degree, usually in the form of a heavy enamel-like scum, as well as corrosion and, in some cases, a flake-like disintegration throughout the thickness of the glass. The variant with rows (usually 5) of closely spaced facets is more common than the examples with larger discs and grooves; the depth of the cut decoration increases gen-

Central Asia, is, according to Mr. Fukai, the "middle section of a vessel belonging to the same type as the Shōsō-in and Gilan bowls" (*op. cit.*).—Bottom of a bowl, found at Ctesiphon, now at the Metropolitan Museum, Fukai, *op. cit.*, pl. VII.—The fragment of a bowl with cut facets, found at Petra and cited by Fukai, *op. cit.*, pl. IX, may belong to a slightly different type.—Faceted bowl type found at Ying Pan, the date of which may be "up to T'ang times": Sir Mark Aurel Stein, *Innermost Asia*, Oxford, 1928, vol. 2, pp. 760-761, pl. CX. Many more of this type have been found in Central Asia: F. Bergma, *Loulan woodcarvings and small finds discovered by Sven Hedin*, *Bull. Mus. Far Eastern Antiq.*, Stockholm, No. 7, 1935, pp. 114-115.

<sup>25</sup> S. Langdon and D. B. Harden, *Excavations at Kish and Barghuthat 1933. Glass from Kish*, Iraq, vol. I, 1934, p. 131ff.

<sup>26</sup> *Glass from the ancient world, The Ray W. Smith collection*, Corning, 1957, No. 453.

erally toward the lower body and base.<sup>27</sup> Of more unusual design is a heavily weathered bowl with countersunk discs in relief which was recently acquired by the Corning Museum (*fig. 9*). The recent finds come from south Russia, probably between the two seas, the Ural, western Iraq, and northern Persia. A large group comes from Kish. Others are reported to have come from Tello, Qum Tura, Ctesiphon, and Petra.

The Russian finds are supposed to date from the first to the fourth centuries A.D. The bowl at the Tokyo Museum from the mausoleum of Emperor Ankan is pre-A.D. 535. The finds from Kish are dated in the sixth century. The Shōsō-in bowl is probably pre-A.D. 756. There is apparently, then, a wide chronological spread ranging from the first to the eighth century, with an apparent concentration in the sixth.

The bowls found in Russia could, of course, be of a type made in the Rhineland about the third and fourth centuries. A large, deep faceted bowl with pairs of small diagonal cuts along the rim is in the Römisch-Germanische Museum, Cologne. Similar bowls must have been made in the East at the same time, serving as prototypes for the group discussed here. In the same museum other faceted bowls are preserved which illustrate the variety in this category.<sup>28</sup> Other bowls with small vertical concave facets were found at Dura Europos in third-century contexts.

The heavy bowls centered around the Kish glasses and the Japanese bowls form a very distinct group that seems to be quite different

from the earlier Western and Eastern predecessors. Their exact localization is not possible at the present time. The finding pattern suggests the northern part of the Sassanian Empire, an area with a very long history of glassmaking.<sup>29</sup>

#### IV

The glasses discussed in the following group are not so closely related to each other as the bowls of the Shōsō-in-Kish type.

The first object is a bottle published here for the first time (*fig. 10*).<sup>30</sup> It has a spherical body curving to a probably short cylindrical or slightly tapering neck. The surface bears a very rich cut decoration; the central body is divided into five slightly convex roundels; each roundel has a central countersunk disc and is framed by a ridge and a groove. The outer grooves of the roundels intersect. Oval cuts fill the spaces between the roundels. The lower body has a groove and high ridge framing the central base roundel with a groove between two ridges. This roundel is flat save for a medial disc in low relief. The stepped shoulder part curves gently upward and outward to a point where the neck emerges. The highest points of the original surface before cutting are represented by the discs and ridges. A considerable amount of abrading had to be done until the vessel acquired its present form. Circular grinding marks are visible all over the surface.

The bottle was very probably found and acquired in the Near East.

<sup>29</sup> Masuda, *op. cit.*, also suggests a Sassanian provenance for the bowls found by the Japanese expedition.

<sup>30</sup> Corning Acc. No. 59.1.433. Formerly R. W. Smith Collection [RWS 1515]; acquired by Mr. Smith after the Corning, 1957, exhibition of his collection. H. of body 7.7 cm.; present overall height 10.3 cm.; D. at greatest circumference 10.5 cm.; free blown; clear, thick glass with yellow tint, minute bubbles, and many strain cracks; upper part of neck missing.

<sup>27</sup> Fukai, *Japan Quarterly*, vol. 7, No. 2, gives on a table the number of facets in each row of 6 bowls; starting from the bottom disc, there are 7 facets on the second level, between 14 and 18 on the third, 15 to 18 on the fourth, 15 to 18 on the fifth, and 16 to 18 on the sixth.

<sup>28</sup> F. Fremersdorf, *Figürlich geschliffene Gläser*, Berlin, 1951, pl. 18.



The second vessel in this group is again a heavily cut bottle (*fig. 11*).<sup>31</sup> The body was ground down from a blown spherical blank to form four convex sides, each having a projecting central countersunk disc. The bottom is treated similarly, with its slightly larger disc serving as foot. The upper shoulder section is stepped and curves upward and outward to a point at which the probably short cylindrical or tapering neck emerges. The discs represent the original surface; grinding marks are clearly visible.

The piece was acquired in Persia and is said to have been found in Azerbaijan. In the 1957 catalogue it is called Islamic, about ninth–tenth centuries.

The third bottle is much smaller (*fig. 12*).<sup>32</sup> Its body is spherical, with four discs with flat surfaces projecting and a fifth one serving as base. Shieldlike three-sided projections are placed along the upper body in the spaces between the discs. A groove has been cut into the shoulder; a short tapering neck surmounts the vessel.<sup>33</sup> The object was purchased in Iraq and probably found there. It is dated about sixth–ninth centuries in the 1957 catalogue.

The three bottles have a few characteristics in common. They are all blown of thick

glass and deeply cut with geometric patterns of a similar nature. Though the objects do not seem to have been made of the same glass material, it should be noted that of this group the first bottle is comparatively well preserved while No. 2 has a “frosted” surface—it was probably covered with decomposition which was taken off recently. The heavy layer on No. 3 makes any visual comparison of the glass material impossible unless the decomposition is removed. The geometric cutting in all three examples employs roughly the same formula: a heavy spherical blank is subdivided into four or five sections which have circular central or concentric motifs not found on the other two. The circular motifs, countersunk discs surrounded by grooves, etc., remind one of a few of the bowls mentioned in group III of this paper, especially the bowl with projecting discs (*fig. 9*).

One of the bottles is said to have come from Azerbaijan; the other two were acquired on the Near Eastern market. None is dated through archeological context.

The three bottles are close in style and general treatment (though less pretentious) to the group of so-called Byzantine glass vessels preserved in the treasury of San Marco and elsewhere. Lamm has treated especially the San Marco pieces in his book<sup>34</sup> and they will again receive a thorough publication in the new two-volume corpus being prepared by Grabar, Erdmann, Steingraeber, and Vollbach. None of them can be dated archeologically. The terminus ante quem is without doubt 1204, the sack of Constantinople. One of the pieces, the bowl with high projections,<sup>35</sup> has a Greek inscription on the mounting possibly referring to Georgia as provenance for the object.

The fact that the San Marco glasses were

<sup>31</sup> Corning Acc. No. 59.1.432. Formerly R. W. Smith Collection, *Glass from the ancient world*, No. 547, not illustrated; H. at shoulder collar 8.1 cm.; H. with restored neck 12.7 cm.; D. body at greatest circumference, without discs, 9.0 cm.; D. at discs about 10.5 cm.; thick, clear glass with slight green tinge and minute bubbles; some of the discs and upper neck restored.

<sup>32</sup> Corning Acc. No. 59.1.435; *Glass from the ancient world*, No. 550, not illustrated; H. 7.0 cm., D. body at discs about 5.5 cm.; blown and cut thick, clear glass with green tint; enamel-like scum revealing in some areas brilliant iridescence.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. the long-necked spherical bottle with projecting discs in the Victoria and Albert Museum, D. B. Honey, *Glass*, 1946, pl. 14A.

<sup>34</sup> Cited in n. 13, pls. 52, 53, with references.

<sup>35</sup> Lamm, *op. cit.*, n. 13, pl. 52, No. 9.

apparently brought back from Constantinople could indicate that they were also made there. Of the similar pieces mentioned by Lamm,<sup>36</sup> one was found in Susa, the other at Fustât in Egypt. Honey<sup>37</sup> writes that a Byzantine or Sassanian origin has been suggested. The dates for these vessels proposed by scholars range between the sixth and ninth centuries A.D.

## V

I have tried to show<sup>38</sup> that in the Near East a tradition in the production of cut luxury glass vessels seems to have existed from at least the second half of the eighth century B.C. onward. One of the centers may have been situated around Nimrud while one (or more?) may have been located in the more western parts of the Near East. This tradition was picked up by Achaemenid and later by Hellenistic glassmakers. Again these production centers may have been located in the sections which today are occupied by western Iran and eastern Iraq. From the late fourth century B.C. onward, Alexandria and possibly a few other eastern Mediterranean towns may have produced such luxury glasses, stylistically apparently all closely related to each other. The omphalos bowl (I) dealt with at the beginning of this paper is part of the late Achaemenid and early Hellenistic luxury-glass production; the Gordion finds provide here one of the most important dating tools at the present time. However, to give at this stage of our knowledge tight chronological limits and very specific provenances may prove disastrous in view of future discoveries. The dates suggested in this paper are, therefore, to be taken in their relative, and not in their abso-

lute, sense. Glass is difficult to date if examined only stylistically. The analysis of the cut-glass vessels discussed here is limited to form and geometric decoration, phenomena less exposed to accelerated stylistic changes. Glassmaking is a conservative craft; changes in form and decoration are slow. It is, therefore, not surprising to be often at a loss as to more accurate definitions regarding the dates and provenances of glass objects without figurative scenes.

It is very likely that one day an uninterrupted sequence of luxury-glass vessels can be traced from the late Hellenistic material up to the early Islamic cut glasses. We know comparatively much about the early Roman Imperial cut glass as well as the later Western engraved and cut vessels. Then, however, there is a gap in our knowledge of Near Eastern glass between the fall of the Empire and the beginning of the fairly well-known Islamic production of about the ninth century.

What happened in the three or four hundred years between?

A few pieces of engraved and cut glass have been placed in this period, the most prominent being the Lycurgus cup, recently bought by the British Museum, which Harden dates in the fourth or fifth centuries.<sup>39</sup> In the fifth century are also placed many of the Scandinavian, Slovakian, and other finds mentioned above. The geometrically cut conical beakers and the bowl of greenish glass discussed under II can be dated, according to their shapes, in the very late fourth and fifth centuries. The Kish finds (III) are dated in the sixth century. Rather firm chronological limits seem to be represented by the two faceted bowls in Japan (III), one apparently before A.D. 534, the other probably before A.D. 756.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>36</sup> *Idem*, n. 13, pls. 52, 53.

<sup>37</sup> *Idem*, pp. 43-44.

<sup>38</sup> *Journal of Glass Studies*, vol. I, 1959, p. 23ff.; *Glastechnische Berichte*, Sonderband, vol. 32K, 1959, p. VIIIff.

<sup>39</sup> D. B. Harden and Jocelyn M. C. Toynbee, *The Rothschild Lycurgus cup*, *Archaeologia*, vol. 97, 1959, p. 179ff.

<sup>40</sup> As these bowls are almost identical though there



The Western origin of group II is out of the question because of finding circumstances. This leaves the Near East, from Egypt over to Syria, Iraq, and southern Russia. The origin of the related rich Scandinavian as well as the eastern and southeastern European finds is equally unknown. Ekholm speaks of Oriental imports; Werner<sup>41</sup> suggests the lower Danube, Byzantium, Asia Minor, and the Black Sea Coast.

While the eastern Mediterranean area could be a likely candidate as provenance for some or all of these pieces, I am at the present time rather inclined to think that in the central region of the Sassanian Empire, namely present-day eastern Iraq and northwestern Iran, an important glass industry must have existed which may have produced a great percentage of the glasses dealt with in this paper. I would think that it is possible that glasses such as the conical beakers and shallow bowl discussed under II, as well as the vessels published by Ekholm, could have been made in this area in the late fourth and fifth centuries. On the other hand, objects like beakers with Greek inscriptions do not seem to fit this theory.<sup>42</sup> There must, however, have existed rather close contacts between the late Roman glass factories in Syria and the admittedly still hypothetical factories located in central Mesopotamia. Especially after the war between the Romans and the Sassanian rulers in the late fourth century, contacts may have been made that initiated an important revival

of glass production in the Sassanian realm. The finds from Kish and other places (group III), as well as the many Sassanian glass seals and attachments preserved, seem to be proof of a large glass production in this area.<sup>43</sup> At the same time the Sassanians may also have known of the glassmaking tradition of the Achaemenids whose Empire they tried to recreate.

The faceted bowls discussed under III seem to range around the sixth century. The finding circumstances of many of them again point to the central and northern part of the Sassanian Empire, the same regions ruled later by the Umayyads. They, therefore, may also be taken as products of the Sassanian workshops.

It is difficult to see at first glance a stylistic connection between the beaker group and the bowl group. However, if one observes more closely the treatment of thick glass as a faceted and an abraded material to be used as costly, frequently exported, luxury ware, one is inclined to think that all these pieces must be related to each other. This apparently loose connection becomes more obvious when one compares, for example, the faceted beaker with a rounded base from Håland<sup>44</sup> with a very similar one found at Kish,<sup>45</sup> or the shape of the conical beaker introducing group II in this paper with a beaker or lamp from Kish.<sup>46</sup>

is a difference of about 200 years in date, the following questions arise: (1) Are these two dates correct? (2) Was the Shōsō-in bowl already a long-kept relic when it was placed in the treasure? (3) Or was there no change of style from the early 6th to the middle of the 8th century?

<sup>41</sup> Slovenska Archeologia, vol. 17, No. 2, 1959, p. 422.

<sup>42</sup> Beakers from Tu, Podoli (near Brno), and Vorning: Werner, *op. cit.*, n. 40, p. 422.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. G. A. Eisen, *Glass*, New York, 1927, pp. 607-612. *Glass from the ancient world*, 1957, No. 386ff. That the Sassanians were able to produce excellent rock-crystal carving is proved by the famous portrait medallion of Chosroes I (531 to 579) or Chosroes II (590 to 628) in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

<sup>44</sup> Eurasia Sept. Ant., vol. 10, 1936, pl. 67, fig. 7.

<sup>45</sup> Iraq, vol. 1, fig. 4, No. 9.

<sup>46</sup> Iraq, vol. 1, fig. 5, No. 14, dated by Harden in the 4th and 5th centuries. Cf. also C. M. Crawford and D. B. Harden, *Early Byzantine and later glass lamps*, Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, vol. 17, pt. 3-4, 1931, pp. 196-208.

I would, therefore, think it possible that the beaker group (II) and bowl group (III) may have one common origin and approximately the same date, namely the fifth–sixth centuries A.D.

The group of bottles discussed under IV also seems to fit within the stylistic complex of an assumed Sassanian glass production. The general treatment of the glass is very similar to that of the aforementioned groups: heavy glass with predominantly circular geometric cutting. The glass material of the second bottle with the free standing discs reminds one strongly of the material of a few other thick vessels, mainly jugs, which are of decisive Sassanian shape and of which an example is in Corning.<sup>47</sup> The provenance of these pieces, though one is said to have come from Azerbaijan, is unknown. One can assume that they were made somewhere in the Near East. And as there is a strong possibility that a lively Sassanian common- and luxury-glass industry existed, it is quite conceivable that these bottles were also made in this region.

On the other hand, Byzantium, or at least the region under Byzantine rule, could be taken as the place of origin for these bottles. The multitude of small bottles, amulets and seals with Christian symbols<sup>48</sup> are proof of a sizable glass manufacture also to the west of the Sassanian Empire. A small four-sided bottle of thick clear glass came to Corning recently (*fig. 13*)<sup>49</sup> which reminds one of the general treatment of the so-called Sassanian pieces. It has a stepped shoulder and a cy-

lindrical neck with flat rim. It must have been made in a mold or, at least, its base received a mold imprint, as a star motif is impressed onto it. Three of the sides of the body, however, have finely wheel-engraved crosses. The fourth side bears also a cross, but here it emerges from two rootlike branches and two more slender leafy branches, possibly the Tree of Life. Underneath the horizontal arm there are two fish, the left one with its head turned upward, the right one in the reverse position. Two birds facing each other are perched on the horizontal arm.

The glass material of this bottle appears to the eye to be identical with a small diagonally ribbed miniature vase (*fig. 14*).<sup>50</sup>

The dates of the bottles discussed under IV are yet unknown, though a sixth- or seventh-century date could be suggested. There are no parallels of Roman date. Similarly, there seem to be no objects in existence which are proved to be of the time of the earliest finds of engraved and cut vessels of Islamic sites like Samarra or Nishapur in the ninth century. It can be assumed that the frequently found globular miniature vessels with circular cuts, as well as other Islamic vessels with dislike decoration,<sup>51</sup> are derivatives of the Sassanian pieces, as are so many Islamic forms.

One can, therefore, say in conclusion that the rich production of the Islamic glassmakers seems to have been largely sparked off by probably Sassanian luxury vessels which bridge the gap of the "Dark Ages" in the history of glass.

<sup>47</sup> Acc. No. 59.1.434; *Glass from the ancient world*, No. 559.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Eisen, *op. cit.*, pp. 583, 610.

<sup>49</sup> Acc. No. 59.1.581; H. 6.2 cm.; heavy interior scale decomposition; acquired in London.

<sup>50</sup> Corning, Acc. No. 59.1.286; *Glass from the ancient world*, No. 422, H. 3.8 cm. Type: Eisen, *op. cit.*, p. 515, fig. 220, first row, second from right.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. an Islamic (?) cup in Liège, *Trois millénaires d'art verrier*, Exhibition Catalogue, Liège, Mus. Curtius, 1958, No. 70.



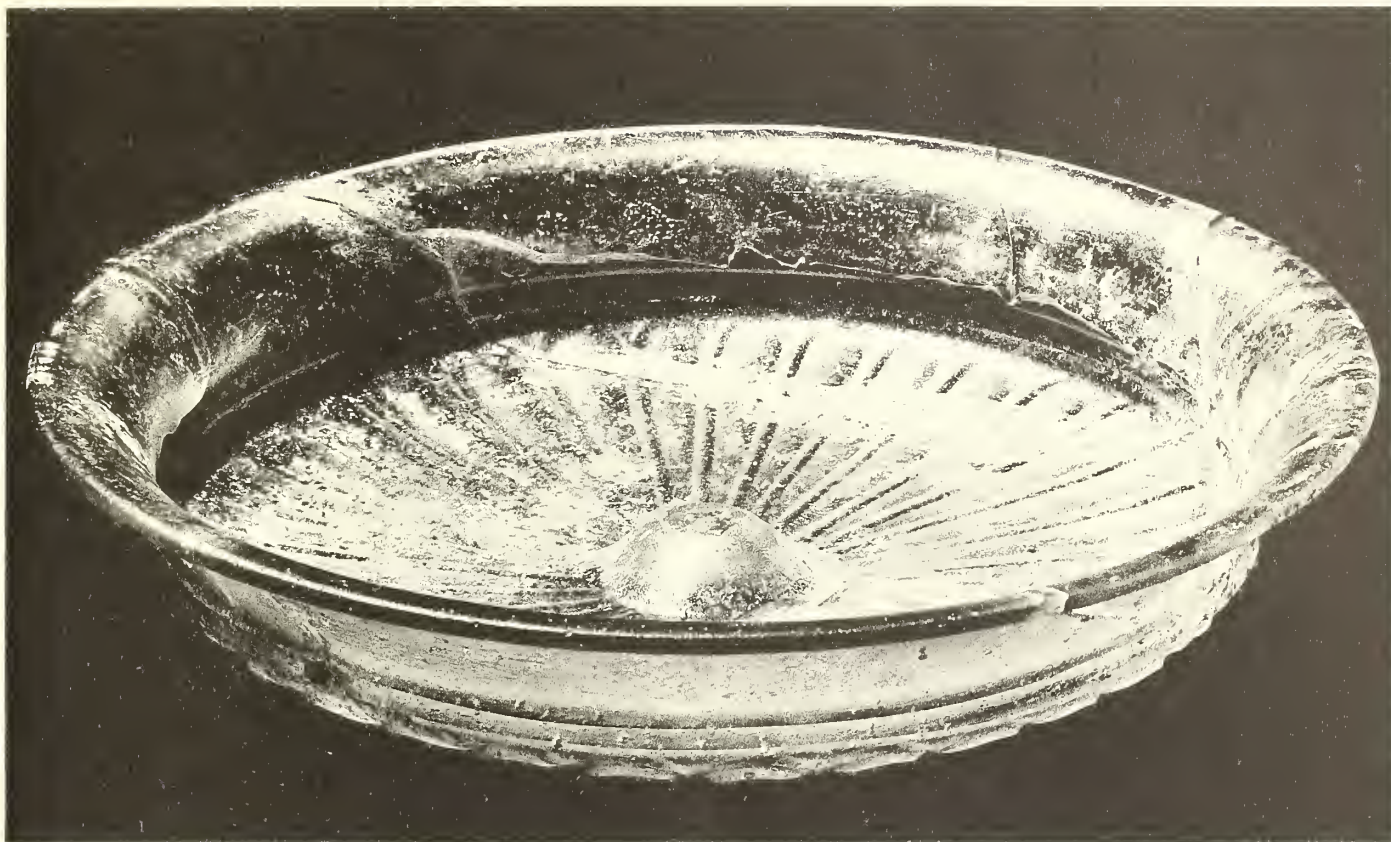


FIG. 1.—ACHAEMENID CUT-GLASS BOWL.  
The Corning Museum of Glass.

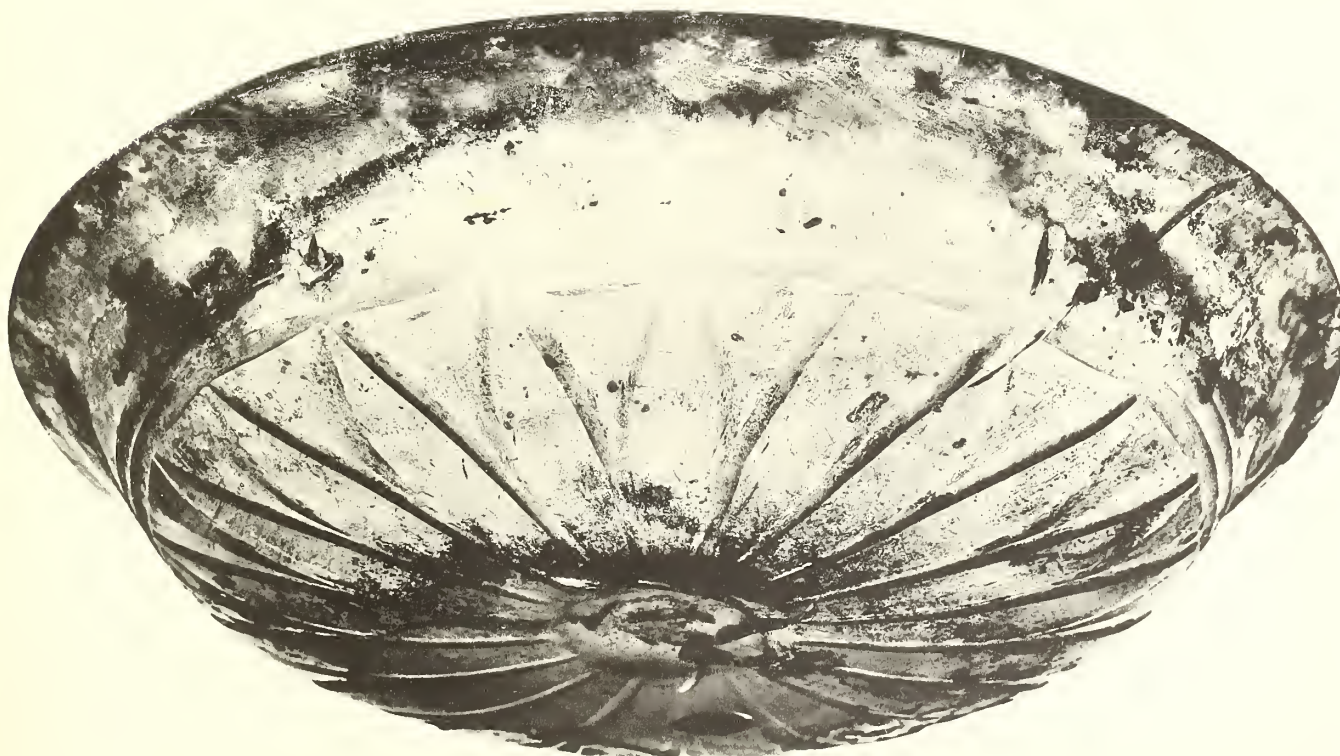


FIG. 2.—PETALED BOWL.  
Cologne, Römisch-Germanisches Museum.





FIG. 3.—CONICAL BEAKER.  
Corning.



FIG. 4.—BOWL.





FIG. 5.—UNDERSIDE OF BOWL, FIGURE 4.

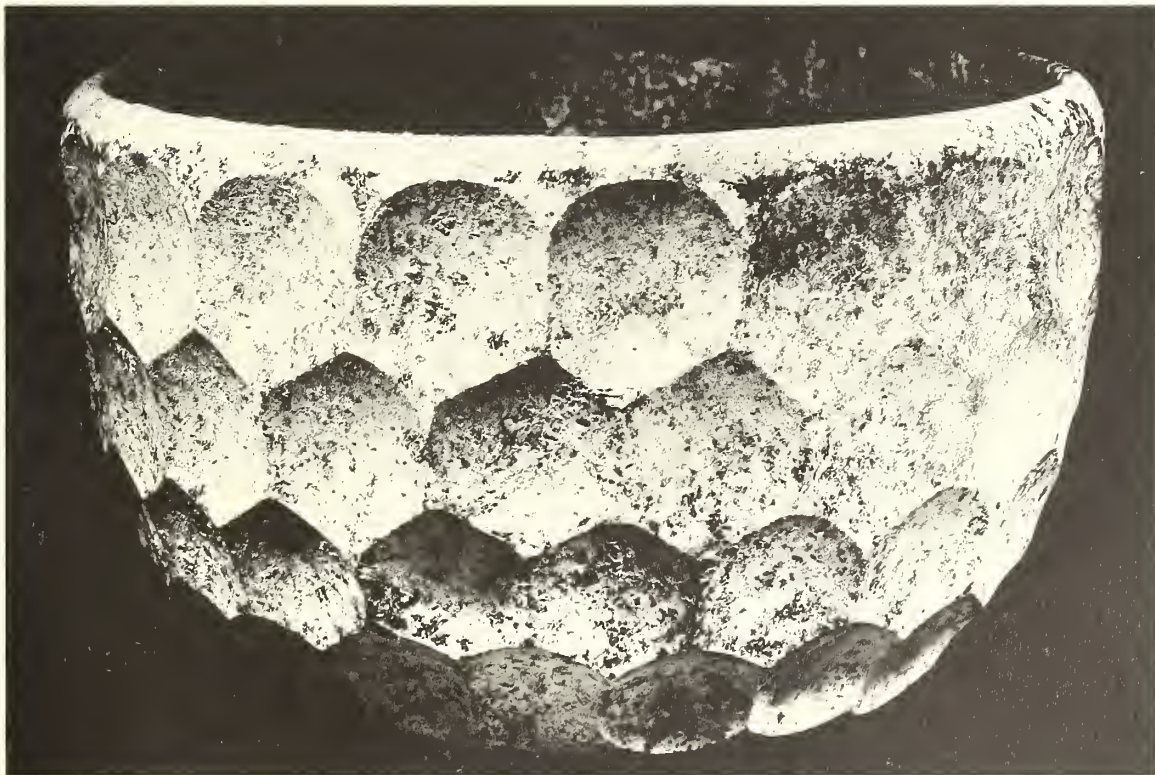


FIG. 6.—SHŌSŌ-IN TYPE OF BOWL.  
Corning.





FIG. 7.—BOWL.

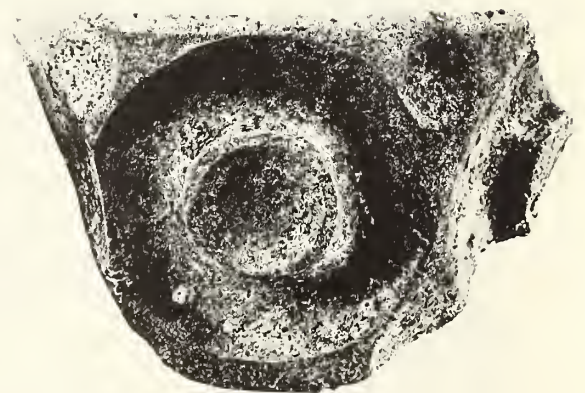
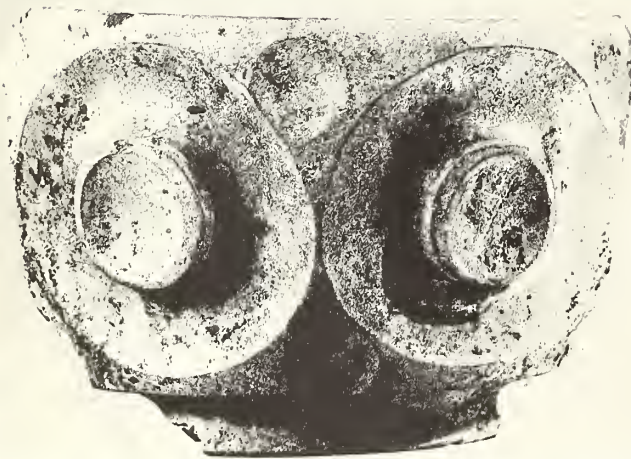


FIG. 8.—TWO FRAGMENTARY BOWLS.  
Philadelphia, University Museum.



FIG. 9.—BOTTLE WITH DISCS.  
Corning.





FIG. 10.—BOTTLE WITH LARGE ROUNDELS.  
Corning.



FIG. 12.—SMALL BOTTLE WITH DISCS AND SHIELDS.  
Corning.



FIG. 11.—BOTTLE WITH DISCS.  
Corning.



FIG. 14.—MINIATURE VASE.  
Corning.

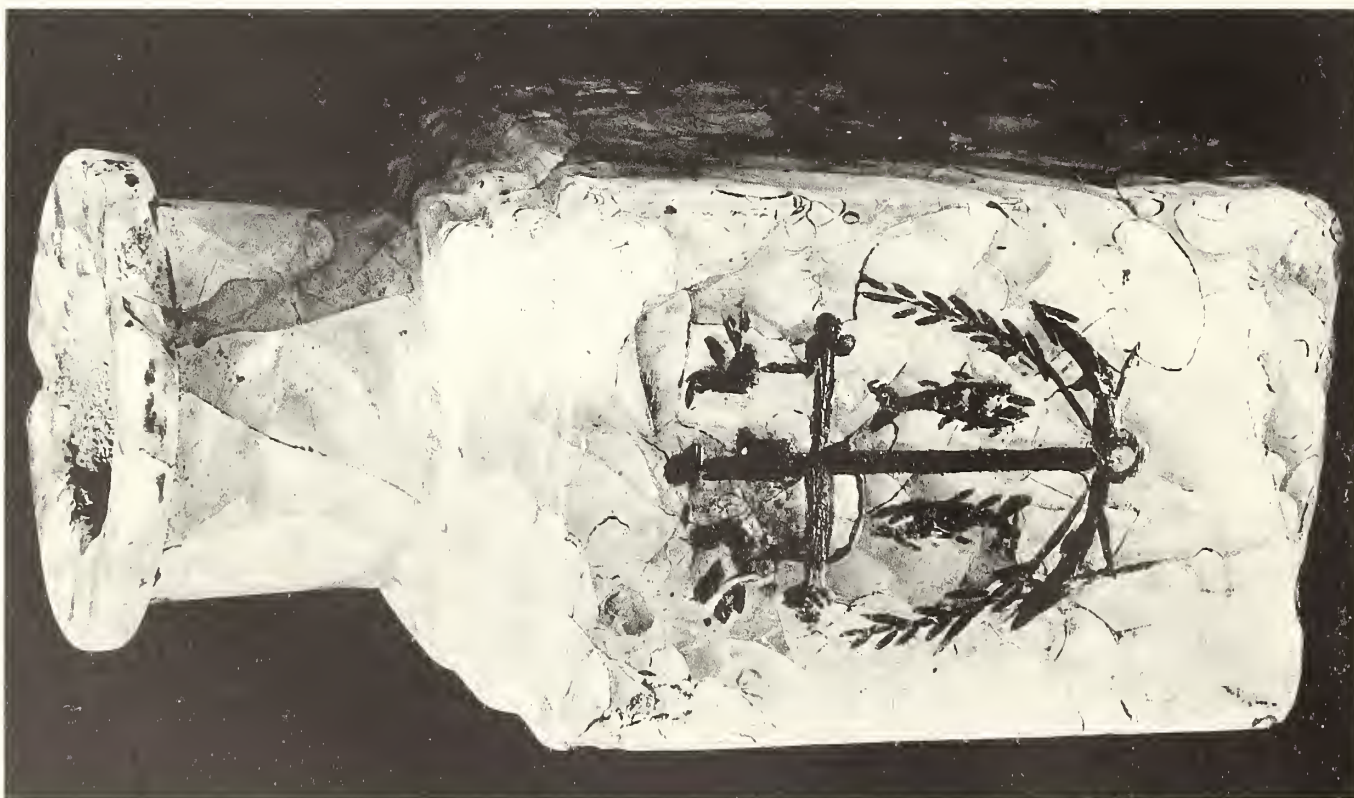


FIG. 13.—BOTTLE WITH CHRISTIAN SYMBOLS.  
Corning. (Design has been blackened.)



## THE Umayyad PALACE AT 'ANJAR

By MAURICE CHEHAB

MANY ARCHEOLOGISTS HAVE WRITTEN ABOUT the ruins of 'Anjar and a good many of them have tried to identify these ruins with those of Chalcis of Lebanon. Clermont-Ganneau, for instance, citing Brooks's publication of the Syriac Chronicle of 864, has declared that the Gero mentioned there is today "'Anjar, ancient Chalcis, where it may be possible to find monuments and inscriptions dating from the first century of the Hegira."<sup>1</sup>

In a paper read at the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres written in 1940, Jean Sauvaget raised some doubts concerning the identification of 'Anjar with Chalcis and proposed the thesis that the ruins, which originally walled an enclosure, were part of a well-established settlement of the Umayyads and their peoples.<sup>2</sup>

The excavations which I undertook there with the collaboration of M. G. Simson have strengthened my conviction that Sauvaget was right. Apart from some capitals (which had been re-used), and some shafts of columns, and two or three fragments of Roman inscriptions on re-used material and one Byzantine fragment, no pre-Umayyad vestige was found, despite many excavating campaigns, during which we often struck virgin soil.

In Roman times, this was certainly the site of an important installation; besides the re-used elements in our architectural complex, there are many remains which are still *in situ*. Also, approximately three and one-half kilometers to the south of these ruins, a Roman

temple dominates the village of Majdal 'Anjar;<sup>3</sup> and more than a kilometer to the north of our site are found walls of massive blocks, clearly Roman, which encircle a large spring basin, the source of one of the tributaries of the Litani. Against the side of the Anti-Lebanon mountains which border the east side of this basin are found important remains where individuals have discovered blades of bronze which date from the second millennium. Farther to the north, Father René Mouterde has found a Byzantine outpost.<sup>4</sup>

The excavations to follow will tell us whether this is truly the site of ancient Chalcis. In any case, they will probably tell us the exact place to search for the ancient site, outside of our Umayyad settlement.

The site of 'Anjar most certainly dates back farther than the Arab era. 'Anjar is almost exactly halfway between Beirut and Damascus. It is close to the steep-banked valleys of Wādi al-Harīr and Wādi al-Qarn, which connect the Biqā' with Damascus; moreover, it is on the route which runs from Ḥimṣ-Baalbek to the region of Tiberias (*Fig. 1*).

As the Biqā' in ancient times was covered by vast swamps, the route was of necessity forced to go by 'Anjar. Indeed, Polybius,<sup>5</sup> following the Marsyas plain, points out a huge *limné* "beside which was located the area of Gerrha. Between Gerrha and the lake, there was just one narrow passage . . . and

<sup>3</sup> Krencker u. Zschiezschmann, *Römische Tempel in Syrien*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1938, pp. 182-191.

<sup>4</sup> A. Beaulieu et R. Mouterde, *Poste de surveillance et refuge byzantin sur le chemin de Chalcis-Heliopolis*, Mélanges de l'Univ. St. Joseph, vol. 32, 1955.

<sup>5</sup> V, 46, 67.

<sup>1</sup> *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*, Ernest Leroux, ed., Paris, 1900, vol. 3, p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> J. Sauvaget, *Les ruines Omeyyades de 'Andjar*, Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth, vol. 3, 1959, pp. 5 and 10.



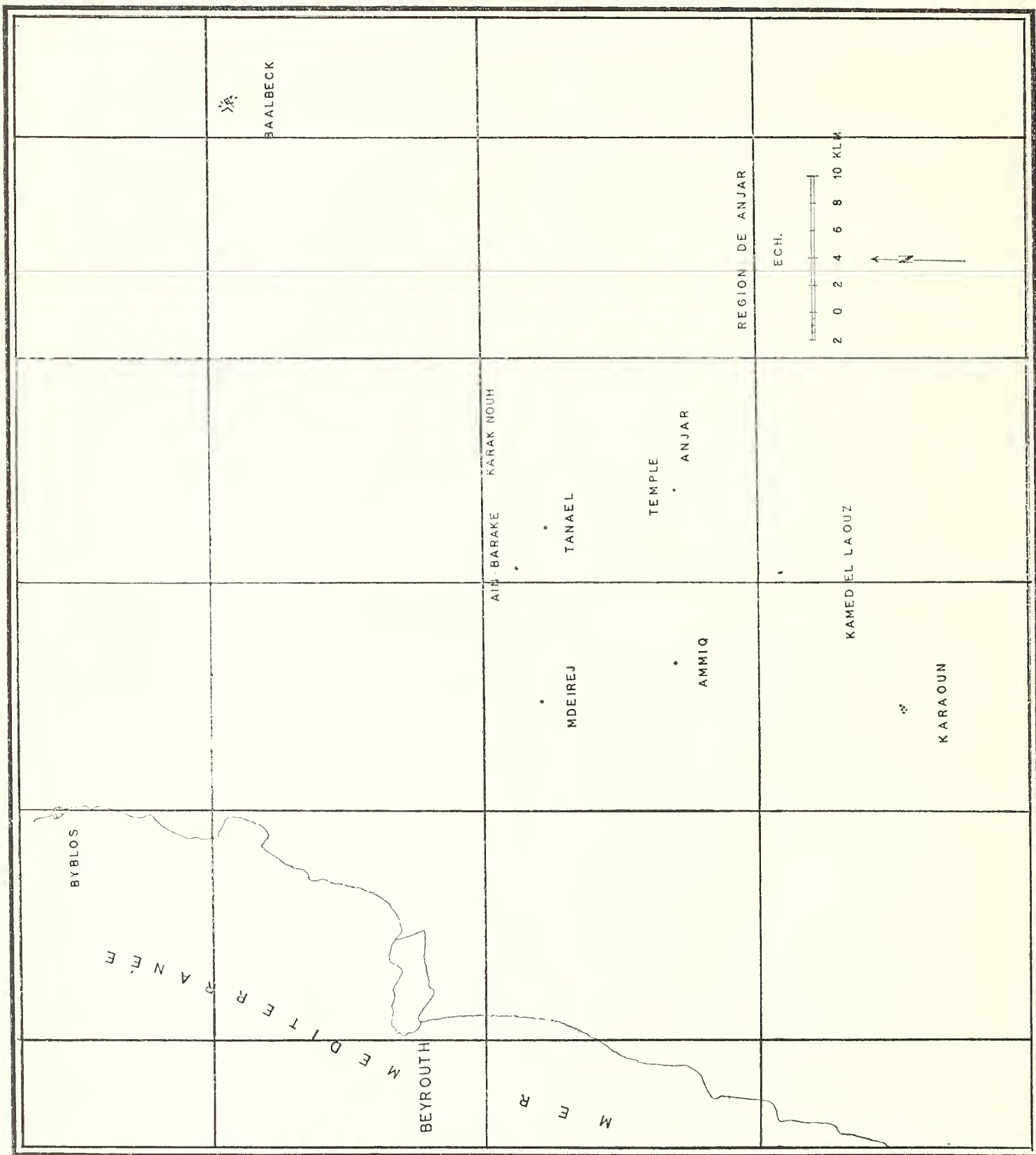


FIG. 1.—REGION OF 'ANJAR (map by G. Simson)

on the opposite side, making a sort of counterpart to Gerrha, was the place known as Brochoi."<sup>6</sup> In quoting this passage from Polybius, Clermont-Ganneau makes the mistake of looking for Polybius's Brochoi at Karak-Nūh. To arrive at this conclusion, one must assume paleographic and linguistic transformations. The persistence of the Noah legend in the two places (Karak and 'Anjar), which are found at opposite ends of the Biqā', has helped to give credence to his theory. According to tradition, Noah was buried at the strategically important Karak. At 'Ayn al-Jarr, according to Yāqūt,<sup>7</sup> Noah set out in his ark.

I do not believe that we should go along with Clermont-Ganneau's identification of Brochoi as Karak-Nūh. This locality should be identified with 'Ayn Barakah, the source of a tributary of the Liṭānī, which is found at the foot of the Lebanon mountains between Jditā and Qab Elias. This source is a counterpart to 'Anjar, on the other side of the Biqā', and is located at a crossing of the Beirut-Damascus road with the road which passes between Lebanon and the swamplands of 'Ammiq going toward the south of the Biqā'. We know exactly the two dates of the draining of the swamps which covered the plain; the first was reported by Abū al-Fida<sup>8</sup> and from this report we learn that the Emir Doungouz drained vast stretches of this part of the Biqā' in the 14th century; the second drainage of the swamps is almost contemporary, occurring as it did after 1860. This last draining permitted the Jesuit priests to reclaim from the swamps a large part of their holdings at Ta'na'il. The last remaining part of the swamp is now a subject for study and should be drained in the near future by the Lebanese government.

<sup>6</sup> *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*, vol. 3, p. 252, n. 1.

<sup>7</sup> Yāqūt, *Kitāb Mu'jam al-Buldān sub 'Ayn al-Jarr*.

<sup>8</sup> Clermont-Ganneau, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 252, n. 1.

Thus 'Anjar was once on the only route between the swamplands and the foot of the Anti-Lebanon Mountains—the route which al-Maqdisi and Qudamah call طريق المذارج "the road of steps."<sup>9</sup>

According to al-Maqdisi, 'Anjar was, in the 10th century, an intermediate stop between Ba'albek in the north and Qara'un in the south.<sup>10</sup> Qudamah places it precisely 15 miles from Qara'un and 20 miles from Ba'albek.<sup>11</sup> The same distances are given by Ibn Khurdadhbīh.<sup>12</sup> At the beginning of the 13th century, Yāqūt tells us that the name of this place was 'Ayn al-Jabal—"the spring of the mountain"—which was a part of the territory of Ba'albek and was situated on a hill between Damascus and Sidon.<sup>13</sup>

In spite of these several references, however, no work of an Arab author has mentioned a *mashta* or a *bādiyah* at 'Anjar. But various deductions will probably show what sort of person built such an important residence near the spring at 'Anjar.

If we run through a listing of the *badiāt* and the *mashati* of the Umayyads, such as that given us by the Fathers Jaussen and Savignac,<sup>14</sup> we find that "'Abd al-Malik (685–705) frequently changed his place of residence, according to the weather and the seasons; Sinnabrah, Gabrieh, Damascus, and Ba'albek all were his home from time to time. His son continued the tradition." But even before al-Walid I (707–715), who was re-

<sup>9</sup> al-Maqdisi, *Aḥsan al-tagāsīm*; in *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, vol. 3 (Leyden, 1906), p. 191; Qudamah, *K. al-Kharaj*, *ibid.*, vol. 6 (Leyden, 1889), Ar. text, p. 219.

<sup>10</sup> al-Maqdisi, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

<sup>11</sup> Qudamah, *op. cit.*, vol. 6, p. 166.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 6, p. 219.

<sup>13</sup> Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, *loc. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 761. Wüstenfeld, Leipzig, 1868.

<sup>14</sup> *Mission archéologique en Arabie*, vol. 3, 1922, p. 110.

sponsible for most of the building done during the dynasty, the Umayyads tended more and more to establish their homes in Palestine and above all in Transjordan. Therefore we may assume that the residence at 'Anjar was founded by 'Abd al-Malik or his successor al-Walid I.

Clermont-Ganneau has pointed out, referring to the Syriac manuscripts published in 1875 by Noeldeke,<sup>15</sup> and in 1879 by Brooks, that the Arabs struck coins with simple inscriptions but without figures, coins which referred to the "founding of a city at In Gero (in the province of Ba'albek) by Oualid, son of 'Abd al-Malik."<sup>16</sup> In Brooks's important study of the Syriac manuscript in the British Museum, it is said that al-Walid, son of 'Abd al-Malik, "built a city and named it" In Gero.<sup>17</sup>

In 1939, Father Paul Mouterde published some of the inscriptions engraved on some rocks at the village of Kamed al-Loz by quarry workers from Kurdistan. Kamed el-Loz is 15 kilometers south of 'Anjar. Three inscriptions bear the date 96 of the Hegira, or the year 715, and two of them tell explicitly that the quarries, in which they worked, were opened that year by the reigning Caliph al-Walid ben 'Abd al-Malik.<sup>18</sup> Father Mouterde believes that the quarry at Kamed el-Loz was abandoned after the death of al-Walid and that the rock (nummulite of the Tertiary era) taken from this village and from the hills parallel to the Anti-Lebanon Mountains just to the north of 'Anjar could only have been

used in very small amounts in the construction which interests us.

Whether the quarry workers went back to their own homes or whether they established other quarries from a rock of better quality in the nearby Anti-Lebanon, it remains no less certain that (in support of the texts) an important quarrying activity existed in that region at the time of al-Walid I.

Toward the end of the Umayyad era 'Anjar was the scene of fratricidal battles which bloodied the last of the dynasty. Ibrāhīm, son of al-Walid I, used his forces (commanded by Sulaymān, son of Hishām) as a barrier against the troops of Marwān II who came from the north claiming to be the avengers of al-Walid II. By a roundabout movement reported in detail by Ṭabari<sup>19</sup> and by Ibn al-Athīr,<sup>20</sup> Marwān II overcame his foes on the 7th Ṣafar 127 (November 18, 744).<sup>21</sup> The field where the battle took place extends northward from the spring and the Roman basin, less than 2 kilometers to the north of our architectural complex. The conquerors, forced to flee toward the east, took refuge at Damascus for a short while.

Everything leads one to believe that, at this time, and also somewhat later, troops on the march spotted the enemy settlement.<sup>22</sup> The attack on 'Anjar did not have as its sole aim the destruction of the enemy forces to evade a flank attack; it also aimed to weaken Ibrāhīm by destroying an important holding which he would have inherited from his father, al-Walid I. It was fitting that the last places of refuge for the vanquished were Tadmor and Ruṣāfah, where Sulaymān's father, Hishām,

<sup>15</sup> *Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenland Gesellschaft*, vol. 29, 1875, p. 82.

<sup>16</sup> Clermont-Ganneau, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 90.

<sup>17</sup> E. W. Brooks, *A Syriac chronicle of the year 846*, *Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgen Gesellschaft*, vol. 51, 1897, p. 581.

<sup>18</sup> Paul Mouterde, *Inscriptions en syriaque dialectal à Kamed*, *Mélanges de l'Univ. St. Joseph*, vol. 22, fasc. 4, pp. 73-106.

<sup>19</sup> Al-Ṭabari, *Ta'zīkh*, ed. M. de Goeje and others, Leyden, 1879ff., II, pp. 1876-1879.

<sup>20</sup> Al-Kāmil, vol. 4, p. 283.

<sup>21</sup> A. Müller, *Der Islam*, vol. 1, pp. 452-453.

<sup>22</sup> Sauvaget, *Les ruines omeyyades de 'Anjar*, *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*, vol. 3, 1939, p. 10.



left two important holdings.<sup>23</sup> Several years later, in 750, the 'Abbāsids, following Marwān II, used the same tactics: "‘Abd allāh b. ‘Alī with the Khurasanites followed him, reinforced on the way by his brothers ‘Abd al-Šamad and Šāliḥ, and marched via Mosul, Harrān, Mambij, Qinnasrīn, Ba‘albek and ‘Ain al-Jarr to Mizza near Damascus."<sup>24</sup>

Previous to our work at ‘Anjar, Sauvaget had been struck by the Umayyad character of the rectangular enclosure there, its four doors corresponding to the four cardinal points, and its sides reenforced with semicylindrical towers. Our documentation, made since the article by Sauvaget, was tremendously enriched, in fact, by the methodical excavations carried out at Qaṣr al-Ḥayr by M. D. Schlumberger and at Khirbat al-Mafjar by Messrs. Hamilton<sup>25</sup> and Baramki. But the wall of ‘Anjar encloses a large area. J. Sauvaget underestimated the importance of ‘Anjar in giving a measurement of 175 m. to each side of the enclosure. In reality, these measurements are 370 m. for the north-south sides and 310 m. for the east-west sides. In 1939, the ruins were in such a pitiful state (*figs. 1 and 5*) that Sauvaget said of them, "Everything is in a state of advanced decay: the towers are so ruined that it is impossible to discern their original form; the rampart itself has lost almost all of its facing, and the doors are identifiable only by the breaches in the wall. Finally, the interior of the enclosure has been completely levelled and devastated . . . there is nothing left but a plowed field."<sup>26</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Sir William Muir, *The caliphate, its rise, decline and fall*, Edinburgh, 1924, p. 410; D. Schlumberger, *Les fouilles de Qaṣr el-Heir el-Gharbi*, Syria, vol. 20, 1939, fasc. 3, pp. 195-238 and fasc. 4, pp. 324-373; *Encyclopedia of Islam*, vol. 3, p. 309.

<sup>24</sup> J. Wellhausen, *The Arab kingdom and its fall*, Calcutta, 1927, p. 549.

<sup>25</sup> R. W. Hamilton, *Khirbat al Mafjar*, Oxford, 1959, pl. C.

<sup>26</sup> J. Sauvaget, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

The excavation work which we have done has yielded many facts (*Fig. 2*).

The walls of the enclosure are 2 m. thick, with a core which is formed of large and small chips in concrete. The core is covered on the interior by a layered facing of small blocks, and on the exterior by blocks of considerably larger dimensions.

This enclosure has 8 towers on the north and south sides and 10 on the east and west sides. These semicylindrical towers are solid, except for those which are on the four corners. Each wall has three stairways, a meter wide.

This arrangement of towers is reminiscent of the arrangement used in the Umayyad era; likewise, in the direct enclosure of the fortress, we have an excellent example at Mshatta and even better ones at Qaṣr al-Ḥayr and at Mafjār. In ‘Abbasid times, this arrangement was a common one.

In the middle of each side, the walls are broken by a door, with an opening of 3.08 m. Each entrance is flanked by two solid, nearly semicircular towers.

We have already excavated two, those on the south and east sides, in front of which we found scattered a great many blocks, well cut and well drafted. The state of their preservation indicates a very short period of usage, which leads one to wonder if their destruction was not voluntary, and if it did not date back to the determination of Marwān II to "raze the walls of Ḥims, Baalbek, Damascus, Jerusalem and others."<sup>27</sup> Among the fallen blocks are some battlements and a pyramidal fragment; as soon as the excavation has proceeded a little further, we will have a better idea of the original state of these doors. On both sides of the east door are engraved many graffiti in a cursive Kūfic script (*figs. 2, 3, and 4*).

<sup>27</sup> *Marwan II*, *Encyclopedia of Islam*, vol. 3, p. 309, col. 1.

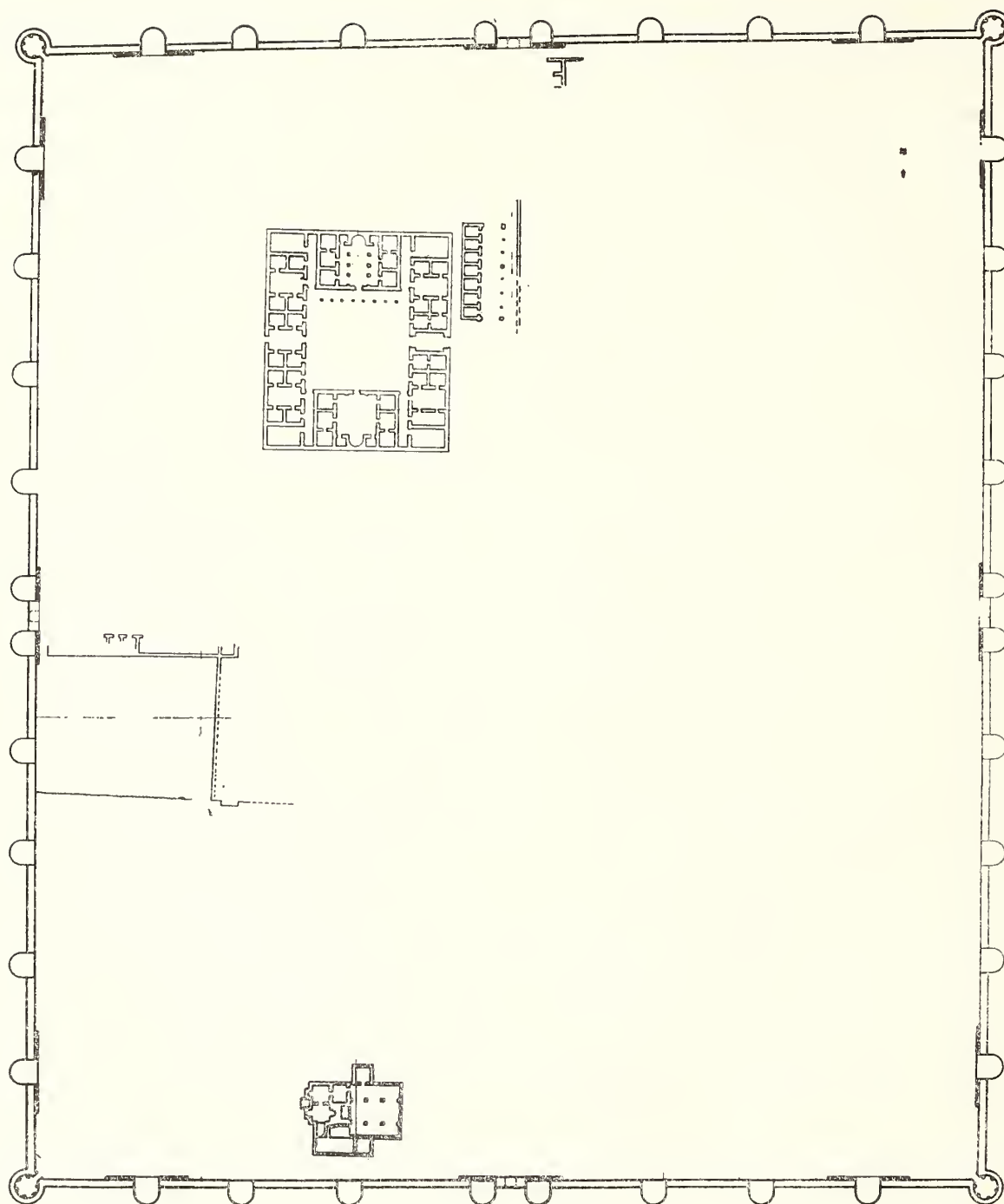


FIG. 2.—EXCAVATION AT 'ANJAR (plan by G. Simson)

As to the interior of the enclosure, our excavations have shown the following:

1. The land enclosed has a surface area of 114,000 square meters.
2. The land has a slope from south to north of 13 meters.
3. The main canalization runs from the middle of the south side toward the middle of the north side.
4. Two streets, bordered by shops and porticoes, link the four doors, and must cross one another in the center of the enclosure.
5. The residential section occupies the east side of the center of the city.
6. The bathing area is near the north door.

The residential section, as much as we have excavated, is formed of two groups. First is a rectangular building 71 meters from north to south and 59.5 meters from east to west. The exterior walls of this building are 1.2 meters thick. The facing of the walls is made of rectangular blocks which are well cut and well seated. After a certain height, these layers of stone are alternated with layers of brick. This treatment recalls the architecture of the *bayt al-māl* which stands in the courtyard of the Mosque of al-Walid I at Damascus<sup>28</sup> and certain parts of the palace of Mafjar.

This building may be entered by either of two doors, one on the east, the other on the west side; the latter is more richly decorated (figs. 6 and 7) and is flanked by two ornamented, purely decorative, niches (figs. 8 and 17). The plan of these entryways is similar to that of Qaṣr-al-Hayr and of Mafjar (fig. 9). Like these two palaces, that at 'Anjar is composed of a large courtyard surrounded by rectangular rooms and separated into four groups by corridors which emanate from the four

corners of the courtyard; a rectangular *mas-taba* in the northeast corridor of 'Anjar reminds one of the stairways of Mafjar which are located in the same way. Moreover, as at Mafjar, the rooms are parallel and rectangular; they all have doors which open into the courtyard or into the corridors. Also, as at Mafjar, an apsidal room occupies the center of the south side. But at 'Anjar this room is of a basilical form. Its apse and its width are much larger and the neighboring rooms are grouped in three small rooms, of which at least two open into the basilical room. The fallen columns and the arches (fig. 10) establish the fact that a superposed double arcade ran on both sides of the basilical room. Many capitals from the Roman era were re-used in this room. These capitals were surmounted by an impost in the shape of a truncated pyramid (fig. 11), a construction already in use in the Byzantine era and also in the Umayyad mosque at Damascus. The arches are vaulted and decorated with bands of sculpture, which vary from one arch to the next.

The façade of the south room, its foundations hardly moved (fig. 12), has fallen *in situ* on the space corresponding to the courtyard. Its careful raising—the work of M. H. Kalayan, the engineer of the Direction Générale des Antiquités—has facilitated the reconstruction of the largest surface (fig. 13). This façade was made of two parts. The lower part is broken by a door with a lintel, which surmounts a semicircular arch. On both sides of the door, arched windows are linked together by a band of carving which curves above them. The carvings are similar on either side of the door. On the right, they form a branch with stylized leaves (fig. 14). On the left, they form a chain of semicircular arcs, decorated with a trefoil motif (fig. 15), and intersect with one another. Only the windows which border on the entry are blind.

The upper portion is slightly set back from

<sup>28</sup> E. de Lorey, *Les mosaïques de la mosquée des Omeyyades à Damas*, Syria, vol. 12, 1931, pl. LXIII.



the lower part, which is crowned by a series of small crenellations. Arched bays, narrow and high, are cut in the façade, and are separated by windows similar to those of the lower part. The band of carving which links the arched parts is carved in a scroll pattern, decorated with very flat, stylized grape leaves (*fig. 16*).

The raising of the façade has enabled us to disengage the portico, which is older; the piers at the corner show that it once enclosed the courtyard.

The décor of the arches already reveals that variety of motifs with a unity of form, which would later characterize Moslem architecture. The form and movement of certain of these motifs, such as the rows of stylized acanthus leaves, recall by their form and movement the frames of some of the panels of the exterior façade<sup>29</sup> at Qaṣr-al-Ḥayr. The general treatment of the leaves is common to 'Anjar, Mafjar, and Qaṣr-al-Ḥayr, with this difference, that those at 'Anjar, carved into stone, are not cut so deeply as those done in the stucco at the two other sites. A second technique at 'Anjar consists of a flat décor, closely related to the marble sculptures at Mafjar<sup>30</sup> or to some of the scrollwork of the mosque al-Aqṣa in Jerusalem.<sup>31</sup> A third technique in the sculpture shows up in the niches and at the bases of the pilasters which flank the entrance into the courtyard. This third type of decoration is, in contrast, carved more deeply, although not so deeply as that at Mshatta, which it resembles. Moreover, the top of the niche is a very acute arch, almost a triangle, much like the motifs used on the

façades at Mshatta and at Qaṣr-al-Ḥayr.<sup>32</sup> The figures which adorn the interior of the arch or the spaces nearby are in such bad condition that it is difficult to say surely whether they are men riding horses or men riding dromedaries (*fig. 17*). A palm decorates the corners. The capitals of the niches, decorated with the trefoil motif in the form of a corbel and derived from a Byzantine design, recall the motifs which decorate certain capitals of Muwaqqar<sup>33</sup> and especially those at the mosque al-Aqṣa in Jerusalem.

As I have already pointed out, near the north door, that is to say, at one of the lowest spots in the enclosure, we discovered the bathing area. This area, by the way it was divided, and by the relationship between its various parts, reminds one of the plan of the baths of Quseyr 'Amrah and of Ḥammām al-Ṣarakh. But the large room is not located in quite the same way in relation to the three rooms directly over the furnace. Of these three rooms, the second features an apse (*fig. 18*) and the third has two apses—one on each of its smaller sides. In general, the plan of Quseyr 'Amrah<sup>34</sup> is closer to the design of the baths at 'Anjar than to that at Qaṣr-al-Ḥayr.

Although this site was abandoned in the Umayyad era, a partial settlement was located here in the Middle Ages. At that time, a flooring of *opus incertum* was laid in the interior of the rooms, its thickness varying according to the amount of rubble underneath. Certain rooms of the former residence in the northwest corner were re-used without making any major changes. But if the buildings lost their importance, the site certainly did not. In

<sup>29</sup> Syria, vol. 20, 1939, pl. XLVII, p. 4.

<sup>30</sup> R. W. Hamilton, *Khirbat al Mafjar*: pl. XXIII, 1.

<sup>31</sup> Creswell, *Early Muslim architecture*, vol. 2, pl. 25 "East 5," and pl. 27 "West 6."

<sup>32</sup> Syria, vol. 20, 1939, pl. XLVII, No. 4.

<sup>33</sup> R. W. Hamilton, *Some eighth-century capitals from al-Muwaqqar*, QDAP, vol. 12, Nos. 3-4, 1945-46, pl. XXI and fig. 4.

<sup>34</sup> Creswell, *Early Muslim architecture*, vol. 1, London, 1932. Musil, *Kusejr Amra*, Vienna, 1909.





FIG. 2.—KUFIC INSCRIPTION OF THE WALLS OF THE EAST ENTRANCE.



FIG. 4.—COLUMN OF THE PORTICO NEAR THE EAST GATE.



FIG. 1.—RUINS OF 'ANJAR AND PROBABLE BATTLEFIELD.



FIG. 3.—TOWER AT THE EAST GATE OF THE ENCLOSURE.





FIG. 5.—AERIAL VIEW OF THE RUINS OF 'ANJAR, TAKEN BY THE ARMY AVIATION SERVICE BEFORE 1939.  
Archives de l'Institut français d'Archéologie de Beyrouth.





FIG. 7.—RIGHT FOOT OF THE WEST ENTRANCE.



FIG. 6.—LINTEL OF THE EAST ENTRANCE.

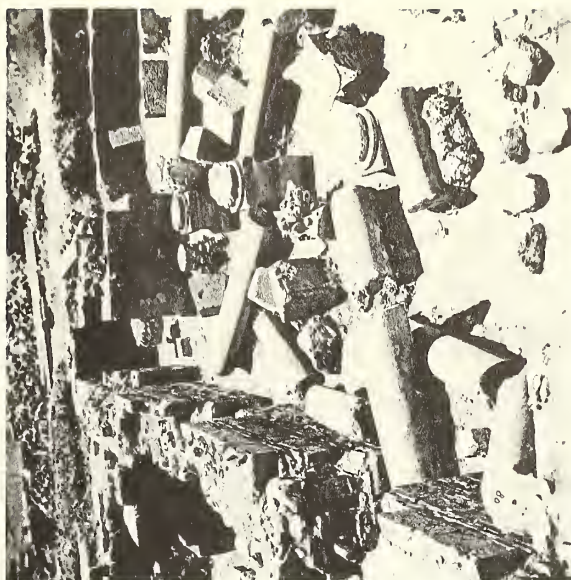


FIG. 10.—SOUTH APSIDAL ROOM.

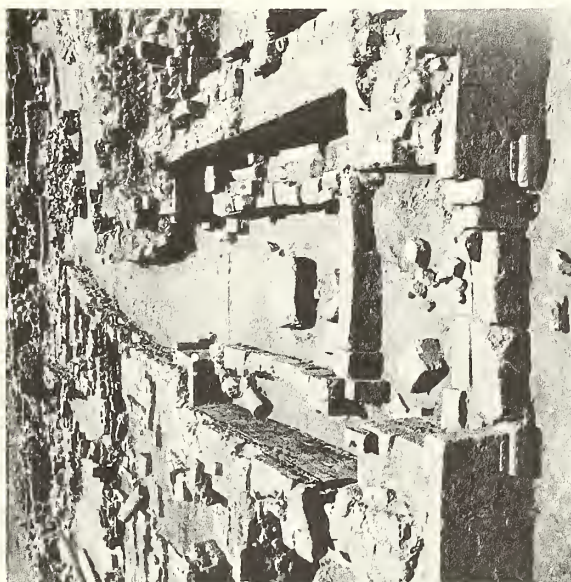
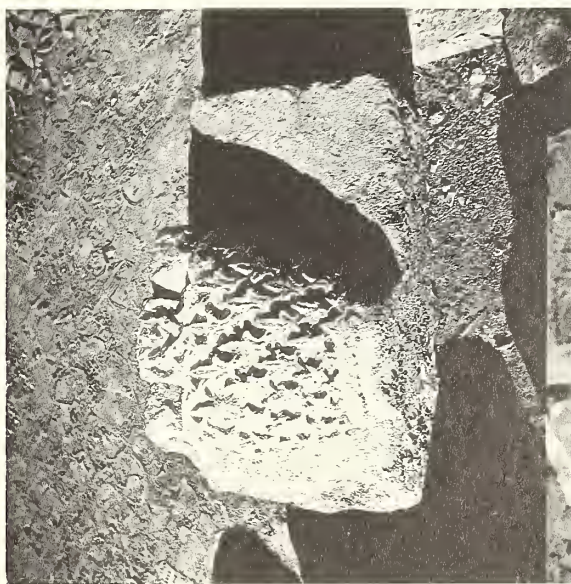


FIG. 9.—WEST ENTRANCE OF THE RESIDENTIAL AREA.

FIG. 8.—CAPITAL OF A NICHE NEAR THE  
WEST ENTRANCE.



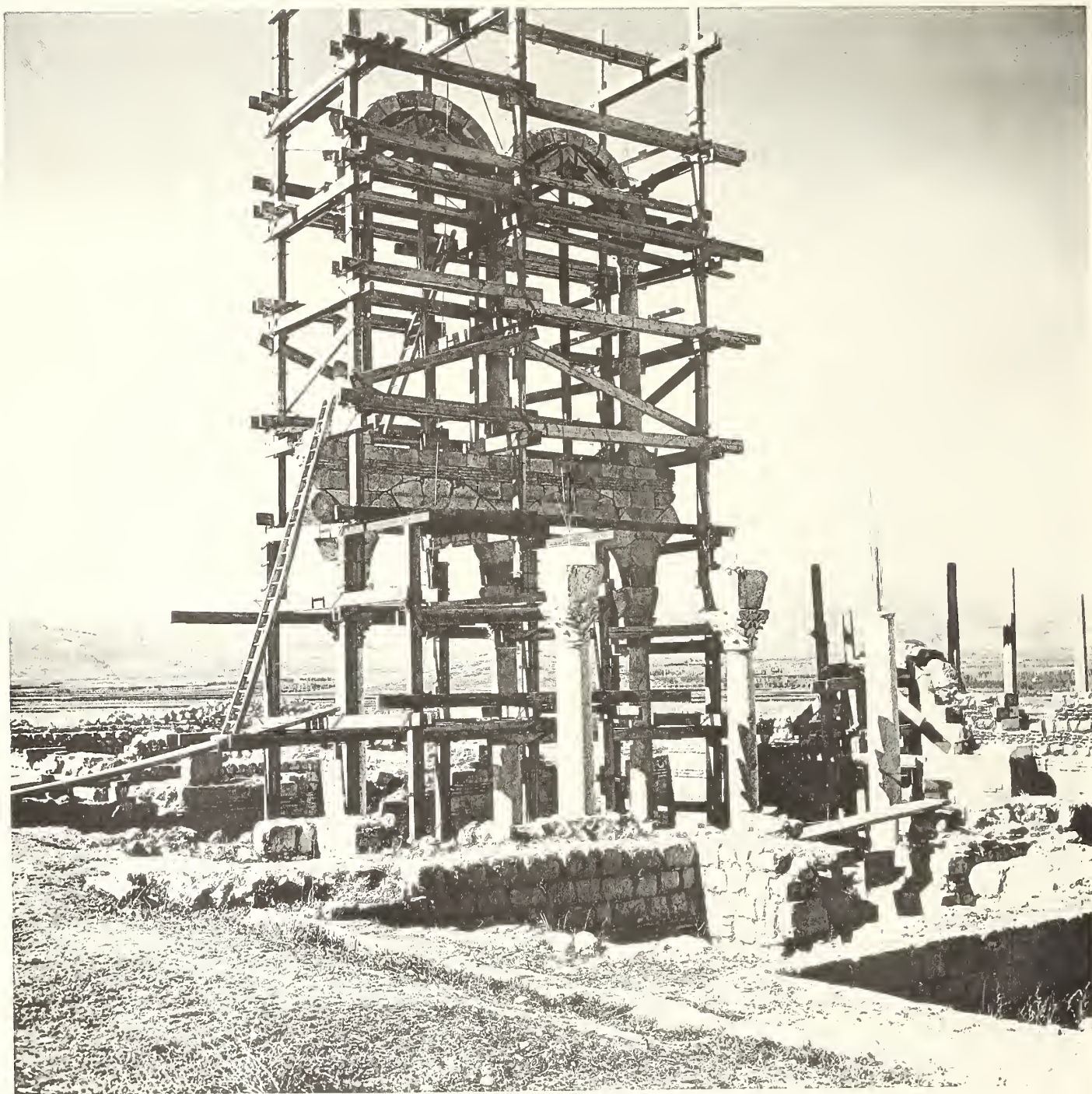


FIG. 11.—APSIDAL ROOM PARTIALLY RESTORED.



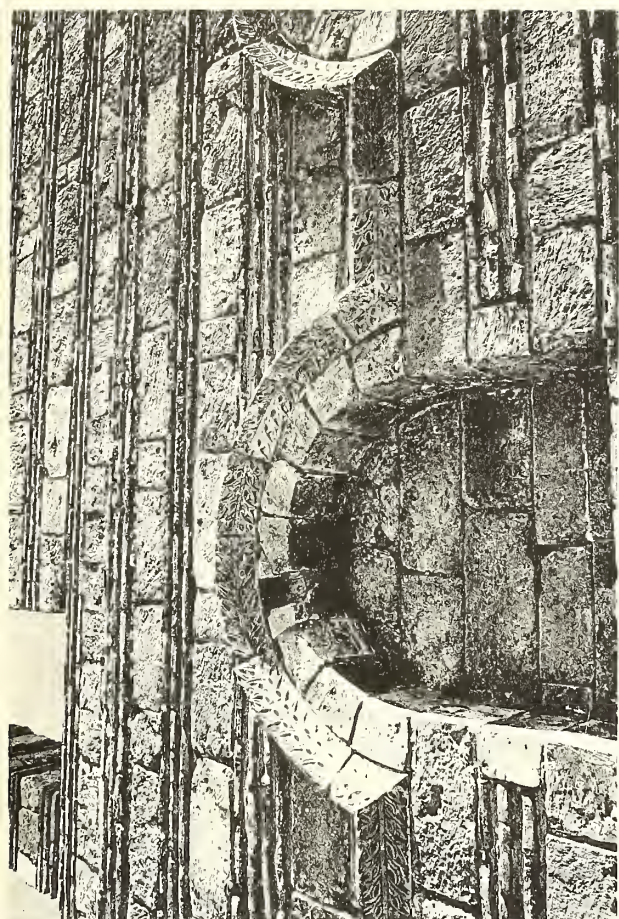


FIG. 14.—WINDOW IN THE LOWER PART OF THE FAÇADE, WEST SIDE.

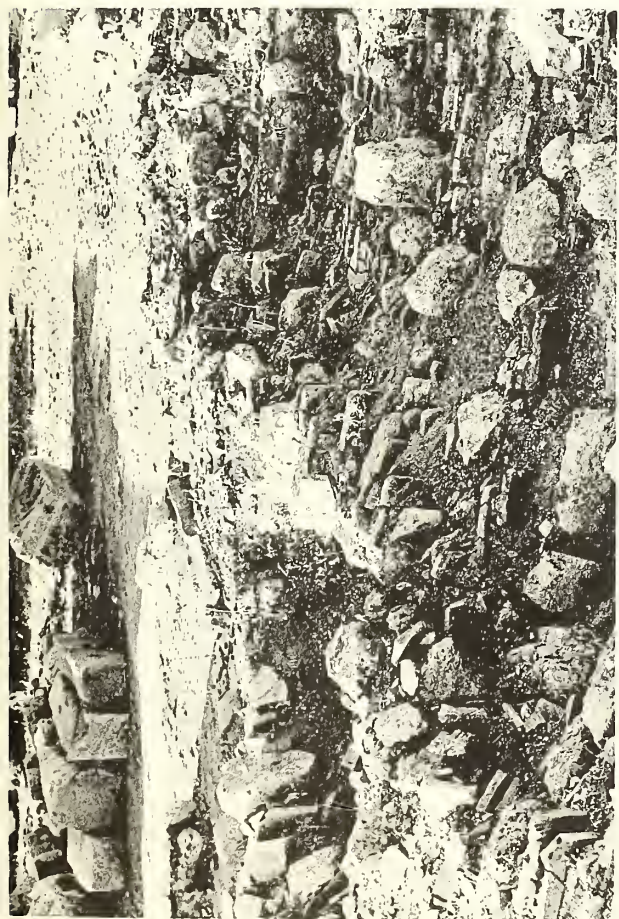


FIG. 12.—SOUTH FAÇADE FALLEN INTO THE COURTYARD.

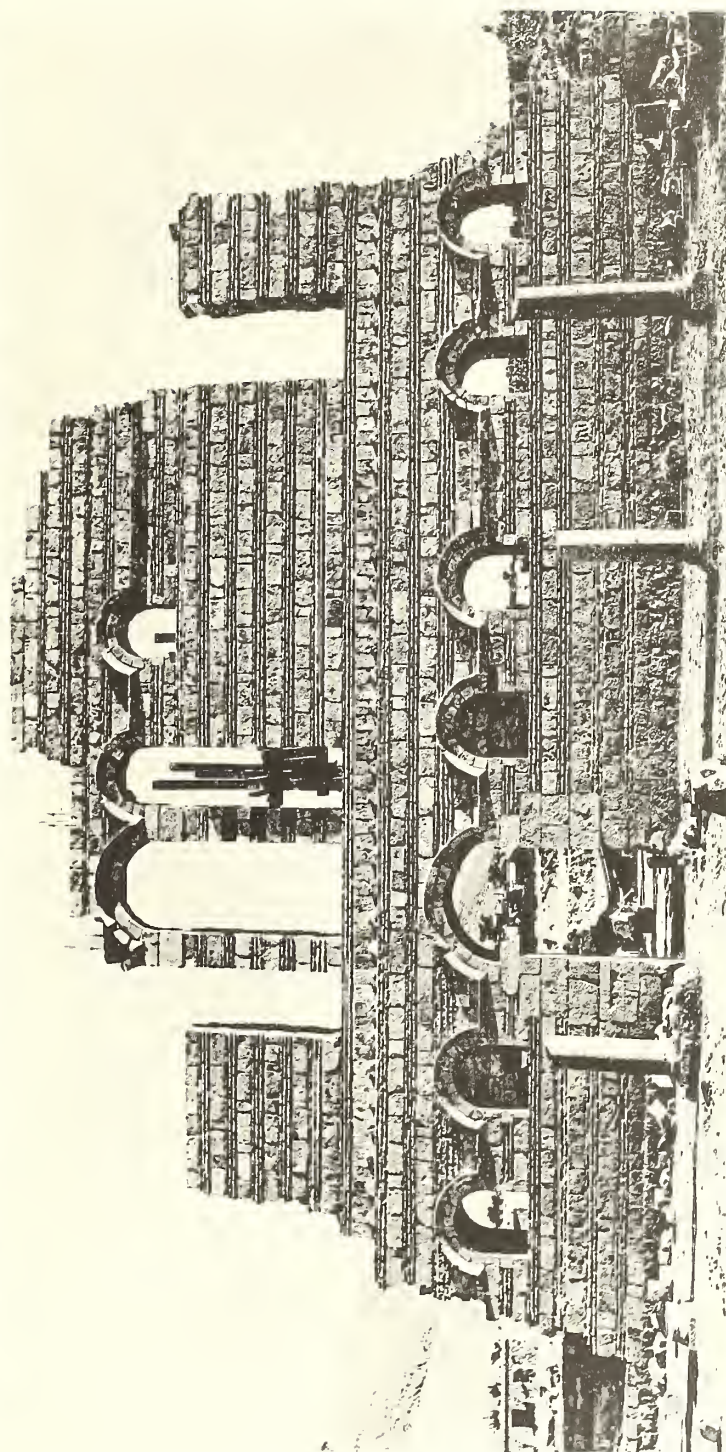


FIG. 13.—FAÇADE OF THE LARGE ROOM PARTIALLY RESTORED.





FIG. 15.—WINDOW IN THE LOWER PART OF THE FAÇADE, EAST SIDE.



FIG. 16.—WINDOW IN THE UPPER PART OF THE FAÇADE.



FIG. 17.—FRONTAL OF THE NICHE NEAR THE MAIN ENTRANCE.

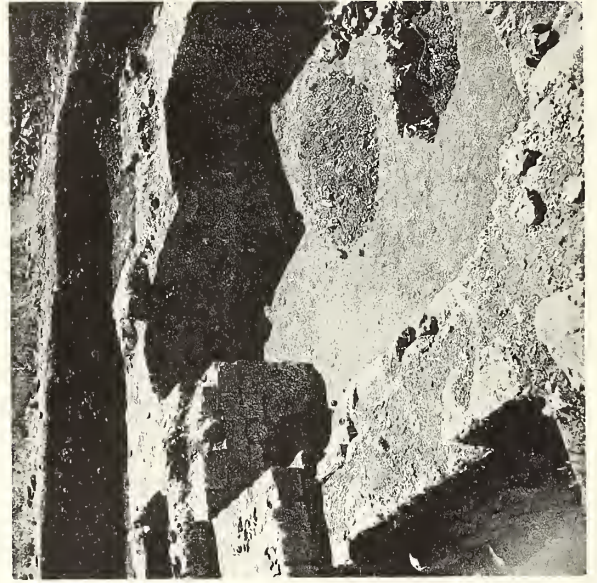


FIG. 18.—BATH CHAMBER OVER THE FURNACES.



1114-15, Taghtakīn and Bursukī attacked Raymond de St. Gilles there.<sup>35</sup> In 1176-77 Shams al-Dawlah, brother of Saladin, engaged the Franks in an important battle there.<sup>36</sup> In 1184-85 Saladin himself went to 'Anjar to

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<sup>35</sup> Ibn al-Jawzī, *Mir'āt al-Zamān fī tarīkh al-A'yān*, *Historiens orientaux des croisades*, vol. 3, Paris, 1872-1906, p. 557.

<sup>36</sup> Abou Shāma, *K. al-Rawḍatayn*, *Historiens orientaux des croisades*, vol. 4, pp. 183-184.

receive Nūr al-dīn b. Qara Arslān.<sup>37</sup> In 1623, Fakhr al-dīn II fought there with Muṣṭafa, pasha of Damascus, in a battle which raged from the Roman temple to the *birket*.

But if Majdal 'Anjar of our time is again a large village, 'Anjar's revival is due only to the settlement of Armenian refugees on the outskirts of the ruins, which remain, despite the centuries, in the public domain.

<sup>37</sup> Ibn Shaddad, *al-Nawādir*, *Historiens orientaux des croisades*, vol. 3, p. 80.





# RECHERCHES SUR LA MOSQUÉE AL-AQṢĀ ET SUR SES MOSAÏQUES

PAR HENRI STERN

LA MOSQUÉE DE JÉRUSALEM, CONNUE SOUS LE nom al-Aqṣā "La Lointaine," est avec celle de Médine l'un des plus vénérables sanctuaires du monde islamique. La tradition y rattache le voyage nocturne du Prophète, elle se trouve sur le célèbre plateau du Haram, à l'emplacement du Temple juif, et face à cet autre sanctuaire commémoratif, le Dôme du Rocher, dont on a montré récemment la grande importance religieuse et politique.<sup>1</sup>

Introduite dans nos études par Mélichior de Vogüé,<sup>2</sup> l'Aqṣā n'a cessé depuis bientôt cent ans d'attirer l'attention des savants. Fondée à la fin du VII<sup>e</sup> ou au début du VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, endommagée et transformée à maintes reprises, occupée pendant presque un siècle par les croisés (de 1099 à 1183), reprise ensuite par les Seldjoukides, elle a subi de si nombreuses modifications et mutilations que son histoire a paru longtemps inextricable.

## I. L'ÉDIFICE OMEYYADE ET ABBASIDE

L'étude que lui a consacrée récemment l'architecte R. W. Hamilton a fait la lumière sur bien des points obscurs de cette histoire.<sup>3</sup> Directeur du Service britannique des Antiquités de la Palestine, l'auteur a eu la charge, entre 1938 et 1942, de diriger la restauration de certaines parties de l'édifice. A cette occasion il a fait une série d'observations du plus grand intérêt. Le but de la présente étude ne peut être d'en remettre en question les résultats matériels, mais d'en discuter l'interprétation.

<sup>1</sup> O. Grabar, *The Umayyad Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem*, *Ars Orientalis*, vol. 3, 1959, pp. 33-62.

<sup>2</sup> M. de Vogüé, *Le temple de Jérusalem*, Paris, 1864, pp. 99-104.

<sup>3</sup> R. W. Hamilton, *The structural history of the Aqsa mosque*, Jérusalem—Oxford, 1949.

Ces résultats posent en effet des problèmes dont la solution est de première importance pour l'histoire de l'édifice et, de façon plus générale, des débuts de l'art musulman. Dans une II<sup>e</sup> partie nous étudierons les mosaïques qui ornent l'arc de triomphe et la coupole et qui, jusqu'ici, n'ont jamais fait l'objet d'un examen approfondi.

Deux savants, K. A. C. Creswell<sup>4</sup> et J. Sauvaget<sup>5</sup> se sont penchés peu de temps avant M. Hamilton sur l'histoire architecturale de l'Aqṣā. Le premier avait proposé les grandes lignes d'une chronologie suivies par M. Hamilton. L'essentiel du plan actuel serait l'oeuvre des princes 'abbasides Manṣūr (751-774) et Mahdī (775-784). La mosquée antérieure, l'oeuvre de Walid I<sup>er</sup> (705-715), aurait été détruite en grande partie lors de deux tremblements de terre, l'un de 746, l'autre entre 771 et 780. La coupole et le transept appartiendraient à cette reconstruction 'abbaside, ainsi que le tracé des sept nefs subsistantes dont le gros oeuvre aurait cependant été repris au XI<sup>e</sup> et au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle. J. Sauvaget s'est opposé catégoriquement à cette thèse. Pour lui, le plan de l'édifice tel qu'il subsiste appartient aux Omeyyades. Il pense que des parties importantes de celui-ci existent encore.

Bien que M. Hamilton n'ait pu examiner de près que le transept à l'Est de la coupole, la nef centrale et les trois collatéraux à l'Est de celle-ci, ses observations lui ont permis de dégager avec une quasi-certitude trois phases de construction de l'édifice pré-latin (qui seul nous intéresse ici). Dans la partie est du transept,

<sup>4</sup> K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim architecture*, vol. 2, Oxford, 1940.

<sup>5</sup> J. Sauvaget, *La mosquée omeyyade de Médine*, Paris, 1947, p. 100 et suiv., p. 188.

qui contrebut la coupole, il distingue deux campagnes:<sup>6</sup> à la première appartiennent la première colonnade longitudinale près de la coupole (*fig. A*) et les colonnes encastées de la troisième (*fig. B*). A la seconde, la colonnade longitudinale médiane, toutes les

actuelles: l'une de ses colonnades formait le prolongement de la première colonnade longitudinale du transept est (bases *g* et *i* de la *fig. B*), une deuxième (bases *a* et *b*) se trouvait sous celle qui, actuellement, borde la nef centrale à l'ouest. En outre, un pilier, adossé à

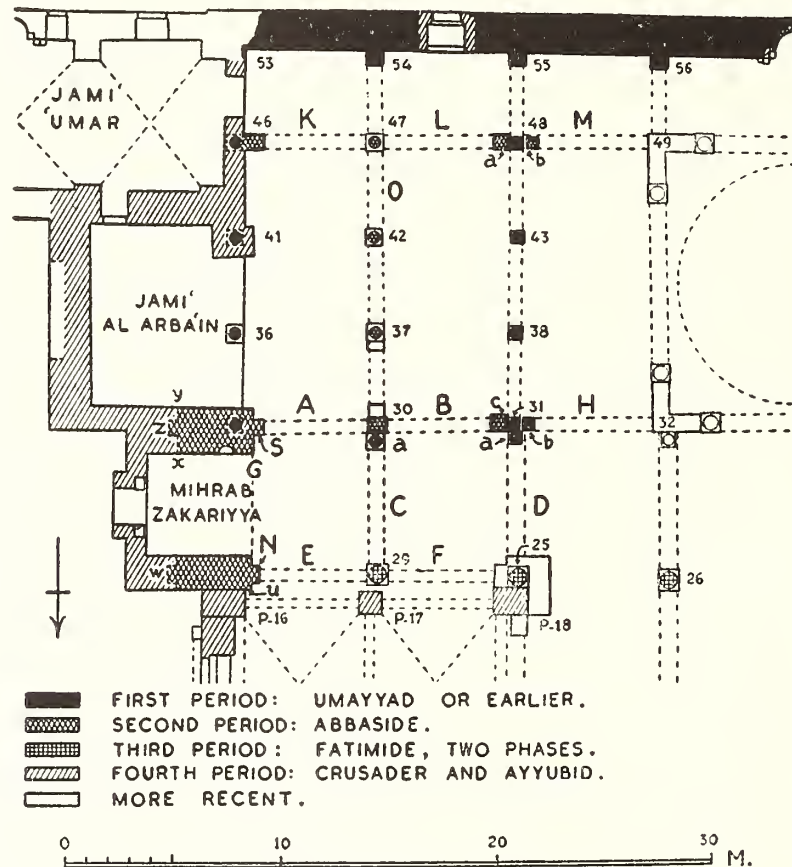


FIG. A.—LES DIFFÉRENTES PHASES DE CONSTRUCTION DU TRANSEPT EST, AQṢĀ.

colonnades transversales de cette partie et la coupole.

Dans les nefs (*fig. B*)<sup>7</sup> il a décelé à om80 sous le pavé actuel les substructions d'un édifice implanté comme la mosquée existante mais de 19m plus court au nord. Ses nefs longitudinales suivaient à peu près le tracé des nefs

l'intérieur de la façade nord ancienne, a été dégagé. Deux autres bases, de forme identique, *c* et *d*, à l'est de *a* et *b*, alignées également du nord au sud, tracent une troisième colonnade qui esquisse avec *a* et *b* une nef dont la largeur est d'un tiers plus étroite que celle des collatéraux actuels. M. Hamilton rattache ces restes à la première phase qu'il a repérée dans le transept et il appelle cet ensemble l'Aqṣā I.

<sup>6</sup> Hamilton, *o.l.*, fig. 7 et 40.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, fig. 30.



Dans une deuxième campagne on a conservé le tracé de ces colonnades, à l'exception de celle indiquée par les bases *c* et *d*, en les pro-

les du transept qui la contrebutent. La nef centrale a été élargie pour recevoir la butée de la coupole. Dans une troisième phase enfin, au

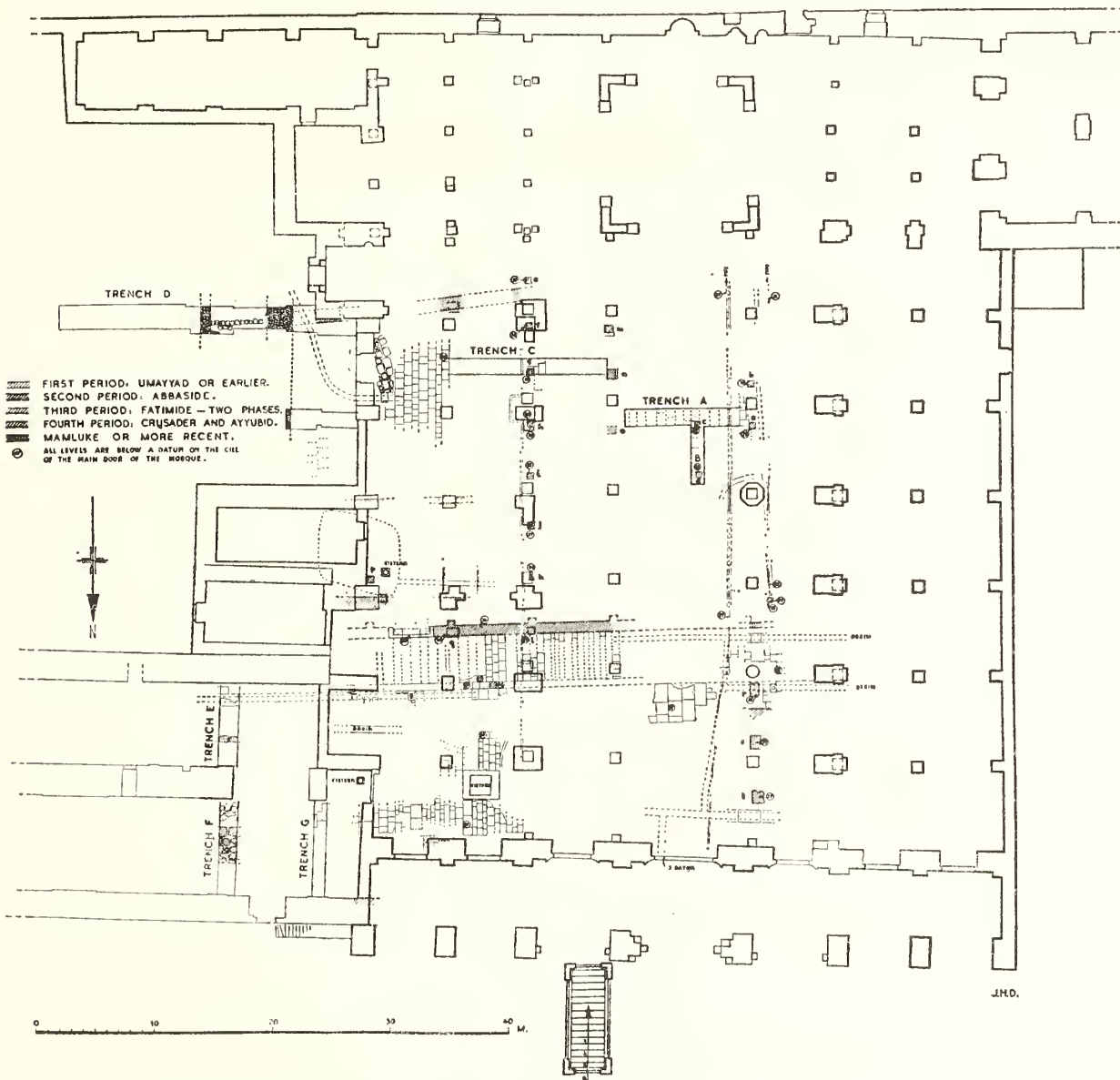


FIG. B.—LES DIFFÉRENTES PHASES DE CONSTRUCTION DE LA NEF CENTRALE ET DES COLLATÉRAUX EST, AQṢĀ.

longeant de 19m au nord (bases *l* et *q*) jusqu'à l'alignement de la façade actuelle (sauf le porche qui date du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle). On a construit la coupole et les colonnades transversa-

XI<sup>e</sup> siècle, les nefs ont été reconstruites en grande partie sans que l'essentiel du plan ait été modifié.

Voici l'interprétation historique que M.

Hamilton donne de ces données archéologiques. L'édifice I présenterait les restes de la mosquée omeyyade construite par Walid Ier. Elle n'avait pas de coupole: en effet, l'existence de celle-ci est exclue par l'exigüité de la nef attenante et par l'absence d'un transept à colonnades transversales. On en ignore l'étendue vers l'est et vers l'ouest, ainsi que l'emplacement du *mihrāb* qui n'a pu se trouver à sa place actuelle: la colonnade esquissée par *c* et *d* aurait buté contre ce *mihrāb*.<sup>8</sup>

L'édifice II, dont les parties sous la coupole, l'emplacement du *mihrāb* et le transept sont conservés, appartiendrait aux 'Abbasides. Il a la même longueur du nord au sud que l'édifice actuel.<sup>9</sup>

L'existence de ces deux premières phases de construction me paraît assurée, encore qu'il y ait flottement sur la largeur de la nef centrale. Il en est autrement de leur attribution respective aux Omeyyades et aux Abbasides. M. Hamilton s'appuie, pour la justifier, sur les

<sup>8</sup> Le problème posé par le mur de la qiblah et partant par l'emplacement du *mihrāb* n'a malheureusement pu être résolu, l'Auteur n'ayant pas eu la possibilité d'examiner de près cette partie de l'édifice. Il n'a d'ailleurs pas pris en considération un fait qui me paraît être digne de remarque. La largeur additionnée de la nef étroite et de la nef normale voisine est celle de la nef centrale actuelle. Aussi serait-il possible que les deux bases *c* et *d* n'appartiennent pas à la colonnade d'une nef, mais à une construction secondaire quelleconque, chaire à prêcher par ex., et que l'édifice I avait une nef centrale de même largeur que l'édifice II.

<sup>9</sup> Cet édifice comptait d'après Muqaddasī, auteur du Xe siècle (voir plus loin, p. 33), sept nefs de part et d'autre de la nef centrale. Les quatre collatéraux extérieurs de chaque côté semblent avoir disparu lors du séisme de 1034 et des travaux de reconstruction du calife Zāhir. Un auteur persan, Nāsir-i-Khusrau, qui vint à Jérusalem en 1047, parle en effet de cinq portes seulement sur la façade nord (cf. G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, Londres, 1890, p. 106; en fait il devait y avoir sept portes, mais les deux extérieures avaient peut-être été murées).

textes cités par M. Creswell.<sup>10</sup> Suivant ces textes 'Abd al-Malik ou Walid Ier ont fondé l'édifice. Selon le *Muthīr al-Gharām* de 1351 par Hilāl al-Maqdisī les deux tremblements de terre mentionnés auraient jeté bas les parties est et ouest de la mosquée omeyyade. M. Creswell en a conclu à deux reconstructions 'abbasides, l'une par Maṣṣūr, l'autre par Maḥdī.<sup>11</sup> M. Hamilton les réduit à une seule qu'il place entre 771 et 780. Cette reconstruction aurait donné à l'édifice le plan et la structure que nous savons.

Le texte du *Muthīr* pose cependant des problèmes difficiles à résoudre: il date le premier séisme de 746, du règne des Omeyyades, tout en attribuant la reconstruction à un prince 'abbaside. Et il dit que Maḥdī aurait fait *raccourcir* la mosquée de ses prédécesseurs, alors que, selon M. Hamilton, l'édifice abbaside est de 19m *plus long* que l'Aqṣā I. Aussi me semble-t-il préférable de revenir pour ce texte aux remarques prudentes de J. Sauvaget<sup>12</sup> qui en admet le bien-fondé dans la mesure seulement où il est confirmé par Muqaddasī, auteur infiniment plus près des faits relatés (985) et, de plus, originaire de Jérusalem.<sup>13</sup>

Or, Muqaddasī ne parle que d'un *seul* séisme et d'une *seule* reconstruction par Maḥdī. Mais il y a plus: son texte précis et relativement détaillé est en contradiction formelle avec la thèse de M. Hamilton. Voici les passages de

<sup>10</sup> *O.L.*, p. 119 et suiv.

<sup>11</sup> En suivant G. Le Strange, *o.l.*, p. 92, qui les date de 771 et 780; car en ces années, selon les chroniqueurs, les deux califes auraient séjourné à Jérusalem. Mais les chroniques font le silence sur des travaux dans l'Aqṣā. On voit que ces dates sont parfaitement hypothétiques.

<sup>12</sup> *O.L.*, p. 188.

<sup>13</sup> J. Sauvaget, *ibid.*, note en outre que le texte de Denys de Tell Mahré (fin du VIIIe siècle jusqu'au 22 août 845), cité par M. Creswell à l'appui du *Muthīr*, doit être reçu avec la plus grande réserve; il affirme en effet le fait surprenant qu'al-Maṣṣūr aurait transformé le Temple de Jérusalem en mosquée.



ce texte qui nous importent : <sup>14</sup> "Mais aux jours des Abbasides survint le séisme qui jeta bas la plus grande partie de l'édifice (sc. de l'Aqṣā omeyyade), tout en effet sauf la partie qui est autour du *miḥrāb*. . . ." Suit le récit des mesures prises par Mahdī pour trouver les fonds nécessaires à la reconstruction. ". . . et l'édifice s'éleva plus résistant et plus solide qu'il n'avait été auparavant. La partie ancienne resta pareille à un grain de beauté au milieu de la construction nouvelle; elle s'étend jusqu'où vont les colonnes de marbre." Donc, selon Muqaddasī, le *miḥrāb* de la mosquée omeyyade était resté debout. N'ayant pas non plus changé de place par la suite, force nous est d'admettre qu'il se trouve toujours à son emplacement primitif. L'édifice I de M. Hamilton dont l'agencement exclut cet emplacement du *miḥrāb* ne peut être l'édifice omeyyade dont parle Muqaddasī. J'irais même plus loin. L'expression "pareille à un grain de beauté" <sup>15</sup> s'applique parfaitement à l'ensemble de la croisée avec sa coupole ornée probablement de mosaïques. <sup>16</sup> Et dans la mosquée actuelle les colonnes (anciennes) du transept est et celles de la croisée sont en marbre alors que celles des nefs longitudinales sont de pierre. <sup>17</sup> Le texte de Muqaddasī est en faveur de l'existence d'une coupole dans le sanctuaire omeyyade.

Que penser dans ces conditions de l'édifice I? Je proposerais d'y voir un premier projet

<sup>14</sup> Traduction dans Le Strange, *o.l.*, p. 97 et suiv.

<sup>15</sup> J'adopte pour ce passage la traduction de J. Sauvaget, *o.l.*, p. 101; Le Strange, *o.l.*, p. 98, traduit par "like a beautiful spot."

<sup>16</sup> Voir *infra*, p. 40.

<sup>17</sup> Voir Hamilton, *o.l.*, p. 13 et suiv. et *idem*, sur les colonnes de la nef central et du collatéral est, *Some capitals from the Aqsa mosque*, The Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine, vol. 13, 1948, p. 103 à 120. La partie ouest du transept n'a pu être étudiée par l'Auteur et nous ignorons la nature de ses colonnes.

abandonné au cours de la construction. <sup>18</sup> Nous savons par un certain nombre de papyrus <sup>19</sup> que Walid a fait exécuter des travaux à l'Aqṣā pendant plusieurs années. D'autre part, Muqaddasī et d'autres auteurs <sup>20</sup> affirment qu'elle a été fondée par 'Abd al-Malik. On pourrait admettre les deux faits en attribuant la fondation à ce dernier, le nouveau plan et l'achèvement à son successeur. Les travaux des 'Abbasides auraient été de pure restauration et n'auraient pas modifié le plan. <sup>21</sup>

Des considérations historiques et un certain nombre de faits archéologiques viennent à l'appui de cette hypothèse. L'Aqṣā II est un édifice beaucoup plus important par ses dimensions et par son plan que l'humble bâtiment qui l'a précédée. Cette deuxième mosquée est alignée sur le Dôme du Rocher, ce qui n'était pas le cas de l'Aqṣā I: son axe nord-sud passe

<sup>18</sup> Il ne peut être question d'y voir les restes de l'église de la Vierge, la *Néa* de Justinien, voir plus loin, p. 32, n. 23.

<sup>19</sup> Voir H. I. Bell, *A catalogue of Greek papyri in the British Museum, The Aphrodite Papyri*, Londres, 1910, surtout No. 1403, qui est une lettre datée entre 709 et 714; cf. aussi Nos. 1414, 1435 (de 715/16), 1439, 1441 (de 706), 1451 qui parlent également de travaux à la mosquée de Jérusalem; *idem*, *The Aphrodite papyri*, Journal of Hellenic Studies, vol. 28, 1908, p. 116 et suiv.; *idem*, *Translations of the Greek Aphrodite papyri*, Der Islam, vol. 2, 1911, p. 269 et suiv., p. 372 et suiv.; vol. 3, 1912, p. 132 et suiv.; vol. 4, 1913, p. 87 et suiv.

<sup>20</sup> K. A. C. Creswell, *o.l.*, p. 119 et suiv.

<sup>21</sup> A moins qu'ils n'aient ajouté une partie des collatéraux. On est surpris de lire dans E. Lambert, *Les origines de la mosquée et de l'architecture religieuse des Omeyyades*, Studia Islamica, vol. 6, Paris, 1956, p. 16, que l'Aqṣā est aujourd'hui plus large que longue, alors qu'elle mesure 55m de large sur 70m de long, et que "la plupart des nefs actuelles ont été ajoutées après coup de part et d'autre d'une partie plus ancienne, comprenant seulement à l'origine la nef centrale et les deux nefs immédiatement voisines de celle-ci à gauche et à droite." C'était l'opinion de De Vogüé, abandonnée depuis longtemps et controvée par les recherches de M. Hamilton.

par le *mihrāb* et par le centre du Rocher, les deux édifices forment un ensemble architectural uni. L'homogénéité de ce groupe a frappé les observateurs musulmans dès le début. Selon Muqaddasī elle s'explique par le désir de placer le *mihrāb* face au Rocher.<sup>22</sup>

Cette cohérence du groupe et le plan de la mosquée ont donné lieu à une hypothèse qui, une fois admise, ne favorise pas non plus l'attribution de l'édifice II aux 'Abbasides. On sait que le plan de l'Aqṣā est aberrant: c'est la seule parmi les mosquées omeyyades syriennes qui ait des vaisseaux *oblongs*. Tous les observateurs ont été frappés par cette anomalie, inhérente au plan depuis le début. A la suite de M. de Vogüé, R. Hartmann a essayé de l'expliquer par l'utilisation des substructions de l'église justinienne de la Vierge,<sup>23</sup> thèse irrecevable pour deux raisons: aucune trace d'une construction chrétienne n'a été trouvée sous la mosquée et l'orientation nord-sud d'une église du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle, plus aberrante encore que le plan de la mosquée, est proprement

<sup>22</sup> L'auteur propose en fait deux explications pour l'emplacement de l'Aqṣā au sud-ouest du Haram, face à la Sakhra, et qui laisse vide toute la partie sud-est du plateau. L'une est celle que nous avons citée. Selon l'autre, Omar aurait prié dans la partie sud-ouest du terrain, cf. Le Strange, *o.l.*, p. 99.

<sup>23</sup> De Vogüé, *o.l.*, p. 99 et pl. XXX, avait exprimé, sous une forme très prudente, l'hypothèse que les substructions de l'Aqṣā seraient en partie celles de l'église de la Vierge, la *Néa*, que Justinien avait fait construire à Jérusalem, cf. Procope, *De aedificiis*, vol. 6. Mais sur son plan de l'Aqṣā, pl. XXX, les parties "chrétiennes" de la mosquée se distinguent à peine des parties musulmanes. R. Hartmann a pris cette hypothèse de De Vogüé pour point de départ d'une étude *Geschichte der Aksā-Moschee zu Jerusalem*, Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästinavereins, vol. 32, 1909, p. 185 à 207, où il développe longuement l'idée que le plan cruciforme de l'Aqṣā serait commandé par celui de l'église chrétienne. K. A. C. Creswell, *La mosquée el-Aqṣā et la Néa de Justinien*, Byzantion, vol. 4, 1927/28, p. 301 à 311, a combattu cette thèse, mais avec des arguments qui ne convainquent pas.

impossible. Au contraire, l'idée de M. Richmond que le groupe entier du Haram, le Dôme du Rocher et l'Aqṣā, est inspiré par les édifices constantiniens du Golgotha, l'église du Saint-Sépulcre (*l'Anastasis*) et la Basilique (le Martyrium), a toutes les chances de l'expliquer.<sup>24</sup>

Muqaddasī relève les liens entre la Sakhra et le Saint-Sépulcre: ". . . 'Abd el-Malik, voyant la grandeur du Dôme du Saint-Sépulcre et sa magnificence, était inquiet de ce que les esprits des Musulmans n'en soient éblouis et c'est ainsi qu'il fit bâtir au-dessus du Rocher la coupole qu'on y voit encore." Et voilà ce qu'il dit de l'Aqṣā: "Cette mosquée est plus belle encore que celle de Damas; car pendant sa construction elle avait comme rivale et comme exemple la grande église (du Golgotha) à Jérusalem qui appartenait aux Chrétiens."<sup>25</sup> Ce dernier rapprochement frappe d'autant plus que de récentes études permettent d'entrevoir des liens plus étroits qu'on n'a pensé jusqu'ici entre les plans de l'église et de la mosquée.

On sait par Eusèbe<sup>26</sup> que Constantin et son fils Constance II firent construire sur le Golgotha la rotonde du Sépulcre et à l'Est de celle-ci, exactement dans l'axe, une basilique à cinq nefs, appelée *Martyrium*. La reconstitution du plan de cette basilique sur le modèle de l'ancien Saint-Pierre de Rome, avec une

<sup>24</sup> Cf. J. Sauvaget, *o.l.*, p. 101.

<sup>25</sup> Le Strange, *o.l.*, p. 97.

<sup>26</sup> Eusèbe, *Vie de Constantin*, vol. 3, p. 25 (éd. J. A. Heikel, vol. 1, p. 89, et suiv.) L'authenticité de cet écrit a été contestée par H. Grégoire, dans *Byzantion*, vol. 13, 1938, pp. 561-583, et dans *Bulletin de l'Académie royale de Belgique, Sciences morales et politiques*, vol. 39, 1953, pp. 467 à 479. L'état de la question a été résumé par A. Casamassa et E. Josi, dans *X Congresso internazionale di scienze storiche, Roma, 4-11 settembre 1955, Riassunti delle comunicazioni*, vol. 7, Florence, 1956, pp. 164 à 166. La question ne nous concerne pas ici, puisque ce "faux" eusébien est de toute manière antérieur au Ve siècle.



abside à l'ouest, admise jusqu'à ces temps derniers, est probablement à reviser sur un point : sur la foi du texte d'Eusèbe on peut restituer à la place de l'abside une *rotonde* couverte d'une coupole,<sup>27</sup> restée debout jusqu'en 1009. Transposées dans le langage architectural du VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle et adaptées au besoin du culte musulman, les deux parties du *Martyrium*, la salle d'assemblée à nefs longitudinales et la rotonde à coupole sont les parties caractéristiques—et aberrantes—de l'Aqṣā.<sup>28</sup> Dôme du Rocher et Aqṣā seraient donc conçus, chacun en soi et l'un par rapport à l'autre, comme les pendants des édifices chrétiens du Golgotha, l'*Anastasis* et le *Martyrium*.

Etant donné les incidences politiques dans l'activité constructrice des Omeyyades<sup>29</sup> il serait étrange qu'Abd al-Malik ou Walīd I<sup>er</sup> se soient contentés de l'humble édifice que nous connaissons, laissant aux princes 'abbasides le soin de donner à la mosquée et partant au groupe tout entier sa forme hautement significative. Donc, les conditions historiques ne sont pas plus en faveur de cette hypothèse que les textes cités. Certains faits archéologiques que nous allons examiner maintenant nous permettront de l'éliminer définitivement.

Avant de les étudier, un mot sur la destinée ultérieure de la mosquée jusqu'à l'arrivée des croisés en 1099. L'édifice II, reconstruit partiellement, mais non modifié par al-Mahdi, semble être resté intact et en usage jusqu'au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Muqaddasī le décrit comme un grand quadrilatère à coupole avec quinze nefs

longitudinales, sept de part et d'autre de la nef centrale, accessible par quinze portes au nord. Sur le côté est on y pénétrait par onze autres portes correspondant aux onze travées qui existent encore. Un séisme endommagea cet édifice en 1034. La nef centrale fut rebâtie sur un plan très légèrement retréci. Nous parlerons plus loin des mosaïques qu'on appliqua au tambour de la coupole et à l'arc qui fait face à la nef.

Pour cette reconstruction un certain nombre d'éléments, bois sculptés, frises et colonnes de l'édifice antérieur, furent utilisés. Parmi les bois le groupe le plus important est celui des blochets qui supportaient les poutres apparentes de la charpente au-dessus de la nef centrale.<sup>30</sup> G. Marçais, qui les a publiés,<sup>31</sup> pense qu'ils sont omeyyades, bien que dans le même volume K. A. C. Creswell date la nef centrale de l'époque abbaside.<sup>32</sup> J. Sauvaget<sup>33</sup> adoptait cette attribution par G. Marçais sans hésiter et pensait même que les blochets étaient en place (avant 1938, bien entendu).

M. Hamilton a montré que ces tablettes ont été confectionnées pour les poutres mêmes (d'environ 12m de long) qu'elles ornaient jusqu'à la restauration de 1938.<sup>34</sup> Ayant écarté l'existence d'une large nef centrale dans la mosquée d'al-Walīd I<sup>er</sup>, il ne put que les at-

<sup>27</sup> A. K. Orlandos, *La basilique paléochrétienne à toit de charpente du bassin méditerranéen* (en grec), vol. 2, Athènes, 1952, p. 606; J. G. Davies (indépendamment du précédent) *Eusebius' description of the martyrion at Jerusalem*, *American Journal of Archaeology*, vol. 66, 1957, p. 171-173.

<sup>28</sup> Sur les copies architecturales du moyen âge R. Krautheimer, *Iconography of mediaeval architecture*, *The Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 5, 1942, p. 1 à 33.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. O. Grabar, *o.l.*, *passim*.

<sup>30</sup> D'excellentes photographies et des relevés détaillés en ont été publiés par M. Hamilton, *o.l.*, p. 83 à 100, pl. L à LXXI. Trente-deux sur quarante tablettes des vingt grandes poutres transversales sont conservées, les huit des quatre poutres obliques, qui, au sud et au nord, étayent la dernière poutre transversale, ainsi que dix-sept sur vingt tablettes des 2 x 5 petites poutres longitudinales qui avaient la même destination, cf. *ibid.*, pl. XLIII.

<sup>31</sup> G. Marçais, *The panels of carved wood in the Aqsa mosque of Jerusalem*, dans K. A. C. Creswell, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 127 à 137.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 119 et suiv.

<sup>33</sup> *O.l.*, p. 188.

<sup>34</sup> Ces poutres ont été remplacées en 1938 par des tirants d'acier et déposées, comme les tablettes sculptées, au Musée du Ḥaram, où elles sont exposées.

tribuer aux 'Abbasides. Or, une étude du style de ces bois nous convaincra, je pense, de leur origine omeyyade. Les éléments de comparaison abondent. Depuis les études de R. W. Hamilton et de G. Marçais, la publication du château jordanien de Mafjar, palais arabe qui date du règne de Hishâm (723-745) est venue nous offrir des parallèles particulièrement suggestifs.<sup>35</sup> Nous nous contenterons d'évoquer les parallèles les plus frappants.

Palmettes d'acanthé: réunies en fleuron, A LVI, 8W en bas (*fig. 1*)—M XXVII, 19 (*fig. 2*); timbrées de palmettes vues de face, A LXXI, 17 (*fig. 3*)—M fig. 221c (*fig. 4*) de grappes de raisins, A LXI, 14E (*fig. 5*) en haut (ou de motifs apparentés)—M fig. 216c (*fig. 6*); parfois elles servent de base à une feuille trilobée, A LIII, 5W, à droite (*fig. 7*)—M, fig. 204 (*fig. 8*), 221d (*fig. 4*).

Feuilles de vigne: chargées de grappes de raisin ou de trois petites baies, A LXV, 19W (*fig. 9*)—M, fig. 215a (*fig. 1, a*), 217 (*fig. 1, d, e*); insérées dans des branchages enlacés au tracé et aux formes presque identiques dans les deux cas.

*Branchages*: Les tiges se terminent par des demi-palmettes dos à dos, un anneau à trois lobes les enserme, A LII, 3E en haut (*fig. 12*), —M, fig. 229 (*fig. 1, b*); des feuilles de vigne dressées remplissent les vides des sinuosités, A LII, 3E en haut (*fig. 12*), LXX, 1-4 (*fig. 13*)—M, fig. 229 (*fig. 14*) (ce dernier rapprochement a déjà été proposé par M. Hamilton, *Mafjar*, p. 274).

*Ornements géométriques*.—Entrelacs circulaires autour d'une rosace qui remplit la conque d'une petite niche, A LVII, 9E (*fig.*

15)—M, XXIV, P6 et P5 (*figs. 16 et 17*) cf. aussi, M, fig. 207 (*fig. 18*). Losange à bandes multiples, chargé au centre d'un fleuron à quatre feuilles trilobées, A LXII, 15W (*fig. 19*) à comparer avec M, fig. 232 (*fig. 20*). Grillage garni de demipalmettes, A, LV, 7W (*fig. 21*), à comparer avec M, XXXIV, 4 (*fig. 22*).

Ces ressemblances dont on pourrait aisément allonger la liste, ne se limitent pas aux motifs. La conception tout entière du décor, variation constante entre des formes naturalistes et géométriques, un goût très sûr dans la répartition des motifs, sont les mêmes dans ces boiseries et dans tous les autres décors omeyyades connus. Les praticiens qui ont exécuté ces tablettes ont dû passer par la même école que ceux qui ont créé les stucs et les sculptures en pierre des châteaux arabes contemporains.<sup>36</sup>

Nous ne connaissons pas encore l'évolution de ce style qui, débutant par les mosaïques du Dôme du Rocher (fin du VIIe siècle) et se terminant avec la chute des Omeyyades en 749, ne semble pas avoir fleuri pendant plus d'un demi-siècle.<sup>37</sup> Aussi est-il difficile de dater ces blochets. Pourtant quelques unes des poutres auxquelles ils étaient attachés portent des graffites, contemporains de leur confection. Selon M. Schwabe,<sup>38</sup> ils ne peuvent être postérieurs au début du VIIIe siècle. C'est à cette époque que nous proposons d'attribuer les tablettes.

Ainsi donc, poutres et blochets ne peuvent venir que de la charpente construite par al-Walid Ier. La mosquée omeyyade a dû possé-

<sup>35</sup> R. W. Hamilton, *Khirbat al Mafjar, an Arabian mansion in the Jordan valley*, Oxford, 1959 (=Hamilton, *Mafjar*). Nous désignerons les motifs des boiseries de l'Aqsâ par la lettre A et le No. de la planche dans Hamilton, *o.l.*, ceux de Mafjar par la lettre M et le No. de la planche ou de la figure dans Hamilton, *Mafjar*.

<sup>36</sup> Voir sur le style décoratif omeyyade mes remarques, *Quelques oeuvres sculptées en bois, os et ivoire de style omeyyade*, *Ars Orientalis*, vol. 1, 1954, p. 119 à 131.

<sup>37</sup> M. S. Dimand, *Studies in Islamic ornament*, *Ars Islamica*, vol. 4, 1937, p. 293 et suiv., a étudié le passage du style omeyyade au style 'abbaside, mais la documentation présentée est limitée.

<sup>38</sup> Hamilton, *Aqsâ*, p. 92 et p. 93 à 95.



der une nef centrale de même largeur et de même longueur que l'Aqṣā abbaside.

A l'époque fatimide, ces poutres ont été réadaptées à la nef rétrécie et les soffites décorés à neuf. On les a peints d'un rinceau d'acanthé, sauf un seul, celui de la huitième poutre en partant de la coupole.<sup>39</sup> Sous celle-ci M. Hamilton a dégagé, sous un revêtement moderne, un placage en bois sculpté dont le dessin a servi de modèle au décor peint des autres (fig. 23, détail). Il est clair que ce revêtement n'a pas été destiné dès le début à l'endroit où il a été trouvé. Il est composé tant bien que mal de quatre éléments identiques mis bout à bout qui, en partie, sont mutilés. Dans la partie de droite de la poutre seulement un élément entier subsiste. Une couronne de laurier au milieu envoie six enroulements d'acanthé et de cornes d'abondance de chaque côté. Le vide dans les sinuosités des rinceaux est rempli de feuilles d'acanthé et d'une rosette, la tige est bordée à l'intérieur d'un rang de perles. M. Hamilton pense que la couronne avait été remplie d'une croix, enlevée par les Musulmans, et que ces boiseries ornaient quelque édifice chrétien. Je ne puis le suivre. Aucune trace de cette croix ne se distingue sur ses (excellentes) photographies : on n'y voit que la trace d'un trou qu'on a bouché pour y peindre la même rosette qui, en relief, décore les sinuosités des rinceaux. M. Hamilton a sans doute raison de suggérer que la chaîne d'un luminaire passait par ce trou.

Le style de ces boiseries est omeyyade : il suffit d'en comparer les rinceaux d'acanthé avec ceux de Mafjar (M, fig. 168—fig. 24), 202, 215e) ou des blochets que nous venons d'étudier (A, L, 1E—fig. 25, LIV, 6E). Mouvement et dessin des feuilles d'acanthé qui sortent des tiges pour toucher un motif au centre sont presque identiques. Un seul trait est particulier à ce rinceau : la tige est devenue

un chapelet de perles. Ce n'est certainement pas une raison pour le considérer comme une oeuvre chrétienne du Ve siècle.<sup>40</sup> Bien au contraire ; le motif, inconnu par ailleurs, répond parfaitement à une tendance du style omeyyade : combiner des motifs floraux avec des joailleries.<sup>41</sup>

M. Hamilton a calculé à 4m45 la longueur des poutres auxquelles étaient destinées ces boiseries. Or, il ne trouve de place pour elles dans aucun des édifices qui ont précédé l'Aqṣā actuelle. Si cependant ses plans à l'échelle sont exacts,<sup>42</sup> la distance du milieu d'une colonne à l'autre dans les arcades longitudinales du transept est répond exactement à cette longueur. Ces boiseries viennent peut-être de là ou d'un autre endroit de l'Aqṣā omeyyade. Au XIe siècle, quelques morceaux restés intacts auraient été utilisés pour décorer une poutre de la nef centrale dont on a imité le dessin sur les autres.

Les poutres et les blochets confirment l'existence d'une large nef centrale dans la mosquée omeyyade, le soffite témoigne, avec eux, de la richesse décorative de cet édifice. Mais aucun de ces débris n'a été trouvé en place, tous ont été réutilisés lors de la reconstruction par Zāhir. Deux groupes seulement de débris de l'Aqṣā II se trouvent toujours à l'endroit pour lequel ils étaient destinés.

Nous avons nommé une corniche sculptée en pierre sous la coupole et les encadrements de trois portes de la façade nord. La corniche ceint la naissance de la calotte au-dessus d'un bandeau en bois qui porte une inscription de l'année 1817/18.<sup>43</sup> Au-dessus de ce bandeau,

<sup>40</sup> C'est l'opinion de M. Hamilton.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. les mosaïques du Dôme du Rocher et le triangle A de Mshatta. Sur Mshatta on trouvera une bibliographie complète dans K. A. C. Creswell, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 374-375.

<sup>42</sup> *O.L.*, figs. 1, 30, 40.

<sup>43</sup> Max Van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un corpus des inscriptions arabes*, vol. 2, part 2 (vol. 44

<sup>39</sup> Hamilton, *Aqṣā*, p. 89 et suiv., pl. XLVII.

sous les petites arcatures de la calotte, court la corniche, fortement profilée, ornée de feuilles d'acanthé qui se dressent sur deux moulures, la supérieure de pirouettes, l'inférieure d'un rang d'oves (*figs. 36, 40*). Les feuilles d'acanthé sont à sept lobes, trois de part et d'autre d'une large arête médiane en saillie qui se termine par un septième lobe, retombant de face. Les lobes sont à trois ou à deux digitations avec un creux au milieu. Le vide qui sépare en haut les feuilles d'acanthé les unes des autres est rempli d'une feuille dressée à trois pointes. Cette frise d'acanthé, garnie de la feuille dressée, inconnue sauf erreur dans l'art gréco-romain et byzantin, se retrouve au château de Mshatta (*fig. 26*) et à Mafjar (*fig. 27*), à l'exception du rang d'oves qui est remplacé soit par un rang de denticules soit par un ruban enroulé.<sup>44</sup>

Le rang d'oves, d'une apparence fort particulière (*figs. 36, 40*), n'est pas moins omeyyade. Les rebords des coquilles qui entourent les oves, sont transformés en petites feuilles, arrondies à la partie supérieure. En guise des fers de lance qui, depuis le II<sup>e</sup> siècle, séparent les oves, se dressent d'autres petites feuilles trilobées. Cette forme curieuse du rang d'oves est la même dans le beau revêtement en bois qui recouvre la face extérieure des tirants en bois et des piliers de l'octogone intermédiaire du Dôme du Rocher (*fig. 28*).<sup>45</sup> Et c'est aussi le décor le plus fréquent des chanfreins sur les blochets que nous venons d'étudier (*fig. 21*).<sup>46</sup>

des Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut d'archéologie orientale du Caire), Le Caire, 1927, No. 297, p. 442 et suiv.

<sup>44</sup> Le motif de Mshatta est reproduit dans un dessin par Creswell, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, fig. 256n, p. 367 (d'après Strzygowski) *fig. 26*; celui de Mafjar dans Hamilton, *Mafjar*, pl. L, 2 *fig. 27*.

<sup>45</sup> M. de Vogüé, *o.l.*, pl. XX, où les feuilles trilobées sont légèrement déformées, et Creswell, vol. 1, pl. II et fig. 18.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Hamilton, *Aqsā*, pl. LIV, 6W, LV, 7W, LVIII, 10W, etc.

L'extraordinaire fantaisie du sculpteur a cependant modifié et multiplié les formes.<sup>47</sup> Deux petits tronçons seulement de cette corniche au-dessus des fenêtres entre les 4<sup>e</sup> et 5<sup>e</sup>, les 6<sup>e</sup> et 7<sup>e</sup> panneaux, ont été refaits (*figs. 40, 41, 42*):<sup>48</sup> les feuilles d'acanthé y ont pris l'aspect de crabes. La corniche est donc en place et tend à prouver, par sa seule présence, que les murs du tambour sont omeyyades.<sup>49</sup>

Pour en finir un mot des encadrements fortement profilés des trois portes centrales de la façade nord (*fig. C*). Ils appartiennent selon M. Hamilton<sup>50</sup> à l'Aqsā II et donc aux 'Abbasides. Ces moulures sont pourtant les proches parentes de celles des portes de Mshatta.<sup>51</sup> De Vogüé les avait comparées aux cadres de la Porte Dorée du Haram que M. Hamilton attribue au VII<sup>e</sup> ou au VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle.<sup>52</sup> Elles sont pour nous, avec la corniche sous la coupole les seuls restes en place de la mosquée omeyyade.

Un groupe de dix-huit colonnes et de trois pilastres en pierre aux chapiteaux richement

<sup>47</sup> Les feuilles qui bordent les coquilles sont à deux ou trois lobes, par ex. Hamilton, *Aqsā*, pl. LVIII, 10E et 10W; parfois elles se rejoignent pour former comme une branche ondulée, par ex. *ibid.*, pl. LVI, 8W (*fig. 1*).

<sup>48</sup> Nous comptons les panneaux en regardant la fenêtre nord, qui se trouve au-dessus de l'arc face à la nef, et en avançant dans le sens contraire à la marche d'une aiguille de montre.

<sup>49</sup> Je dis bien "tend à prouver", car je juge d'après des photographies médiocres. Une corniche d'acanthé avec des oves semblables, sculptée en bois, se trouve à la naissance de certains arcs de la mosquée de Fustât, qui date de 827 (Creswell, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pl. XLII, pl. XLIII, a, b, c, d, e). Mais les petites feuilles à trois pointes qui, dans l'Aqsā et dans les décors omeyyades cités, se dressent entre les feuilles d'acanthé manquent et l'exécution est beaucoup moins fine.

<sup>50</sup> Hamilton, *Aqsā*, p. 30 et suiv.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, fig. 17, 18, 19 (*fig. C*), à comparer avec Creswell, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, fig. 477, p. 387.

<sup>52</sup> Voir *infra*.



sculptés, publiées par M. Hamilton,<sup>53</sup> est à joindre aux restes conservés de cette mosquée. Enlevées lors de la reconstruction de la nef centrale et des collatéraux est entre 1938 et 1942, elles sont entrées au Musée du Ḥaram. Deux de ces colonnes avec leurs chapiteaux ont été refaites, probablement au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle lors des travaux sous le calife al-Zāhir. Toutes les autres, y compris leurs chapiteaux (*fig. 29*) et leurs bases, ainsi que les trois pilastres, adossés à l'intérieur de la façade nord, sont d'une seule venue et, selon M. Hamilton, de la fin du VII<sup>e</sup>

pour trois raisons. (1) Le nombre insuffisant des colonnes (six par colonnade) dont deux ont été refaites exclut leur appartenance à la mosquée. (2) Les arcs des colonnades de la nef centrale de l'édifice II prenaient naissance directement sur les murs nord et sud *sans l'intermédiaire de pilastres*, donc la présence de ceux-ci ne s'explique pas. (3) Les bases trouvées sous les nefs et attribuées aux édifices 1 et 2 sont d'un diamètre moindre que celles des colonnes : om62 en moyenne contre om86.

La première de ces raisons me semble aléa-

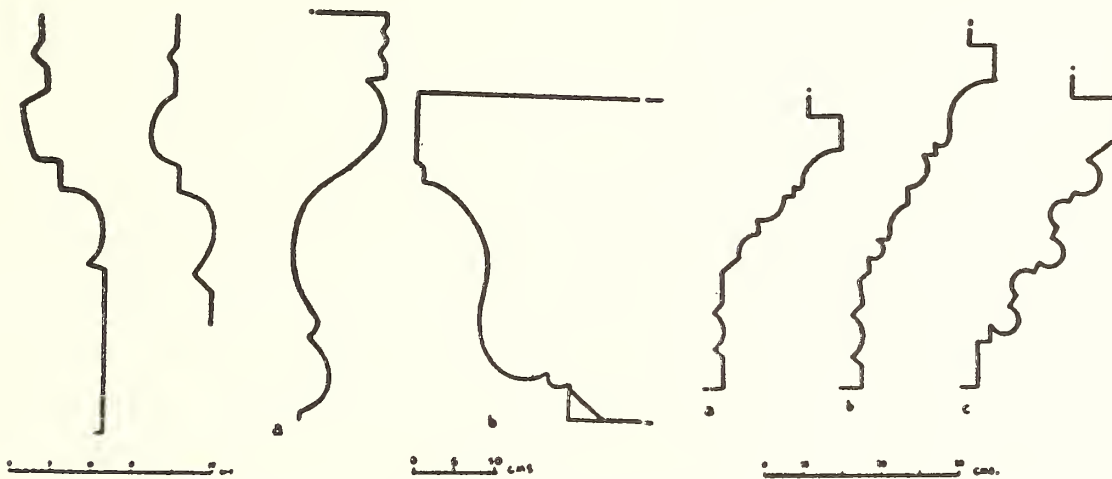


FIG. C.—PROFILS DES TROIS PORTES ANCIENNES ET DE LA CORNICHE, FAÇADE DE L'AQṢĀ.

ou du début du VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Elles sont extrêmement proches par le style des chapiteaux d'un château arabe de Transjordanie, al-Muwaqqar, datés par une inscription entre 720 et 724, et des chapiteaux de la Porte Dorée. Néanmoins l'Auteur pense que ces colonnes ne proviennent pas de l'Aqṣā même, mais d'un édifice chrétien proche, la basilique constantinienne du Golgotha, peut-être reconstruite au VII<sup>e</sup> siècle et démolie par Hakim en 1009/1010.

Il doute de leur provenance de l'Aqṣā II

<sup>53</sup> R. W. Hamilton, *Some capitals from the Aqsa mosque*, *loc. cit.*

toire: il est parfaitement possible que lors des séismes successifs, deux ou même plusieurs colonnes de l'Aqṣā ont été endommagées ou détruites<sup>54</sup> et qu'on a été obligé de les remplacer. Quant au deuxième argument il ne me paraît pas davantage valable. Le tracé des colonnades du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle ne coïncide pas exactement avec celui des édifices I et II. On ne put donc se servir de la naissance des arcs de celles-ci. Aussi a-t-on pu prendre les pilastres

<sup>54</sup> Nous ignorons d'ailleurs le nombre des colonnes anciennes qui peuvent être conservées dans les collatéraux ouest où elles sont enrobées dans un revêtement de plâtre qui n'a pas été enlevé.

ailleurs dans l'édifice (mur de la *qiblah*?). Quant au troisième argument il est délicat d'en faire état. Les résultats des fouilles restreintes et trop rapides ne sont pas absolument clairs sur ce point. M. Hamilton indique sur son plan une série de supports (*fig. B*) de l'édifice II (m, n, o, r, s, t) qui paraissent avoir les mêmes dimensions que ceux de l'édifice III (d'al-Zāhir), alors que d'autres (e, f, h, j, l) sont aussi étroites que les bases de l'édifice I (a, b, c, d, g, i).

On voit que les faits archéologiques n'obligent nullement d'attribuer ces colonnes à un autre édifice que l'Aqṣā. D'ailleurs l'hypothèse de l'Auteur sur leur provenance est, de son propre aveu, fragile. Après la destruction des édifices chrétiens du Golgotha en 1009/10, un traité stipulant la restauration fut conclu en 1027 entre les Musulmans et les Byzantins. Il est vrai que ce traité ne fut mis à exécution qu'en 1047, mais il est peu probable qu'al-Zāhir se soit approprié entre temps les colonnes de la basilique. Enfin si l'on tient compte des autres restes de pur style omeyyade conservés dans la mosquée, l'attribution de ces colonnes au même édifice me paraît aller de soi.

Résumons. Ni les textes ou les conditions historiques, ni la présence de très nombreux débris de style omeyyade dans la mosquée actuelle ne favorisent la thèse de M. Hamilton que l'édifice II (avec une coupole et une large nef centrale) soit une création 'abbaside. Tout au contraire suggère de le considérer comme une oeuvre omeyyade: les princes de cette dynastie auraient conçu et fait exécuter ce groupe de deux sanctuaires pour créer le pendant musulman des édifices du Golgotha.

## II. LES MOSAÏQUES D'AL-ZĀHIR

Cette mosquée omeyyade, restaurée par les 'Abbasides au VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, l'a été une deuxième fois, avons-nous dit, après un tremblement de terre de l'année 1034. C'est alors qu'elle a été décorée de mosaïques sur la face

nord de l'arc nord, sur le tambour et sur les pendentifs sous la coupole.<sup>55</sup>

Ce somptueux revêtement n'est plus entièrement intact. De Vogüé, qui en a fait prendre quelques aquarelles,<sup>56</sup> reproduit la mosaïque de l'un des intrados des grands arcs de la croisée du transept (*fig. 30*). Elle a disparu comme celles des autres, remplacées par des pierres de taille alternativement blanches et noires (*fig. 31*). Quant à la frise d'arabesques, sculptée en méplat tout autour des arcs, au-dessus des pierres de taille, les photographies ne me permettent pas de dire si elle est ancienne ou moderne. Au contraire, les clichés des mosaïques, pris par le Service des Antiquités de la Palestine avant la dernière guerre,<sup>57</sup> rendent possible une étude, sinon exhaustive—les vues des pendentifs, et surtout des trompes d'angle sont insuffisantes, des indications précises sur l'exécution technique et sur l'état de conservation font défaut—mais assez sérieuse pour donner à ce décor la place qu'il mérite dans l'histoire de l'art.

En voici une description rapide. Dans le tambour les panneaux entre les huit fenêtres<sup>58</sup> (*figs. 32, 33*) sont ornés, chacun, d'une sorte de plante fantaisiste d'où partent alternativement des branches qui se croisent en haut (panneaux 2, 4, 6, 8) et de larges feuilles ocellées comme des plumes de paon (panneaux 1, 3, 5, 7). La tige est composée d'amphores ou de canthares et de cornes d'abondance qui s'élèvent sur une petite touffe d'acanthé. Le tout se détache sur un fond d'arbres et d'arbustes. Les tonalités dominantes sont le vert, tirant

<sup>55</sup> Nous ne parlerons pas des mosaïques du *mihrāb*, de la fin du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, qui sont d'un style très différent.

<sup>56</sup> M. de Vogüé, *o.l.*, pl. XXXIII.

<sup>57</sup> Clichés Nos. 15808 à 15818, 15052 à 15055, 15058/9.

<sup>58</sup> Nous avons indiqué plus haut, p. 36, n. 48, la façon dont nous désignons ces panneaux par les chiffres arabes 1 à 8.



sur le bleu et le rouge-mauve dans les plantes, l'ocre clair, le jaune, le rose et le brun dans les troncs d'arbres, le blanc, le gris, le nacre et le noir dans les récipients et dans les palmettes à plumes de paon.

Les mosaïques à fond uni dans les embrasures des fenêtres (dans la mesure où elles ne sont pas remplacées par une peinture moderne) sont sans doute refaites (la couture entre les parties anciennes et récentes se distingue aisément sur les photographies), sauf celle de la fenêtre nord (*fig. 32*), entre le 1<sup>er</sup> et le 2<sup>e</sup> panneau. Deux rinceaux de vigne en cubes dorés sur fond bleu foncé s'élèvent de chaque côté au pied de l'embrasure pour se rejoindre au sommet.

Le revêtement des pendentifs et des trompes d'angle est beaucoup plus simple (*fig. 34*). Le fond est d'or uni. Une belle bande de demi-palmettes et de feuilles de vigne, grisaille et vert sur fond noir, court sous le banc des fenêtres. Dans chaque pendentif se creuse un grand médaillon, au-dessus des trompes, entouré d'une bande à feuilles de vigne vertes et de motifs à huit pointes, rouges, chargés de feuilles d'or. Le fond des médaillons est bordé d'une bande à cabochons et de plumes ocellées, assemblés en deux cercles concentriques.

Sur l'arc nord, face à la nef, se dressent deux énormes plantes (*fig. 35*), semblables à celles du tambour, à l'exception des rinceaux de vigne aux nombreuses sinuosités qui s'en détachent pour couvrir le fond de l'écoinçon.

Une inscription arabe de deux lignes, en coufique simple, couvre le haut de ce panneau sur toute sa largeur. Elle était fragmentaire au moment de son dégagement en 1926 et a été complétée par la suite.<sup>59</sup> On en doit la première publication à G. Wiet<sup>60</sup> et une sec-

onde au même et à J. Sauvaget.<sup>61</sup> En voici les passages qui nous intéressent: "... [a été ordonnée] la restauration<sup>62</sup> par notre maître 'Alī Abū l-Ḥasan, l'imām al-Zāhir li-'i'zāz din (Allāh), émīr des croyants (suivent les patronymes). Ceci a été surveillé par le sharīf Abū al-Qāsim, fils d'Abū (?) al-Ḥasan al-Ḥusaynī ... que Dieu l'aide."

La mention du khalīf fatimide al-Zāhir offre des dates limites, celles de son règne, les années 1021 et 1035. Le nom du chérif Abū al-Qāsim permet de préciser. Ce même personnage était nommé dans une inscription sous la couple,<sup>63</sup> disparue aujourd'hui, mais transcrite par un auteur arabe du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Datée du mois d'octobre 1035, elle relatait la construction de la calotte en bois de la coupole et l'exécution de son décor. Il y a de fortes chances que l'inscription de l'arc nord lui soit contemporaine.

Quel est l'indice de cette inscription? G. Wiet la rapportait d'abord à la mosaïque qui aurait été restaurée sous al-Zāhir. Dans la deuxième édition il la rattache à la construction de l'arc nord ou peut-être même de la croisée tout entière, puisque le mot *'imārah* est traduit par "construction". La question peut être tranchée aujourd'hui grâce aux observations de M. Hamilton lors de la démolition et de la reconstruction de la nef centrale.<sup>64</sup> Les deux colonnades de cette nef et les murs qui les surmontent prennent leur point de départ sur l'arc nord sans être liaisonnés avec lui

<sup>59</sup> G. Wiet et J. Sauvaget, *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe*, vol. 7, Paris, 1936, No. 2410, p. 7.

<sup>62</sup> Le mot arabe est *'imārah* que G. Wiet a d'abord traduit par "restauration" (*Matériaux*, No. 301), ensuite (en accord sans doute avec J. Sauvaget), par "construction" (*Répertoire*, No. 2410). Nous verrons que les faits archéologiques excluent cette deuxième traduction, mais ne s'accordent pas non plus entièrement avec la première.

<sup>63</sup> Voir, plus bas, p. 43.

<sup>64</sup> Hamilton, *Aqsa*, p. 1 à 9.

<sup>59</sup> Voir la photographie de l'inscription restaurée dans Hamilton, *Aqsa*, pl. III, fig. 1.

<sup>60</sup> Dans Max Van Berchem, *o.l.*, (*supra*, n. 43), No. 301, p. 452 et suiv.

et en s'appuyant sur des pilastres. Au contraire, les arcades antérieures portaient directement de l'arc nord, sans l'intermédiaire de pilastres, et elles étaient écartées l'une de l'autre de om70 de plus que les colonnades restaurées. Or, la mosaïque s'adapte parfaitement au panneau rétréci, elle a donc été faite lors de la reconstruction des arcades ou après celles-ci. On peut penser que la nef restaurée et la mosaïque sont contemporaines. D'aucune manière l'inscription ne peut avoir trait à la construction de l'arc nord qui, nous l'avons vu, appartient à l'Aqṣā II. D'autre part, le mot *'imārah* ne peut pas signifier non plus une restauration partielle de la mosaïque, qui est d'une seule venue et d'un style absolument homogène. Il en indique donc ou bien une réfection *totale* ou une création à neuf.<sup>65</sup>

Il est permis d'appliquer l'indice de cette inscription aussi aux mosaïques du tambour. Le style en est si proche de celui des mosaïques de l'arc nord qu'une exécution à la même époque et sans doute par le même atelier est infiniment probable. Les palmettes ocellées, bordées en haut d'une mince bande à motifs imbriqués se retrouvent identiques sur les arbres de l'arc nord (*fig. 35*) et sur les plantes des panneaux 3 et 7 (*fig. 38 et 42*). La partie médiane de ces arbres est formée d'une corne d'abondance qui surgit d'une double touffe. Deux paires de feuilles lancéolées, attachées à une tige, partent des deux côtés de la corne. Celle-ci est surmontée d'une autre touffe, plus grande qui envoie de chaque côté une feuille à cinq lobes, très stylisée. Exactement la même association des mêmes motifs se trouve à la base de la plante du panneau 1 (*fig. 36*). Enfin,

<sup>65</sup> Le sens premier du verbe *'imārah* est "construire," mais il peut signifier aussi "conserver, mettre en état de culture," etc., et même "faire." Voir sur ce mot Van Berchem, *o.l.*, notes aux inscriptions Nos. 220 à 222. Je crois que l'auteur presse un peu trop les faits pour arriver à la conclusion que *'imārah* signifie dans ces trois inscriptions "restaurer."

la panse de l'amphore du panneau 2 (*fig. 37*) est décoré comme celle du vase sous les grands fleurons de l'arc nord. Il ne peut y avoir de doute: malgré des différences de style dont nous parlerons plus loin<sup>66</sup> les deux groupes de mosaïques datent de la même époque et sont l'oeuvre du même atelier.

Cependant, elles ne présentent aucun des traits du style fatimide contemporain. La plupart des critiques sont d'accord sur ce point.<sup>67</sup> Ils les comparent aux mosaïques du Dôme du Rocher, de la mosquée de Damas et de l'église de la Nativité à Bethléem. Or, nous savons aujourd'hui que celles de la Sakhra sont dûes au calife 'Abd al-Malik (683-704), exécutées aux alentours de 691.<sup>68</sup> Celles de Damas sont l'oeuvre d'al-Walid Ier. Quant aux mosaïques de Bethléem, je crois avoir montré<sup>69</sup> que celles du mur nord de l'église, les seules qui peuvent être rapprochées des mosaïques de l'Aqṣā et qui, en effet, leur ont été comparées,<sup>70</sup> datent des environs de l'année 700 également.

<sup>66</sup> *Infra*, p. 45.

<sup>67</sup> Voir Max Van Berchem, *o.l.*, p. 387 et suiv. Ce savant est le premier à avoir examiné en archéologue ces mosaïques. Il n'a pu le faire dans le détail, ne disposant pas de photographies et ne les ayant pas étudié à fond sur place. D'ailleurs, ces mosaïques ne sont lisibles—encore qu'avec certaines difficultés—que depuis leur nettoyage avant la dernière guerre. Lors de la visite de Van Berchem elles étaient "couvertes de poussière et défigurées en partie par les peintures grossières qui entourent les fenêtres . . ."

<sup>68</sup> Publiées par Marguerite Van Berchem, *The mosaics of the Dome of the Rock*, dans Creswell, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 150 à 227, pl. V à XXIV.

<sup>69</sup> H. Stern, *Les représentations des conciles dans l'église de la Nativité à Bethléem*, Byzantion, vol. 11, 1936, p. 101 à 151 (=Stern, I) et *ibid.*, vol. 13, 1938, p. 415 à 455 (=Stern, II). *Idem*, *Nouvelles recherches sur les représentations des conciles dans l'église de la Nativité à Bethléem*, Cahiers archéologiques, vol. 3, 1948, p. 82 à 105 (=Stern, III). *Idem*, *Encore la représentation des conciles dans l'église de la Nativité à Bethléem*, *ibid.*, vol. 9, 1957, p. 141 à 145 (=Stern, IV).

<sup>70</sup> Max Van Berchem, *loc. cit.*



Ce n'est donc que dans des oeuvres d'époque et de style omeyyades qu'on a reconnu un art semblable. Aussi notre tâche sera-t-elle de distinguer entre les motifs franchement omeyyades de ce décor et l'exécution fatimide. L'histoire de l'Aqṣā telle que nous venons de l'exposer nous aidera à expliquer et à démêler ces faits complexes.

Le revêtement du tambour est de loin le plus important et le plus beau; nous en parlons d'abord. L'idée de décorer les panneaux entre les fenêtres d'un tambour de plantes richement ornées a présidé aussi au programme des mosaïques de la Sakhra. Mais cette partie en est malheureusement très restaurée et à peine publiée.<sup>71</sup> Mlle Van Berchem pense que les motifs ailés, qui se répètent onze fois entre les quatorze fenêtres et quinze fois *sous* les fenêtres ont été créés lors d'une restauration en 1027/28, sous le même calife al-Zāhir qui a fait restaurer l'Aqṣā. Trois panneaux seulement du tambour et un seul *sous* le tambour imiteraient fidèlement les décors omeyyades pré-existants ou seraient simplement restaurés.

Aussi ne peut-on comparer les mosaïques de l'Aqṣā qu'avec celles de Bethléem, de Damas et des arcades du Dôme du Rocher. L'idée de composer des sortes de candélabres avec des vases, des cornes, des ailes et des touffes d'acanthé a eu une fortune considérable dans l'art omeyyade. Issus d'un ornement antique,<sup>72</sup> ces candélabres y prennent des formes extrêmement variées, parfois d'une fantaisie exubérante. Dans la Sakhra, toute une gamme de ces motifs se déploie sur les arcades de l'octogone intermédiaire: véritables plantes sur le côté tourné vers le mur, arbres chargés de joailleries sur le côté opposé (*fig. 45*), et candélabres à proprement parler sur les petits côtés des piliers (*fig. 46*). Les formes de

détail sont cependant assez différentes de celles de l'Aqṣā. Ce n'est qu'à Bethléem (*figs. 47 à 49*) et à Damas<sup>73</sup> qu'on retrouve des amphores ou des canthares semblables, les mêmes cornes d'abondance et les mêmes touffes d'acanthé en guise de tige.

Mais là aussi, certaines différences de composition et de style ne sont pas moins sensibles. Dans l'Aqṣā l'amphore sur laquelle s'élèvent les branches croisées alterne régulièrement d'un panneau à l'autre avec un canthare surmonté de deux ailes ocellées. A Bethléem et à Damas la composition est plus libre, les détails sont plus variés. La précision métallique, l'élégance un peu abstraite du dessin de l'oeuvre fatimide s'oppose à l'illusionisme plein de sève dans les décors omeyyades.

Serrons cependant de plus près les traits communs. Les branchages croisés dans l'Aqṣā qui supportent curieusement un bouquet de feuilles ou de plumes ocellées (*figs. 37, 39, 41, 43*) procèdent du même concept ornemental que les motifs qui terminent certains candélabres à Bethléem (à droit de la croix (*fig. 47*), et à gauche de l'intervalle IV (*fig. 48*)). Ici et là les branches se terminent parfois en "ailes sassanides" (panneau 4 de l'Aqṣā, *fig. 39*, et intervalle V, en haut à droite, à Bethléem, *fig. 49*). Intermédiaires entre la demi-palmette d'acanthé et le véritable aileron, ces ailes sont fréquentes ailleurs aussi dans les deux décors (Aqṣā, *figs. 38, 40, 42*; Bethléem, *fig. 48*, en haut des candélabres de gauche et de droite, *fig. 49*, candélabre de droite.<sup>74</sup> La double bande

<sup>73</sup> Candélabres aux côtés des motifs médians des intervalles III, IV, et V à Bethléem, intrados du portique de Damas, voir Creswell, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pl. XLV, C.

<sup>74</sup> Ce dernier détail n'est pas rendu correctement sur la pl. 10 de l'ouvrage de W. Harvey, W. R. Lethaby, O. M. Dalton, H. A. A. Cruso et A. C. Headlam, *The church of the Nativity at Bethlehem*, Londres, 1910, dans lequel on trouve les seules reproductions à peu près fidèles de ces mosaïques,

<sup>71</sup> Marg. Van Berchem, *o.l.*, pl. XXXII (*fig. 44*) en a publié les seules photographies que je connaisse.

<sup>72</sup> Voir Stern, I, p. 129 et suiv.

profilée qui, dans le panneau 5 de l'Aqṣā (fig. 40) marque la naissance des pennes correspond exactement au chapelet de perles posé sur les ailerons en haut à droite de l'intervalle IV dans l'église (fig. 48).

Un second groupe de motifs, moins spécifique en soi, est d'une facture à peine différente dans les deux séries d'oeuvres : longues feuilles stylisées qui s'élancent du sommet d'une plante (fig. 39 et 46) ; deux espèces de branches feuillues, les unes formées de calices, emboîtées les uns dans les autres (panneaux 4 et 6 de l'Aqṣā, fig. 39, 41, Dôme du Rocher, fig. 50 et ailleurs), les secondes, d'une forte tige enveloppée par des feuilles d'acanthé, tantôt d'un côté, tantôt de l'autre (Aqṣā, panneaux 2 et 8, figs. 37, 43, Dôme du Rocher, fig. 51, et ailleurs).<sup>75</sup> La feuille est découpée en digitations qui se terminent en pointes,<sup>76</sup> celle du bout recourbée et enroulée ; elles sont marquées, en guise de nervure, d'un mince filet clair (figs. 43, 51).

Au contraire, pour d'autres motifs de ce tambour je ne saurais signaler aucun parallèle dans l'art omeyyade. Les "pétales" des grands fleurons ressemblent à des feuilles d'acanthé très stylisées aux contours festonnés dont le caractère abstraitement ornemental est souligné par les couleurs : dans chaque fleuron le vert-bleuâtre et le rouge-mauve alternent,<sup>77</sup> une feuille rouge-mauve sert de pistil. Particulièrement révélatrice de ce goût pour la stylisation est le contour de la feuille "pistil" du panneau 2 (fig. 37) : le bord inférieur découpé

auxquelles il faut ajouter les photographies publiées dans Stern II.

<sup>75</sup> Je n'insiste pas sur l'origine antique, évidente de ces motifs, à laquelle je reviendrai ailleurs.

<sup>76</sup> Le nombre de ces digitations est variable dans les mosaïques omeyyades, mais toujours de quatre dans l'Aqṣā.

<sup>77</sup> Ces fleurons, tout en étant de formes variables, présentent trois types principaux : 2 et 4 ont deux paires de feuilles, 1, 5, 6, et 8, trois paires ; 7 en a quatre ; 3 seulement est d'un type différent.

en festons concaves répond exactement aux festons convexes des pétales inférieurs. Je doute que l'art omeyyade ait jamais produit des motifs floraux aussi abstraits.

Il faut en chercher les parallèles et les modèles ailleurs. L'art musulman commence à créer des formes semblables un siècle après les oeuvres omeyyades. Les peintures aghlabides qui ornent certaines poutres du plafond de la mosquée de Kairouan (fig. 52),<sup>78</sup> tout en ne présentant pas un seul motif identique, se caractérisent par la même stéréotypie des formes, par le même modelé en zones de couleurs, par les mêmes bords festonnés. Et ce n'est pas au monde musulman que ce style s'est cantonné ; il pénètre à la même époque dans l'art de Byzance. Les restes de revêtements et de pavements en faïence trouvés à Patlèina et à Preslav en Bulgarie, à Istanbul même (fig. 53),<sup>79</sup> en portent le témoignage. Ce style se répand largement à travers l'empire byzantin aux Xe et XIe siècles (tissus, enluminures, émaux),<sup>80</sup> pour atteindre l'Occident au XIIe.

<sup>78</sup> Voir G. Marçais, *Plafonds peints du IXe siècle à la grande Mosquée de Kairouan*, Revue des Arts Asiatiques, vol. 9, 1935, p. 1 à 8.

<sup>79</sup> Sur les faïences de Patlèina, A. Grabar, *Recherches sur les influences orientales dans l'art balkanique*, Paris, 1928. Sur celles de Preslav, K. Miatev, *Die Keramik von Preslav* (en bulgare et en allemand), cf. surtout les planches XI, XII, XIV, 7, XXVI, XXVII, 6, 8. Sur d'autres céramiques bulgares I. Akrabova, *La céramique décorative de Touz-lalak*, Fouilles et Recherches. Musée National Bulgare, Sofia, 1949, p. 101 et suiv. Sur les faïences byzantines, D. Talbot Rice, *Byzantine polychrome pottery*, Cahiers Archéologiques, vol. 7, 1954, p. 69 à 77. *Ibid.*, E. S. Ettinghausen, *Byzantine tiles from the basilica in the Topkapı Sarayı and Saint John of Studios*, p. 79 à 88. E. Coche de la Ferté, *Décor en céramique byzantine au Louvre*, *ibid.*, vol. 9, 1957, p. 187 à 217.

<sup>80</sup> Voir surtout A. Grabar, *Le succès des arts orientaux à la cour byzantine sous les Macédoniens*, Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst, 3. Folge, vol. 2, 1951, p. 32 à 60. L'un des manuscrits byzantins, caractéristique de ce style orientalisant, est le



Les feuilles et les bouquets à plumes de paon ne sont pas davantage omeyyades. Il est vrai que dans le portique ouest de la mosquée de Damas le grand paysage est entouré d'une large bande à triple rang de plumes ocellées de paon (*fig. 54*).<sup>81</sup> Mais jamais dans cet art, que je sache, le motif n'est introduit dans un décor floral. Au contraire, son utilisation se prépare dans l'art musulman à partir de l'époque 'abbaside. Des plantes aux palmes couvertes de motifs ressemblant à des plumes ocellées de paon ornent la plupart des plaques de faïence lustrée du mihrab de la mosquée de Kairouan (première moitié de IX<sup>e</sup> siècle, *fig. 55*) et d'autres plats de faïence du même style.<sup>82</sup> Sous une forme plus proche encore de la nôtre le motif se répand dans l'art hispano-mauresque des Xe et XI<sup>e</sup> siècles. Les grandes feuilles stylisées des plantes taillées en méplat sur les écoinçons du mihrab de la mosquée de Cordoue, de l'extrême fin du Xe ou du début du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle, sont exactement du type des nôtres (*fig. 56*).<sup>83</sup> Enfin, sur un célèbre coffret d'ivoire au Musée du Louvre, fait en 968 pour le prince al-Mughīra, frère cadet du Calife al-Ḥakam II (961–976) les queues ocellées des paons, sculptés sur le couvercle (*fig. 57*), prennent une forme stylisée identique à celle

de nos palmes.<sup>84</sup> Ces oeuvres hispano-mauresques, contemporaines ou peu s'en faut des mosaïques de l'Aqṣā, rendent assez probable l'hypothèse que ce motif a été introduit à Jérusalem dans un ensemble de style omeyyade à l'époque fatimide.

Le fond d'arbres et d'arbustes, au contraire, est d'inspiration omeyyade évidente. L'emploi d'un motif de paysage naturaliste dans un contexte décoratif est caractéristique des trois grandes ensembles de mosaïques des VII<sup>e</sup>/VIII<sup>e</sup> siècles que nous avons cités : Dôme du Rocher (*fig. 58*), église de la Nativité à Bethléem (*fig. 47*) et mosquée de Damas (*fig. 59*).<sup>85</sup> Mais là aussi il y a lieu de relever des différences. Dans l'Aqṣā, deux paires d'arbres flanquent régulièrement le candélabre du milieu, alors que dans les oeuvres anciennes l'ordonnance est plus libre, les formes sont plus variées. Le jeu subtil de l'ombre et de la lumière, les contours souples et gracieux cèdent la place à une répétition de formes schématisées, modelées par des zones de couleurs et entourées dans la plupart des cas d'un épais cerne noir.

Le rinceau "en arabesque" des embrasures de la fenêtre nord (*fig. 32*) à la tige stylisée en "postes" me paraît être nettement fatimide.

Ces mosaïques étaient bordées, avons-nous dit,<sup>86</sup> d'une inscription en mosaïque qui est perdue, mais dont le texte est conservé par un auteur arabe, al-Ḥarawī (mort en 1215), qui visita Jérusalem en 1171.<sup>87</sup> Etant en mosaïque,

Philipps No. 1538 de la Bibliothèque de Berlin, cf. K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1935, p. 16 et suiv.

<sup>81</sup> Creswell, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pl. XLIII.

<sup>82</sup> G. Marçais, *Les faïences à reflets métalliques de la Grande Mosquée de Kairouan*, Paris, 1928; voir la plupart des planches noir sur blanc et la planche XXVI (*fig. 55*) en couleurs. M. S. Dimand, *Studies in Islamic ornament*, donne *fig. 54* un plat de faïence de ce style.

<sup>83</sup> G. Marçais, *L'architecture musulmane d'Occident*, Paris, 1952, p. 175, *fig. 110 C*, donne un dessin de ce détail intéressant et en étudie la genèse p. 174 et suiv. Voir de bonnes photographies des deux plantes dans M. Gomez Moreno, *El arte arabe español hasta los Almohades. Arte mozarabe*, *Ars Hispaniae*, vol. 3, Madrid, 1951, *fig. 159* et 179.

<sup>84</sup> Voir J. Beckwith, *Caskets from Cordoba*, Londres, 1960, pl. XXIIA, p. 66.

<sup>85</sup> Dôme du Rocher, petits côtés des piliers de l'octogone intermédiaire, Creswell—Marg. Van Berchem, pl. IX b, X b, c, XII b, c, XIII b, c, XIV c, Bethléem, arbustes derrière la croix au milieu, Stern III, pl. III, 1 (à l'envers), Damas, Creswell, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pl. XLV d.

<sup>86</sup> Plus haut, p. 39.

<sup>87</sup> Voir le texte dans Max Van Berchem, *o.l.*, No. 275, p. 265 et suiv. et dans Mme. Sourdel-Thomine, *Al-Ḥarawī, guide des lieux de pèlerinage*,

elle devait régner soit au-dessous soit au-dessus des fenêtres, sous la naissance de la calotte en bois. Le mur faisant saillie sous les fenêtres, une inscription tracée à cet endroit eût été invisible du bas. Au contraire, l'espace au-dessus des fenêtres et des mosaïques du tambour, où se trouve maintenant l'inscription de 1817/18, a toutes les chances d'avoir été l'emplacement de cette inscription. En effet, la partie supérieure des mosaïques a été rognée à différents endroits (panneaux 2, 3, 4, 7, 8), au moment sans doute où l'on a mis en place l'inscription du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle. Celle du XI<sup>e</sup> disait ceci:<sup>88</sup> "(Mention du calife al-Zāhir) . . . a ordonné de construire et de dorer cette coupole notre Seigneur, la vizir très illustre. . . . Abū al-Qāsim 'Alī ibn Aḥmad. . . . Tout fut achevé pour la fin de dhū al-qa'dah de l'année 426 (octobre 1035). Oeuvre de 'Abdallāh ibn al-Ḥasan al-Misri (l'Égyptien) le mosaïste." Le vizir nommé est celui de l'inscription de l'arc nord.

La traduction "mosaïste", en arabe *al-muzawwiq*, a été proposée par M. Van Berchem qui la justifie de la façon suivante:<sup>89</sup> "*Muzawwiq*, de *zawwāqa* 'dorer, émailler, décorer en couleurs, peindre, broder' désigne l'artiste qui pratique ces divers métiers. Comme toujours en pareil cas, il est difficile d'en préciser le sens, mais Harawi va nous aider. 'Abdallah ne saurait être le restaurateur de la coupole qui se dirait architecte (*muhandis*);<sup>90</sup> c'est l'auteur de son décor, à tout au moins de l'inscription même. Or, Harawi nous

dit qu'elle était tout entière en mosaïque, donc 'Abdallāh était mosaïste . . ." Comme il était originaire d'Égypte, Van Berchem en conclut à une école de mosaïstes égyptiens sous les Fatimides dont, ajouterais-je, aucune oeuvre en dehors de celles de Jérusalem ne nous serait connue.

Je ne puis suivre l'éminent arabisant. Il n'est point évident que celui qui a exécuté cette inscription en mosaïque soit nécessairement l'artiste qui y est nommé. Le terme *zawwāqa* n'est jamais employé pour désigner le travail de la mosaïque, alors qu'il signifie couramment le travail du bois stucé et peint, précisément celui de la coupole de l'Aqṣā. Van Berchem cite lui-même un passage de Muqaddasī<sup>91</sup> où cet auteur désigne par ce terme le décor de la calotte du Dôme du Rocher, également en bois stucé et peint. Comme l'inscription elle-même mentionne spécialement la dorure de la calotte, il n'y a pas lieu de traduire *muzawwiq* par "mosaïste." Le personnage nommé est certainement celui qui a fait le décor de la calotte et qui, probablement, l'a confectionnée tout entière. L'emplacement de l'inscription à la naissance de la calotte est en faveur de cette hypothèse tout autant que les circonstances historiques. Un tremblement de terre avait ébranlé les édifices du Ḥaram en 1034. On peut supposer que ce séisme a fait s'écrouler la calotte en bois. C'est elle qui aurait été refaite et dorée par l'Égyptien 'Abdallāh. On ne saurait conclure de cette inscription à une école de mosaïstes égyptiens à l'époque fatimide.<sup>92</sup>

Damas, 1953, p. 23 à 25; traduction, *idem*, Damas, 1957, p. 64-65.

<sup>88</sup> Nous ne citerons que les passages qui nous intéressent ici.

<sup>89</sup> *O.I.*, p. 387.

<sup>90</sup> Voir sur les termes employés pour désigner un architecte L. A. Mayer, *Islamic architects and their works*, Genève, 1956. Il ressort de cette étude que celui qui fabriquait une calotte en bois ne s'appelait pas architecte (*muhandis*), lequel s'occupait de constructions en pierre.

<sup>91</sup> *O.I.*, p. 268.

<sup>92</sup> Max Van Berchem, *o.I.*, p. 384 et suiv., se dit intrigué par le terme *bi-'amal*, employé dans cette inscription, et qui veut dire "construire." Muqaddasī ayant mentionné l'existence de la coupole en 985, celle-ci n'aurait pu être construite à neuf 50 ans plus tard. Aussi l'auteur propose-t-il de remplacer ce terme par un autre, *bi-'imārah*, qui peut signifier "restaurer." Il me semble que cette interpolation ne



Du reste, M. Creswell a donné une preuve archéologique supplémentaire de la confection de cette coupole à l'époque fatimide.<sup>93</sup> Lors des travaux de réfection de 1926 on a mis à nu sous la naissance de la calotte, à l'extérieur, une série de têtes de poutres de bois, couvertes de plaques de plomb. Après l'enlèvement de ces plaques sont apparus des décors sculptés dans le bois de pur style fatimide.<sup>94</sup>

L'indice de ce texte se rapporte donc à la calotte. Mais puisqu'il est en mosaïque on peut l'utiliser aussi pour dater les mosaïques du tambour.<sup>95</sup> Peut-être ne les a-t-on pas mentionnées parce qu'elles étaient refaites sur un modèle ancien.

La sobre élégance des revêtements des pendentifs (*fig. 34*) tranche curieusement sur la richesse touffue des mosaïques du tambour, mais sans que les deux styles se heurtent. La bande de feuilles de vigne et de demi-palmes réunies en fleurons a un air de parenté avec quelques bordures des plaques de bronze repoussé qui recouvrent les poutres de l'octogone intermédiaire du Dôme du Rocher, et avec les bandes de marbre incrusté dans le tambour de ce même édifice (*fig. 44*).<sup>96</sup> Les grands arcs sont bordés d'un rang de calices trilobés posés de biais, la pointe tournée alternativement vers le haut et vers le bas. Motif banal de l'art antique tardif et de l'art proto-byzantin, cette

s'impose d'aucune manière. Van Berchem s'est sans doute mépris sur la portée de l'expression "construire . . . cette coupole" qu'il semble appliquer à l'ensemble du tambour et de la calotte, travail dans lequel interviennent le maçon et l'architecte. Cette expression ne peut avoir trait qu'à la seule calotte en bois, oeuvre de charpentier et de stucateur. Ecroulée à la suite du séisme, peut-être détruite par le feu, elle a sans doute été refaite de toutes pièces. Le terme "construire," *'amala*, s'applique parfaitement à ce travail bien que la calotte ait existé auparavant.

<sup>93</sup> Creswell, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 272.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, fig. 120.

<sup>95</sup> Voir plus haut, p. 39.

<sup>96</sup> Creswell, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pl. XXVIIa, XXXII.

bande est particulièrement fréquente sur les chanfreins des blochets que nous avons étudiés.<sup>97</sup> Toutes ces bordures sont cernées de petits lambeaux dont je ne connais qu'un seul exemple en dehors de la mosquée de Jérusalem, sur le magnifique pavement de la salle absidale des bains de Hirbet al-Mafdjar (*fig. 60*).<sup>98</sup> Enfin, les motifs à huit pointes, timbrés de fleurons sassanides qui entourent les médaillons se trouvent déjà au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle à Sainte-Sophie<sup>99</sup> et reviennent au Dôme du Rocher (*fig. 61*) comme dans un église du Tour Abdin (*fig. 62*) qui peut dater de la même époque.<sup>100</sup> Seuls les rangs concentriques de plumes de paon dans le fond des deux médaillons n'ont rien de commun avec le style ornemental traditionnel. La conception en est proche de celle de certaines rosaces sur des faïences byzantines du Xe ou du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle (*fig. 63*).<sup>101</sup>

Malgré ces nombreux emprunts à l'art du pays des siècles antérieurs le goût qui a déterminé l'ensemble de ce revêtement est étranger à la tradition artistique locale et musulmane. Rien n'en est plus loin que ce dépouillement sévère dont la beauté est dans le contraste entre le fond scintillant d'or et le colorisme tamisé des bordures. On songe aux grands ensembles byzantins du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle, les mosaïques de Daphni ou de Hosios Lucas, où, parfois, les voûtes sont revêtues d'or uni, les arêtes seulement ornées de bandes colorées et les sommets, de disques.

Les plantes de l'arc nord (*fig. 35*) sont du même genre que celles du tambour. Le style en est cependant plus graphique, moins pictural,

<sup>97</sup> Hamilton, *Aqsa*, pl. L 4E, LII 3W, LIII 5E, LV 7E, 7W, etc.

<sup>98</sup> *Idem*, *Mafjar*, pl. LXXXIX.

<sup>99</sup> P. A. Underwood et E. J. W. Hawkins, *The mosaics of Hagia Sophia at Istanbul*, Dumbarton Oaks Papers, vol. 15, 1961, p. 199 et suiv., fig. 12, 13, 14.

<sup>100</sup> Creswell, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 212 et suiv., pl. V à VIII, fig. 278, 279, 292.

<sup>101</sup> E. Coche de la Ferté, *o.l.*, fig. 8a.

certain motifs ne se retrouvent pas entre les fenêtres. Un curieux ornement, inscrit sur les palmes du bas, des calices d'acanthé juxtaposés, n'existe, à ma connaissance, que sur les deux plantes sculptées du mihrâb de Cordoue que nous avons citées (*fig. 64*).<sup>102</sup> Ces plantes ont d'ailleurs la même fonction exactement que les nôtres : elles remplissent les écoinçons d'un arc dont elles suivent la courbe en inclinant leurs troncs. De même, elles sont l'une le pendant de l'autre, identiques jusque dans les détails. Cette répétition fidèle des formes, inconnue de l'art omeyyade, me fait penser que les deux plantes de l'Aqṣā ont été, non seulement exécutées, mais inventées à l'époque fatimide.

La frise en trompe l'oeil qui court le long de cet arc (*fig. 35*) est sans parallèle ailleurs. Au Dôme du Rocher il y a bien une frise imitant des consoles en perspective (*fig. 65*),<sup>103</sup> motif d'ailleurs très répandu dans les pavements romains ; mais elle est composée de simples cubes, dépourvus de tout décor. Les colliers à cabochons, surmontés de fleurons sassanides, qui sont suspendus dans les espaces entre les consoles de la frise de l'Aqṣā, sont évidemment un héritage de l'art omeyyade, mais appliqués avec une régularité qui lui est étrangère.<sup>104</sup> Un seul élément de cette frise est franchement fatimide ou même plus tardif : les demi-palmettes enlacées en forme d'arabesques qui, au sommet de l'arc, interrompent le rang des consoles. Elles reviennent semblables sur les minarets nord et ouest de la mosquée al-Ḥākim au Caire, datés de 1003.<sup>105</sup>

<sup>102</sup> Cf. M. Gomez Moreno, *fig. 159*, p. 119, *fig. 179*, p. 136.

<sup>103</sup> Creswell, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pl. XIV, à droite, et *fig. 290*.

<sup>104</sup> Voir les grandes plantes chargées de bijoux dans le Dôme du Rocher, *ibid.*, pl. XI, XIV, XV, etc. (*fig. 45*).

<sup>105</sup> Voir K. A. C. Creswell, *The Moslem architecture of Egypt*, vol. 1, Oxford, 1952, *fig. 37* ("be-

Notre analyse de ces mosaïques a dégagé, je pense, quelques faits précis. Oeuvres fatimides exécutées aux alentours de 1035, elles présentent une heureuse combinaison de styles divers formant un ensemble parfaitement uni. Dans le tambour le programme et la plupart des motifs sont omeyyades. L'élégance un peu abstraite et la schématisation des formes les distinguent cependant de leurs modèles. Les plantes sur l'arc nord seraient créées à l'époque fatimide. Le goût qui a présidé au revêtement des pendentifs paraît être byzantin, bien que les ornements soient puisés dans le répertoire des motifs traditionnels de la région.

L'histoire du monument peut expliquer ce style à la fois composite et homogène. La calotte en bois s'étant sans doute écroulée en 1034, les mosaïques omeyyades du tambour dont nous supposons l'existence, ont dû être endommagées si gravement qu'une réfection totale s'imposa. On les aurait refaites sur les modèles anciens. Celles de l'arc nord, qui a été rétréci, et celles des pendentifs auraient été créées à ce moment. Nous ignorons si d'autres les ont précédées.

D'où venaient ceux qui ont exécuté ce décor remarquable ? Nous avons écarté l'hypothèse d'une école de mosaïstes égyptiens qui ne se justifie ni par les inscriptions ni par les monuments. S'agit-il d'un atelier local continuant une tradition qui remonterait aux VII<sup>e</sup>/VIII<sup>e</sup> siècles ? C'est difficile à dire. Aucune oeuvre comparable n'est connue dans le pays depuis le milieu du VIII<sup>e</sup> jusqu'au début du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Aussi ne serait-il pas impossible qu'al-Zāhir ait fait appel à une main d'oeuvre byzantine, l'activité des mosaïstes de l'empire chrétien étant à son apogée à ce moment.

tween 2 and 3"), pl. XXVIIIc et XXVb. Il n'est pas impossible que ce motif dans l'Aqṣā soit dû à une restauration plus tardive, cette forme de l'arabesque restant en usage dans l'art musulman pendant des siècles.



Les seules mosaïques musulmanes connues de cette époque, en dehors de Jérusalem, sont celles du *miḥrāb* de Cordoue. Sur la foi de sources sérieuses elles ont été exécutées en 961 sous la direction d'un maître d'oeuvre byzantin qui aurait formé des compagnons sur place.<sup>106</sup> Le style en est inspiré par les magnifiques décors ajourés du *miḥrāb*, qui sont, eux, de la plus pure tradition musulmane.<sup>107</sup> On serait tenté d'imaginer à Jérusalem une situation semblable que les circonstances politiques rendent fort plausible. Al-Zāhir avait obtenu de l'empereur l'autorisation de faire inscrire son nom dans les mosquées sises en territoire byzantin et de faire restaurer celle de Constantinople. En revanche, le souverain chrétien, Constantin VIII, fut autorisé à rebâtir l'église du Saint-Sépulcre, détruite par al-Ḥākim.<sup>108</sup> Les rapports entre les deux monarques étaient tels que l'envoi d'une main d'oeuvre qualifiée de Constantinople à Jérusalem paraît parfaitement possible.

<sup>106</sup> Voir H. Terrasse, *L'art hispano-mauresque des origines au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1932, p. 121 et suiv.

<sup>107</sup> Je ne puis suivre M. Terrasse qui reconnaît dans ces mosaïques "une inspiration toute byzantine."

<sup>108</sup> K. Ph. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, Londres, 1956, p. 621. Sur les rapports artistiques entre Musulmans et Byzantins à l'époque omeyyade, H. A. R. Gibbs, *Arab-Byzantine relations under the Umayyad caliphate*, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, vol. 12, 1958, p. 219 à 233.

Pour conclure, jetons un coup d'oeil en arrière. La mosquée al-Aqṣā telle que nous la voyons aujourd'hui serait pour l'essentiel une oeuvre omeyyade. Le plan, des nefs oblongues et une coupole devant le mihrab, appuyée sur un transept, a été conçu en imitant la basilique du Golgotha. L'ensemble du Dôme du Rocher et de la mosquée aurait été inspiré par l'*Anastasis* et le *Martyrium*. L'Aqṣā I, décelée par M. Hamilton, ne serait qu'une première ébauche abandonnée au cours de la construction. De l'Aqṣā II, également omeyyade, subsistent la coupole et le transept et de nombreux débris du décor. Les mosaïques fatimides du tambour imitent un revêtement omeyyade qui, peut-être, s'était conservé jusqu'au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle.

Loin de présenter, avec la mosquée de Damas, la forme première du plan des mosquées omeyyades, comme l'a pensé J. Sauvaget,<sup>109</sup> toutes deux sont des cas particuliers et aberrants, conçues sur le modèle d'églises chrétiennes. Les décors, au contraire, sont parmi les plus beaux exemples de ce style décoratif qui à la fois est le dernier rejeton de l'art antique et marque, avec vigueur, la naissance de l'art musulman.

Paris, en Décembre 1961.

<sup>109</sup> *O.l.*, p. 122 et suiv. et H. Stern, *Les origines de l'architecture de la mosquée omeyyade. A l'occasion d'un livre de J. Sauvaget*, *Syria*, vol. 28, 1951, p. 269 à 279.





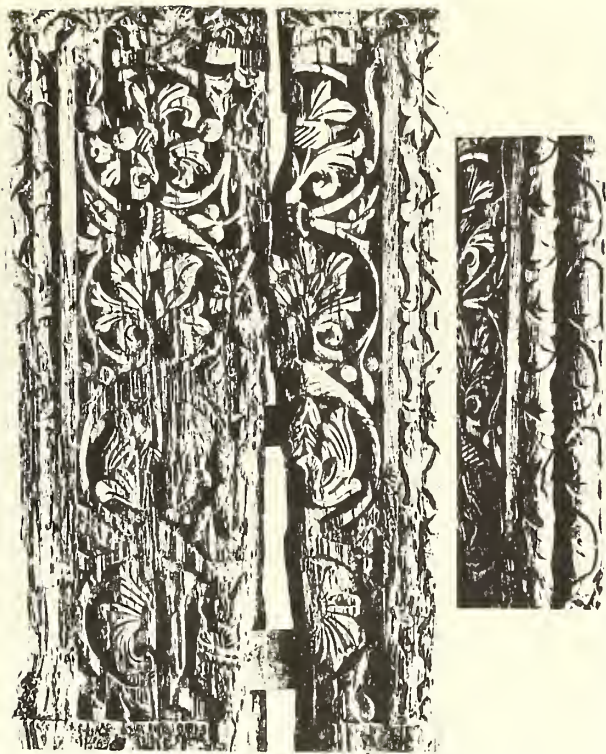


FIG. 1.—TABLETTE DE BOIS SCULPTÉ, AQŞĀ.

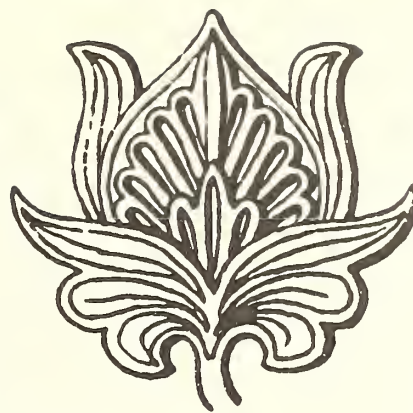


FIG. 4.—FLEURONS STUQUÉS, MAFJAR.



FIG. 3.—TABLETTE DE BOIS SCULPTÉ, AQŞĀ.



FIG. 2.—CONQUE D'UNE NICHE DE PIERRE SCULPTÉE, MAFJAR.



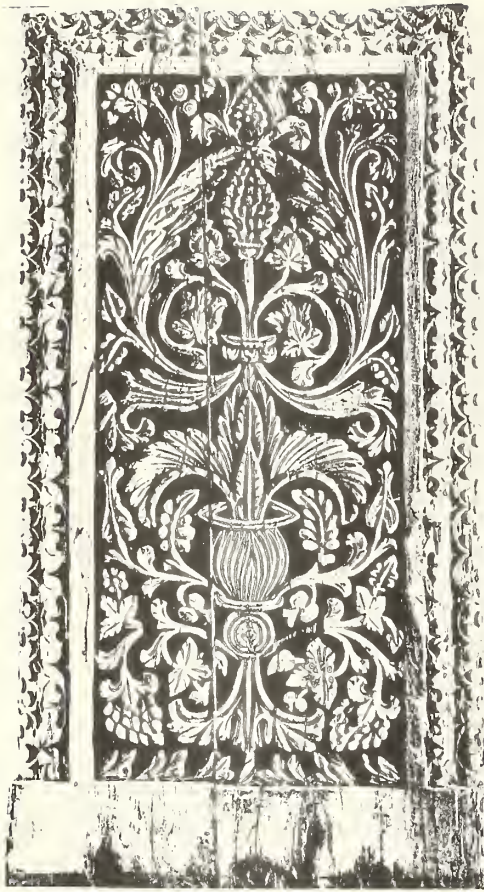


FIG. 5.—TABLETTE DE BOIS SCULPTÉ, AQṢĀ.

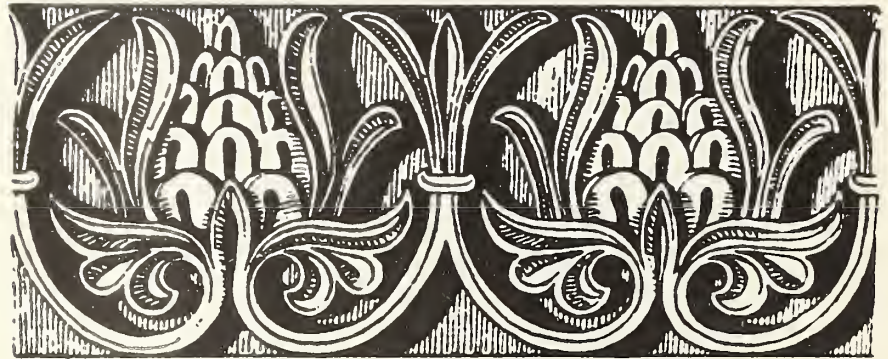


FIG. 6.—FLEURONS STUQUÉS, MAḤJAR.

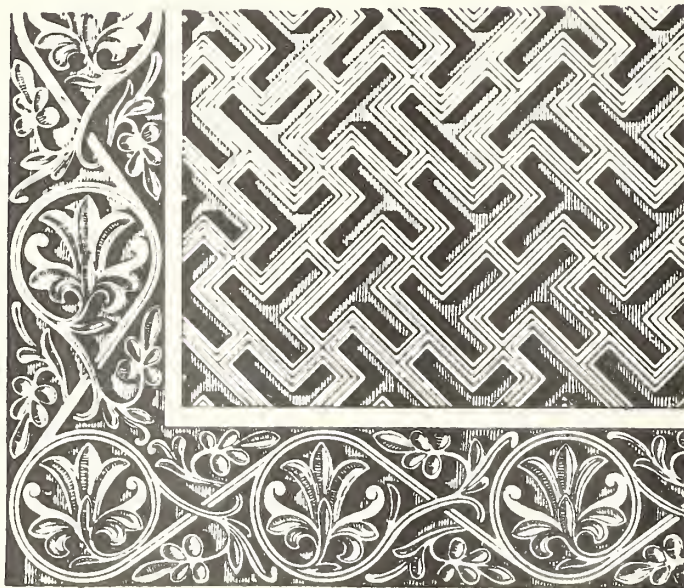


FIG. 8.—PANNEAU STUQUÉ, DÉTAIL, MAḤJAR.



FIG. 7.—TABLETTE DE BOIS SCULPTÉ, AQṢĀ.



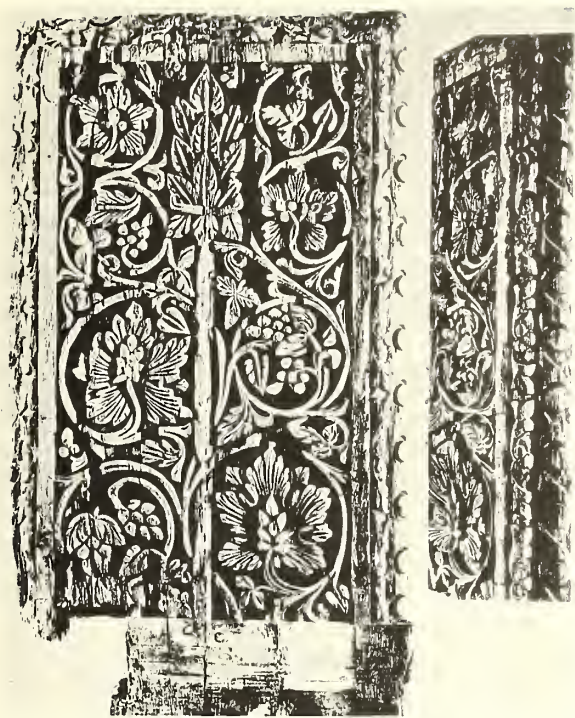


FIG. 9.—TABLETTE DE BOIS SCULPTÉ, AQṢĀ.



FIG. 10.—RINCEAUX STUQUÉS, MAFJAR.

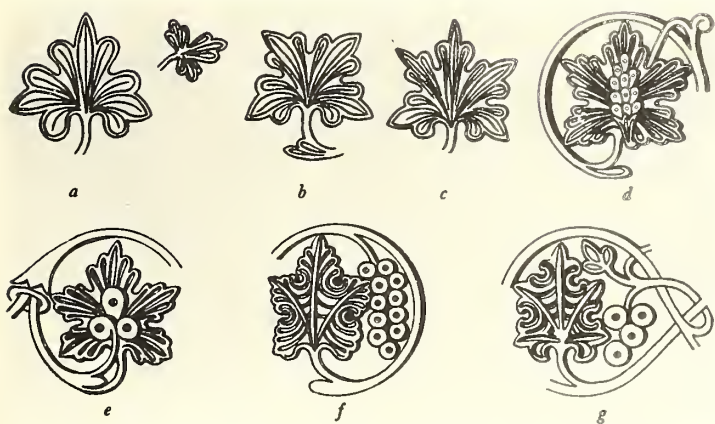


FIG. 11.—FEUILLES DE VIGNE STUQUÉES, MAFJAR.

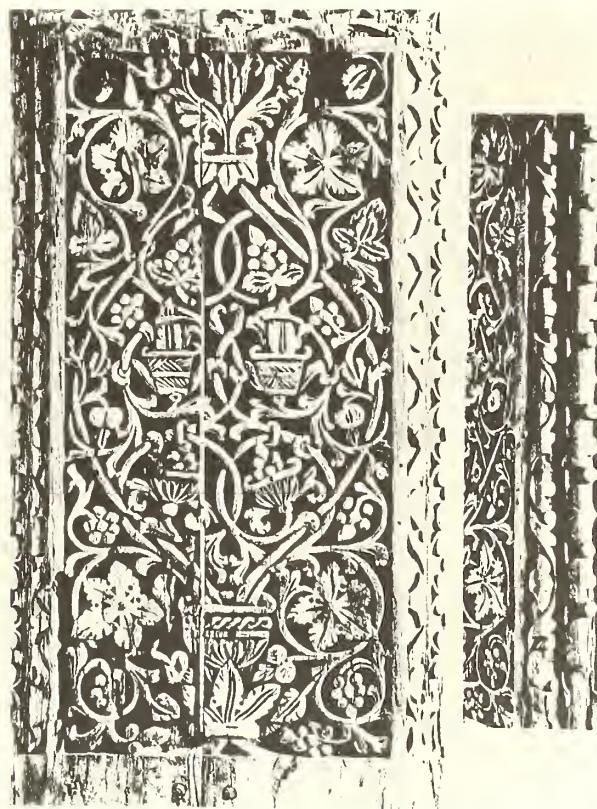


FIG. 12.—TABLETTE DE BOIS SCULPTÉ, AQṢĀ.



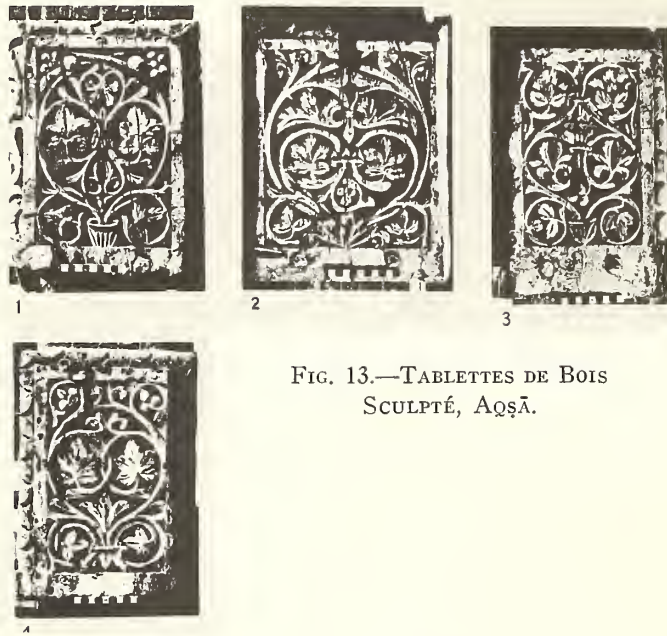


FIG. 13.—TABLETTES DE BOIS  
SCULPTÉ, AQŞĀ.



FIG. 15.—TABLETTE DE BOIS SCULPTÉ, AQŞĀ.

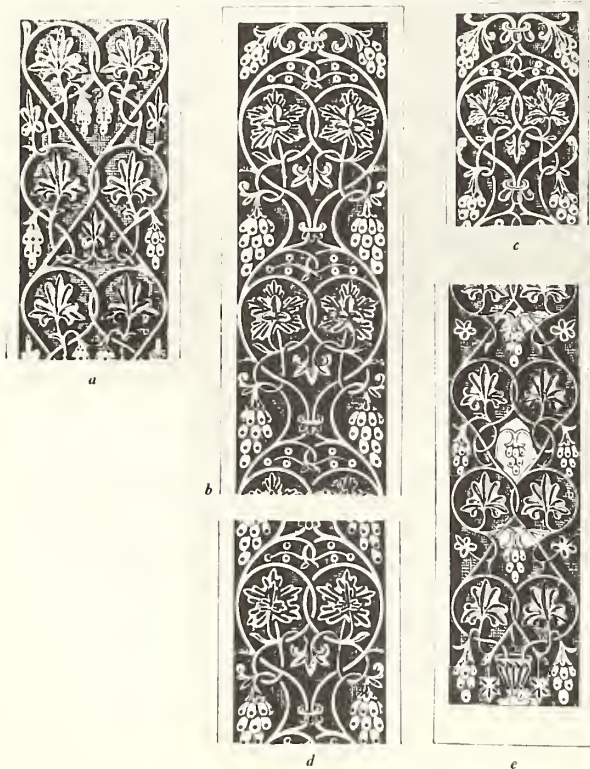


FIG. 14.—RINCEAUX STUQUÉS, MAFJAR.



FIG. 16.—CONQUE D'UNE NICHE DE PIERRE SCULPTÉ, MAFJAR.





FIG. 17.—CONQUE D'UNE NICHE DE PIERRE SCULPTÉ, MAFJAR.



FIG. 18.—PANNEAU STUQUÉ, MAFJAR.



FIG. 19.—TABLETTE DE BOIS SCULPTÉ, AQŞĀ.

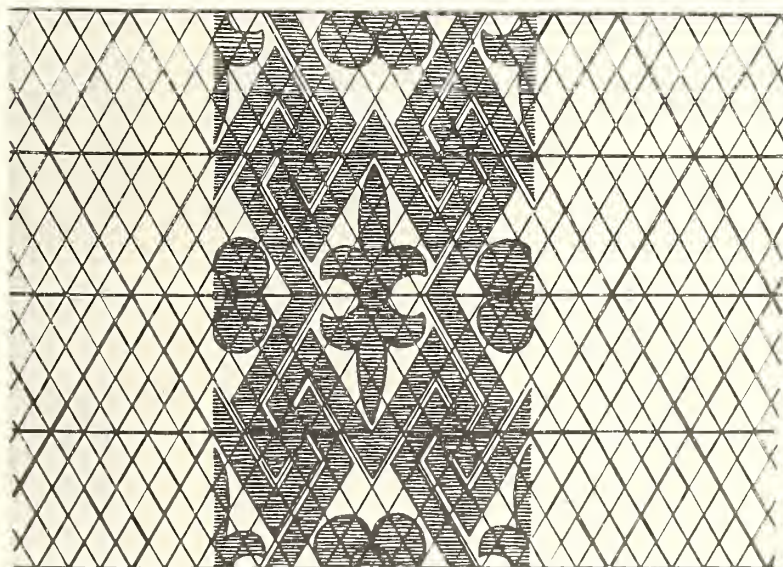


FIG. 20.—PANNEAU STUQUÉ RECONSTITUÉ, MAFJAR.





FIG. 21.—PANNEAU DE BOIS SCULPTÉ, AQṢĀ.



FIG. 25.—TABLETTE DE BOIS SCULPTÉ, AQṢĀ.

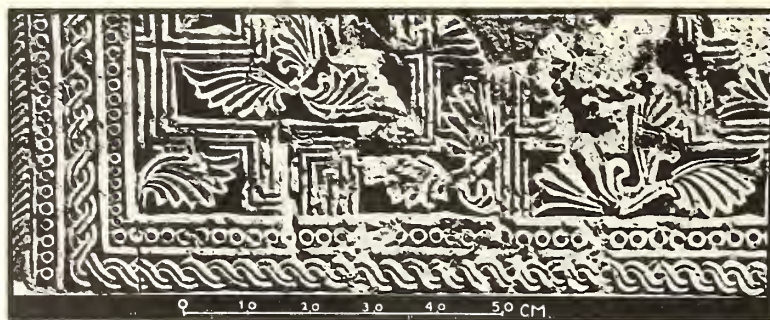


FIG. 22.—PANNEAU STUQUÉ, MAFJAR.

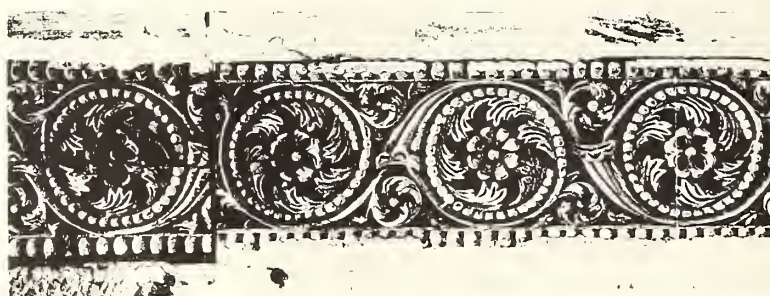


FIG. 23.—SOFFITE D'UNE POUTRE DE BOIS SCULPTÉ, DÉTAIL, AQṢĀ.

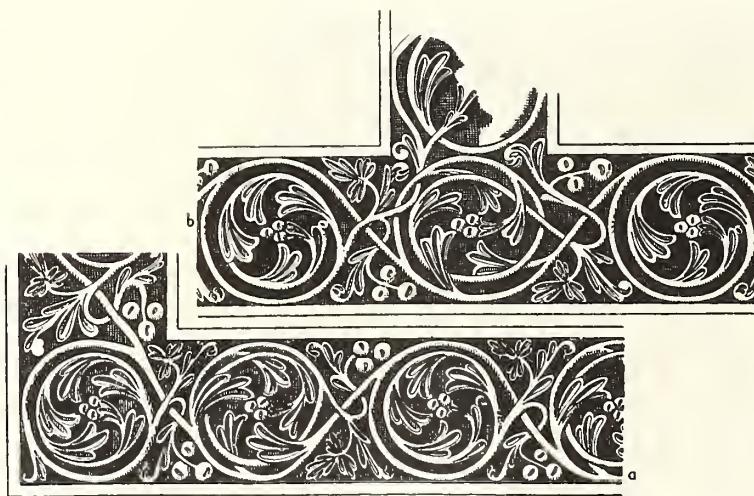


FIG. 24.—RINCEAUX STUQUÉS, MAFJAR.



FIG. 26.—FRISE DE FEUILLES D'ACANTHE DE PIERRE SCULPTÉE, DÉTAIL, MCHATTĀ.



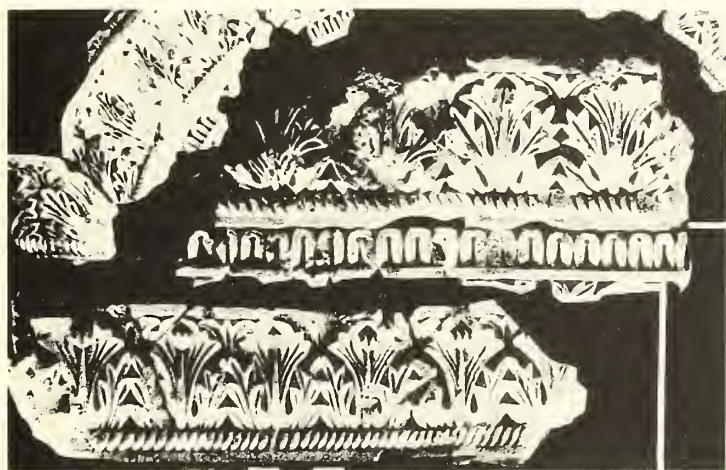


FIG. 27.—FRISE DE FEUILLES D'ACANTHE STUQUÉE, MAFJAR.



FIG. 29.—CHAPITEAUX DE PIERRE, AQŞĀ.

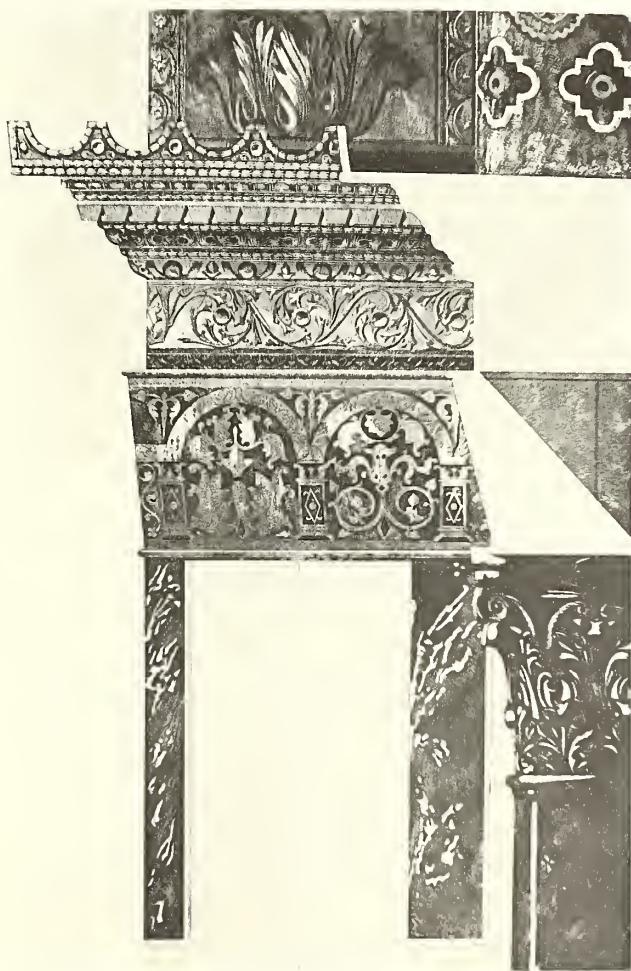


FIG. 28.—ENTABLEMENT INCRUSTÉ ET DE BOIS SCULPTÉ,  
DÔME DU ROCHER.



FIG. 30.—MOSAÏQUE DE L'INTRADOS  
D'UN ARC, PERDUE, AQŞĀ.





FIG. 31.—MOSAÏQUE DE L'ARC NORD DE LA COUPOLE, AQSĀ.





FIG. 32.—MOSAÏQUES DU TAMBOUR, PANNEAUX 1 ET 2 (DE DROITE À GAUCHE), Aqṣā.

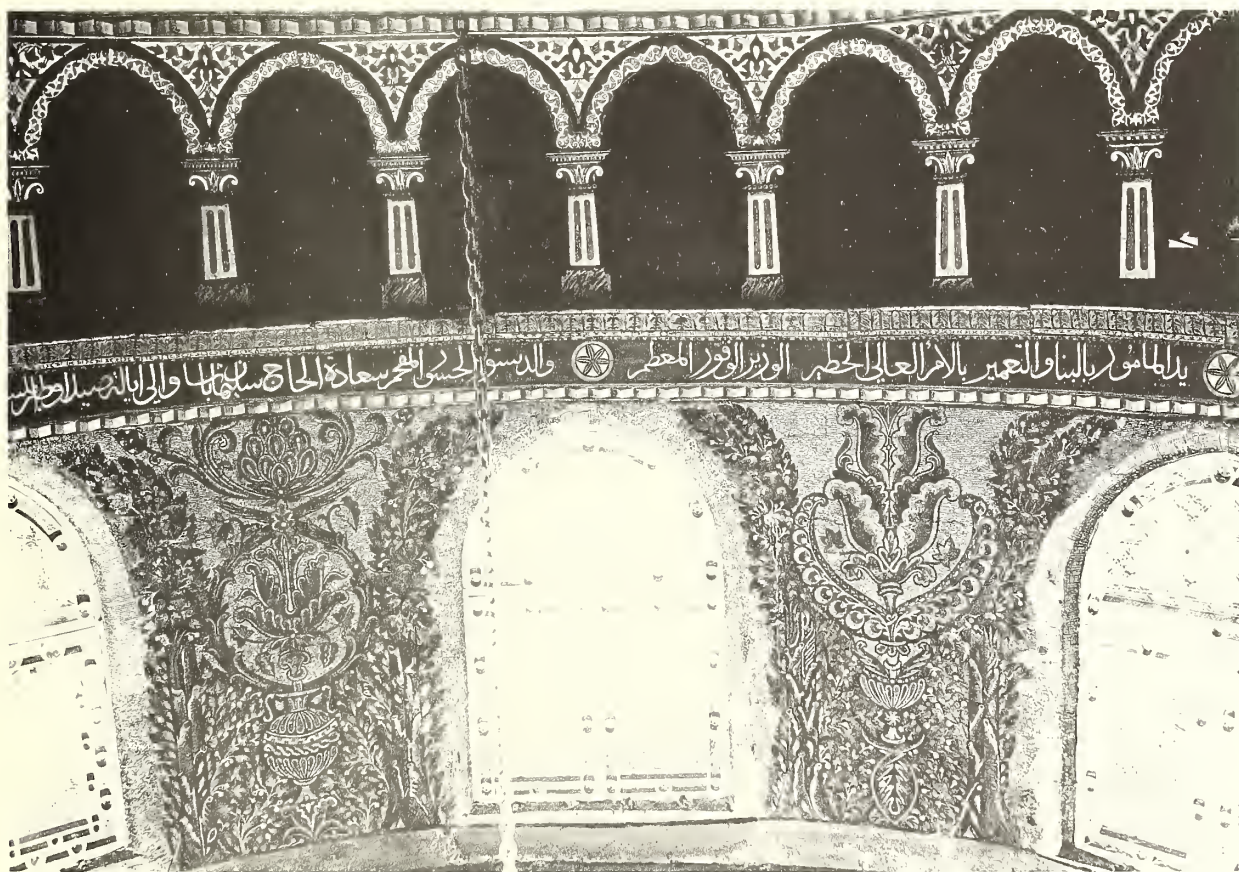


FIG. 33.—MOSAÏQUES DU TAMBOUR, PANNEAUX 3 ET 4 (DE DROITE À GAUCHE), Aqṣā.





FIG. 34.—MOSAÏQUES D'UN PENDENTIF SOUS LA COUPOLE, AQSĀ.



FIG. 35.—MOSAÏQUES DE L'ARC NORD, AQSĀ.



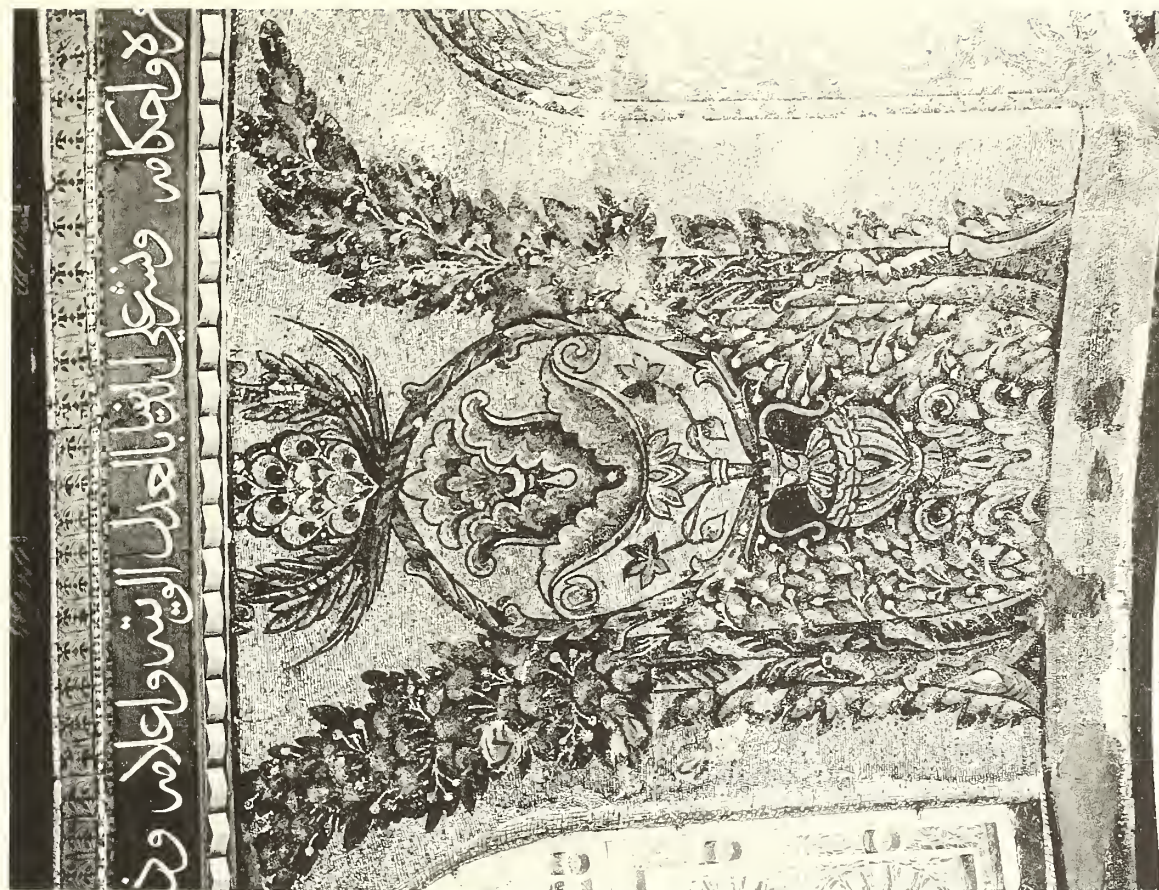


FIG. 37.—MOSAÏQUES DU TAMBOUR, PANNEAU 2, Aqṣā.

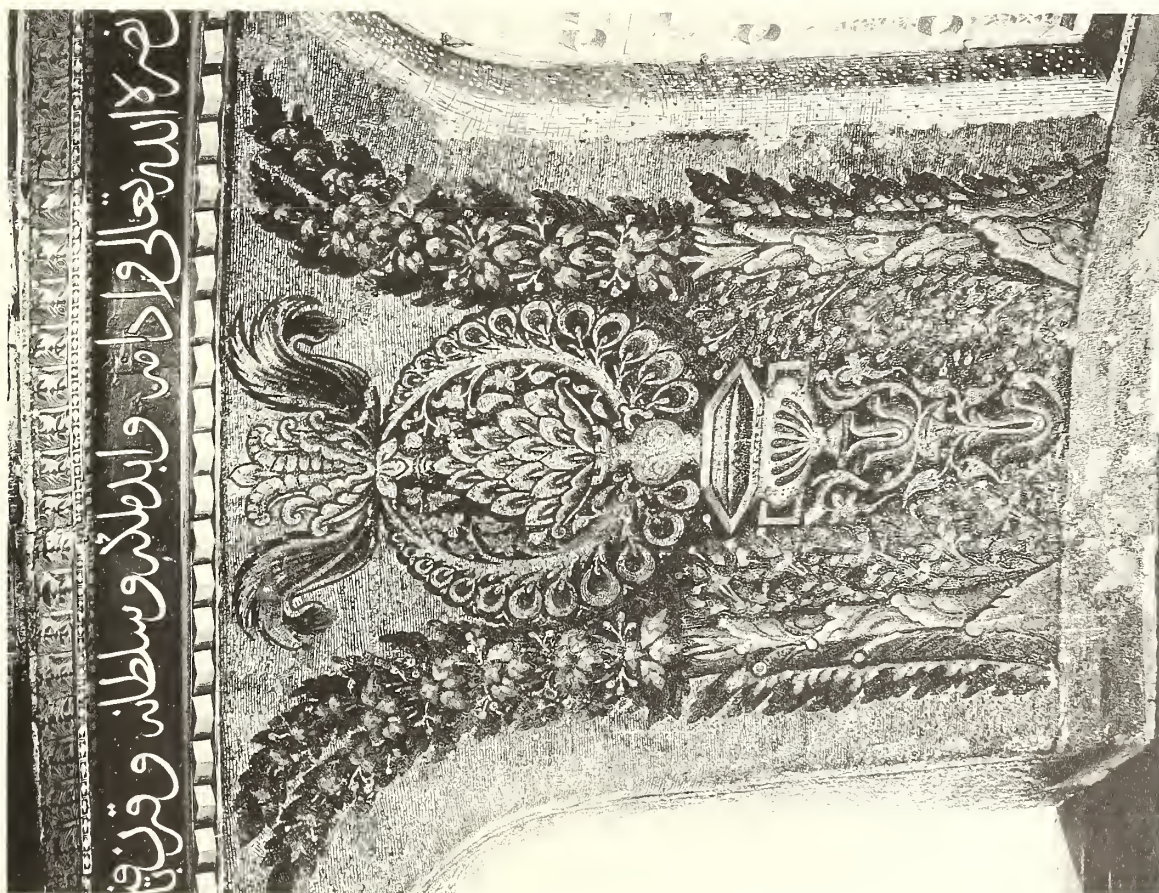


FIG. 36.—MOSAÏQUES DU TAMBOUR, PANNEAU 1, Aqṣā.





FIG. 39.—Mosaïques du Tambour, Panneau 4, Aqşa.



FIG. 38.—Mosaïques du Tambour, Panneau 3, Aqşa.





FIG. 41.—Mosaïques du Tambour, Panneau 6, Aqṣā.

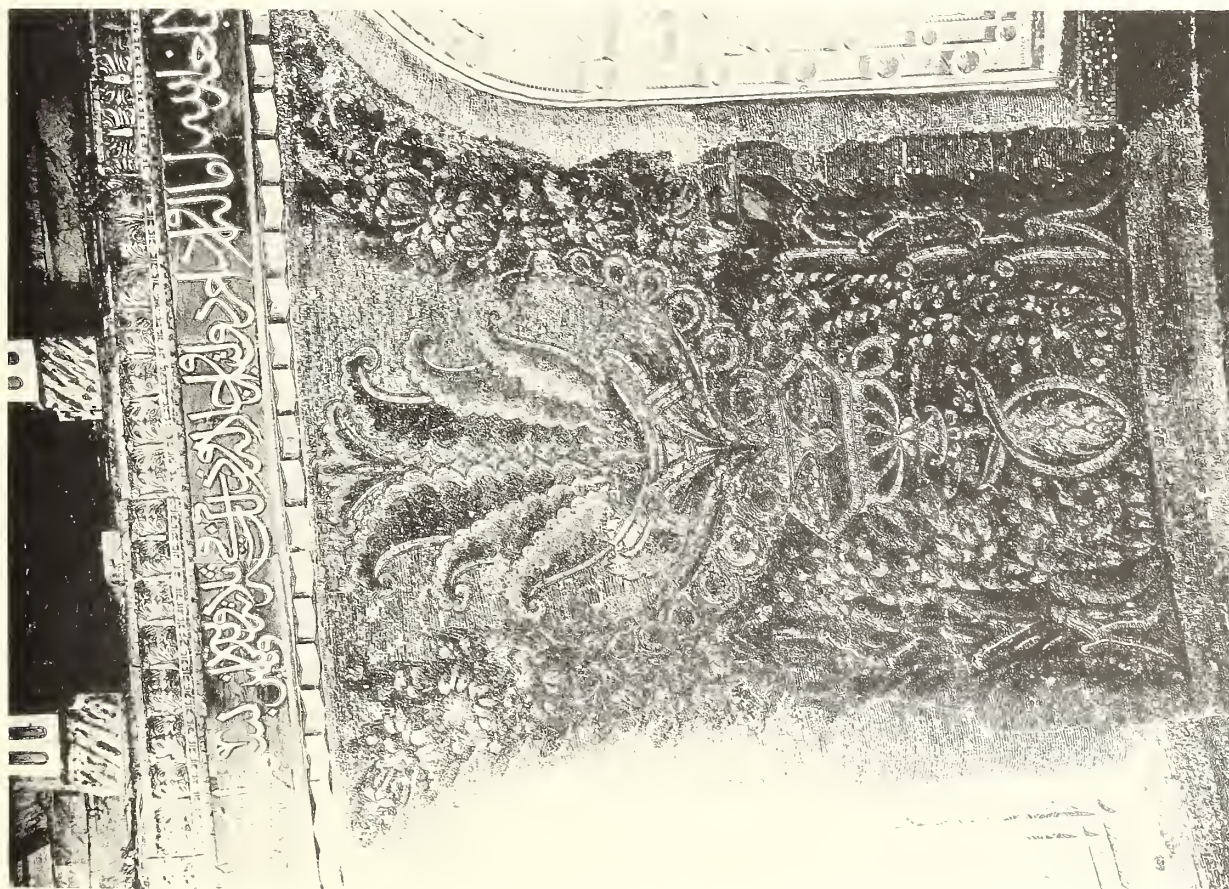


FIG. 40.—Mosaïques du Tambour, Panneau 5, Aqṣā.





FIG. 43.—MOSAÏQUES DU TAMBOUR, PANNEAU 8, AQSÂ.

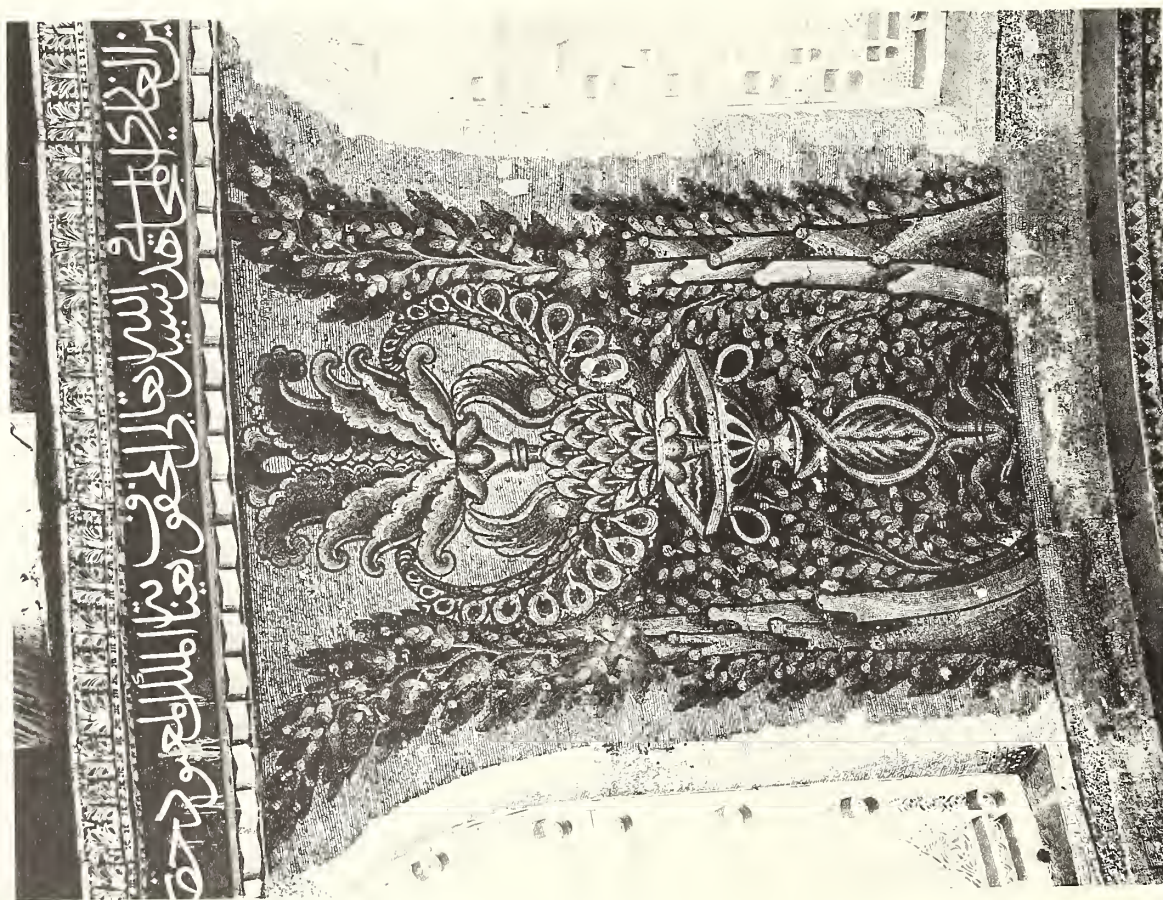


FIG. 42.—MOSAÏQUES DU TAMBOUR, PANNEAU 7, AQSÂ.



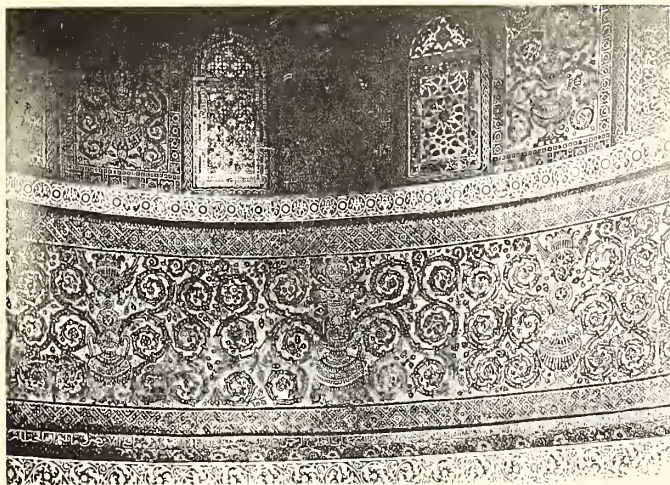


FIG. 44.—MOSAÏQUES SOUS LE TAMBOUR, DÔME DU ROCHER.

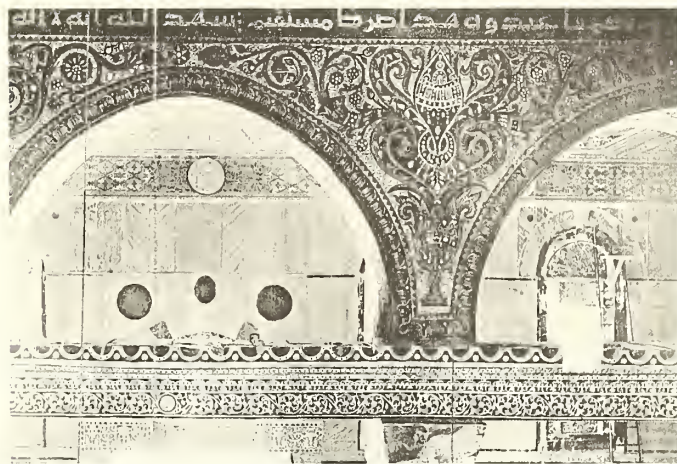


FIG. 45.—MOSAÏQUES DE L'OCTOGONE INTERMÉDIAIRE, DÔME DU ROCHER.

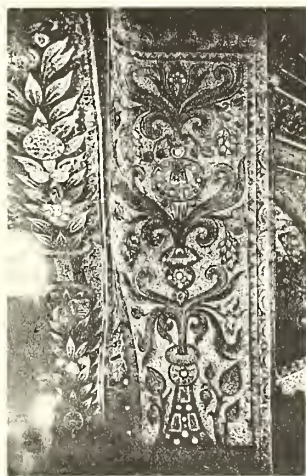


FIG. 46.—MOSAÏQUES SUR LES PILIERS DE L'OCTOGONE INTERMÉDIAIRE, DÔME DU ROCHER.

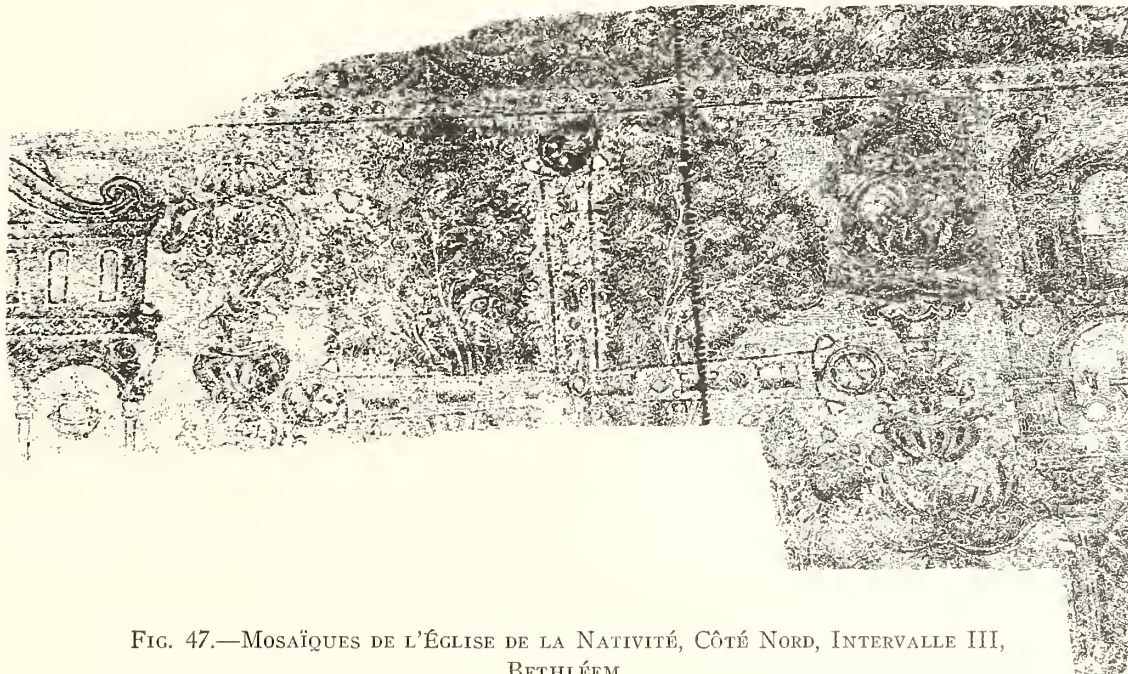


FIG. 47.—MOSAÏQUES DE L'ÉGLISE DE LA NATIVITÉ, CÔTÉ NORD, INTERVALLE III, BETHLÉÉM.



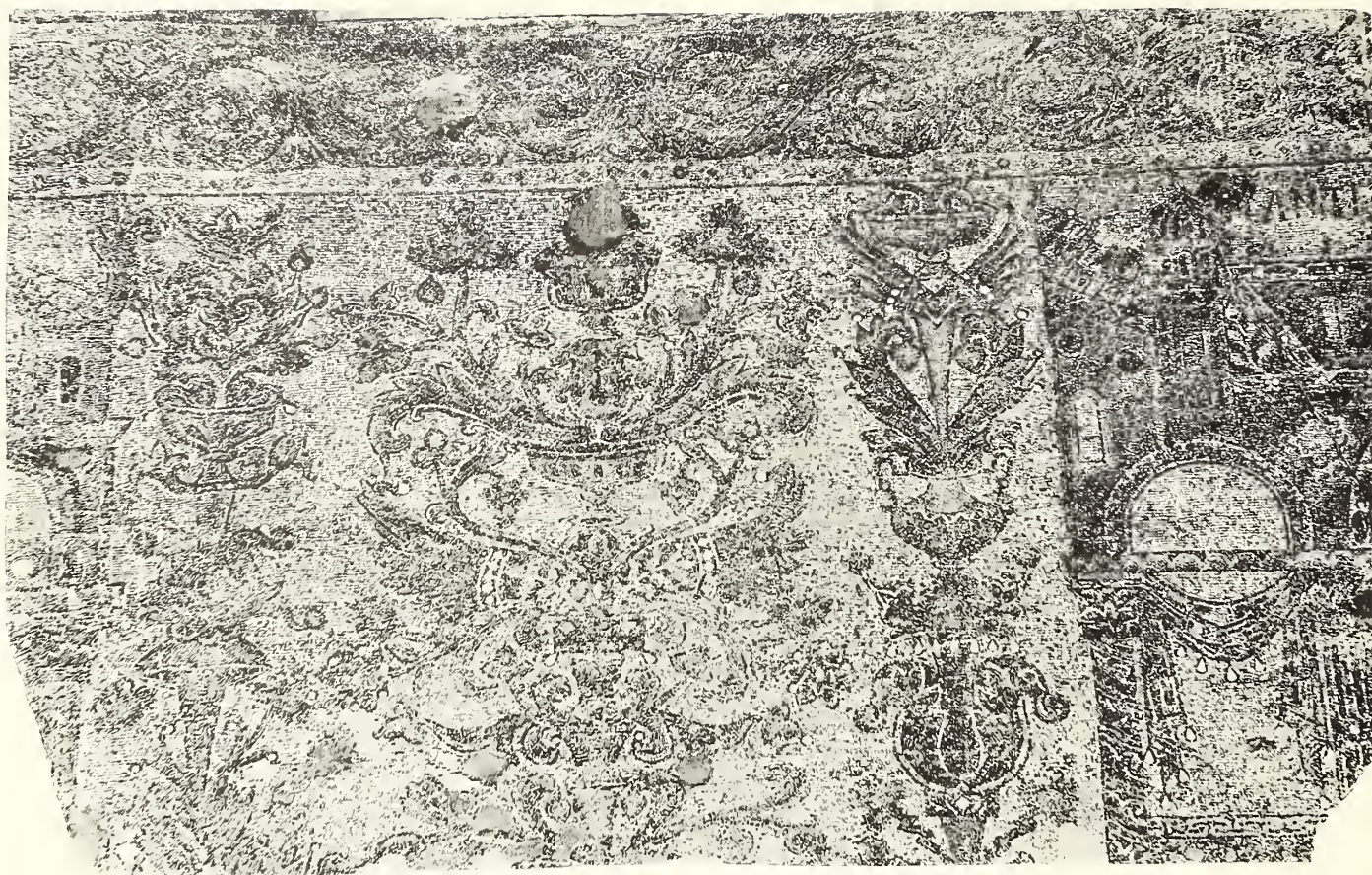


FIG. 48.—MOSAÏQUES DE L'ÉGLISE DE LA NATIVITÉ, CÔTE NORD, INTERVALLE IV, BETHLÉEM.



FIG. 49.—MOSAÏQUES DE L'ÉGLISE DE LA NAVITIÉ, CÔTÉ NORD, INTERVALLE V, BETHLÉEM.



FIG. 50.—MOSAÏQUE D'UN  
PILIER DE L'OCTOGONE  
INTERMÉDIAIRE, DÔME  
DU ROCHER.



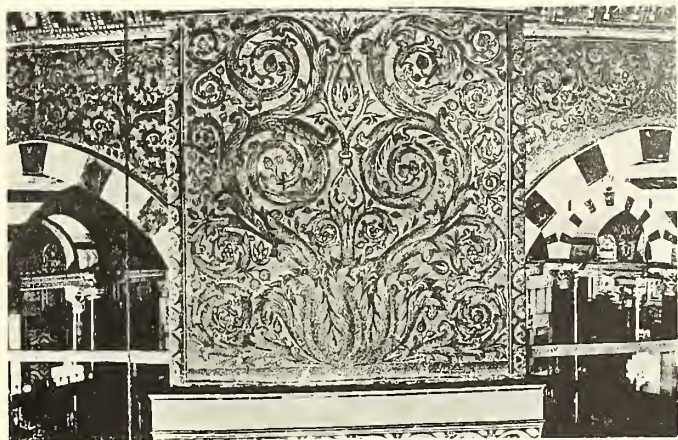


FIG. 51.—MOSAÏQUE D'UN PILIER DE L'OCTOGONE INTERMÉDIAIRE, DÔME DU ROCHER.

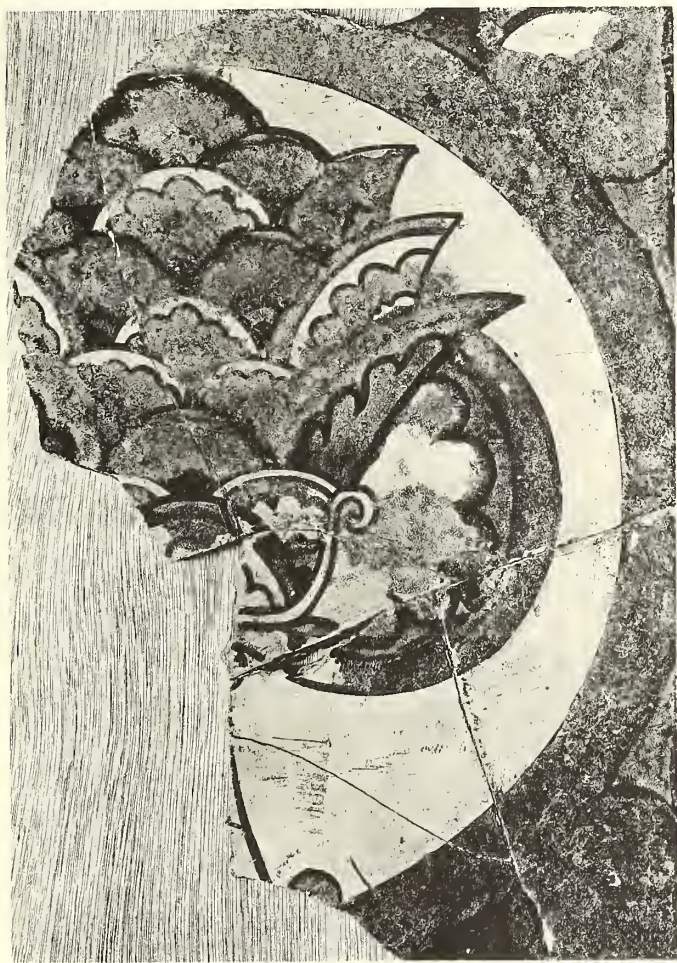


FIG. 53.—PLAQUE DE FAÏENCE BYZANTINE, MUSÉE DU LOUVRE.

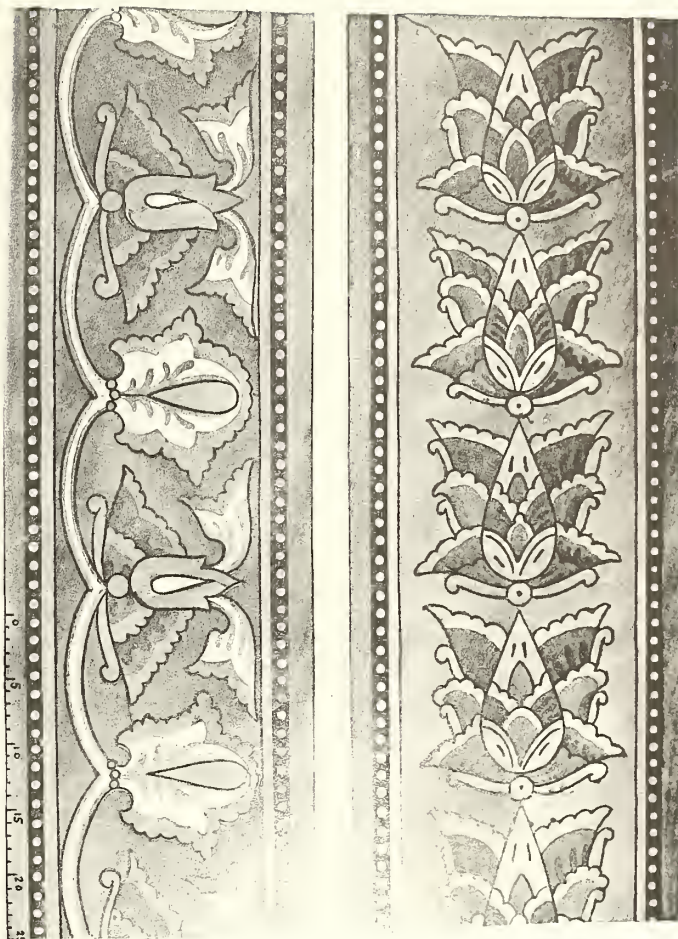


FIG. 52.—POUTRES PEINTES, MOSQUÉE DE KAIROUAN.

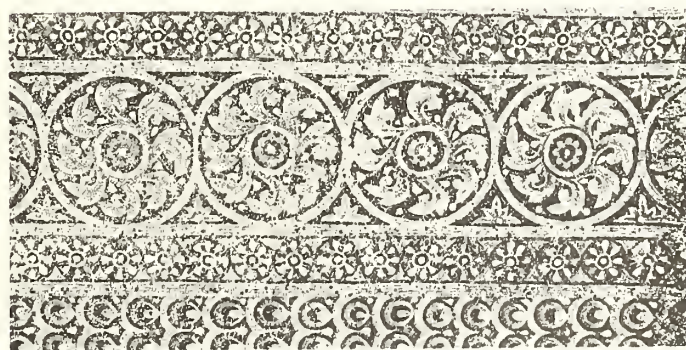


FIG. 54.—BORDURE DE LA MOSAÏQUE DU PORTIQUE OUEST, DÉTAIL, MOSQUÉE DE DAMAS.



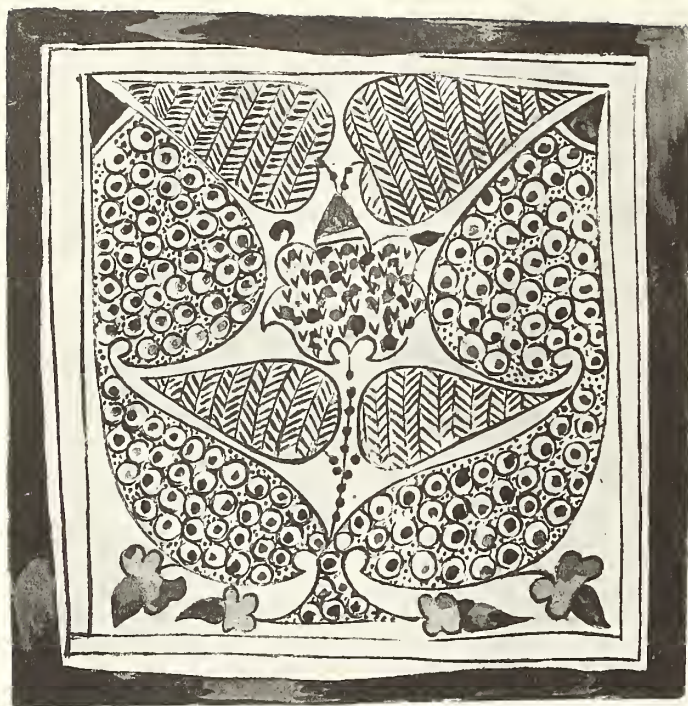


FIG. 55.—PLAQUE DE FAÏENCE, MIHRAB, MOSQUE DE KAIROUAN.

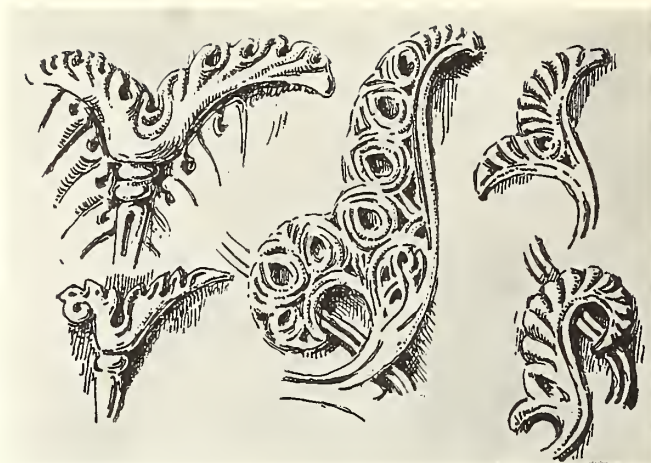


FIG. 56.—DÉCOR SCULPTÉ DU MIHRAB, DÉTAILS,  
MOSQUÉE DE CORDOUE.

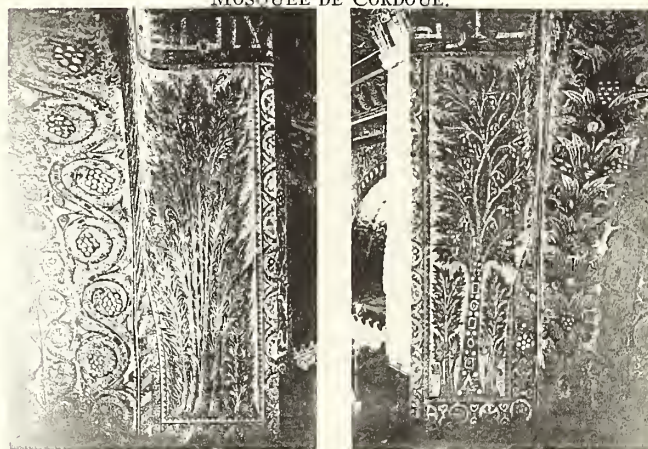


FIG. 58.—MOSAÏQUES D'UN PILIER DE L'OCTOGONE  
INTERMÉDIAIRE, DÔME DU ROCHER.



FIG. 57.—COFFRET EN IVOIRE, COUVERCLE,  
MUSÉE DU LOUVRE.

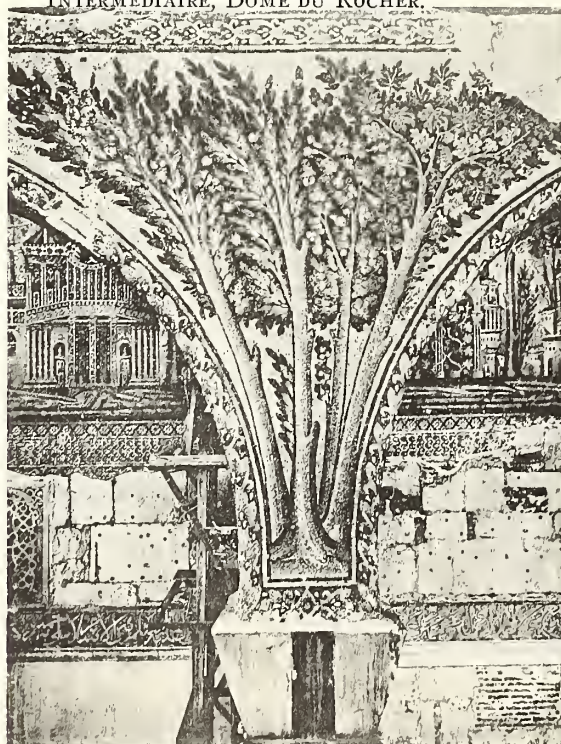


FIG. 59.—MOSAÏQUE DU PORTIQUE OUEST,  
MOSQUÉE DE DAMAS.





FIG. 60.—MOSAÏQUE DE PAVEMENT DU BAIN, MAFJAR.



FIG. 61.—MOSAÏQUE, BORDURE, DÔME DU ROCHER.

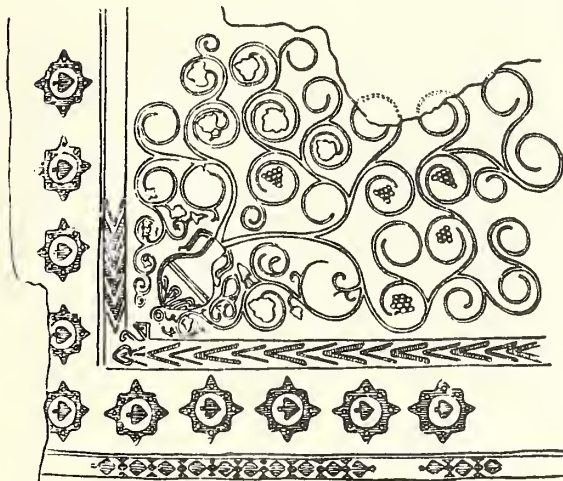


FIG. 62.—MOSAÏQUE MURALE, ÉGLISE DE QARTAMÏN, TUR-ABDIN.

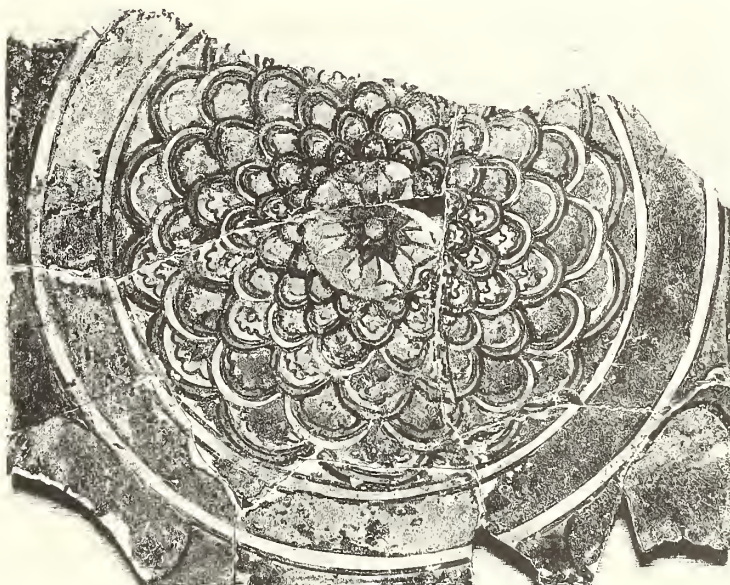


FIG. 63.—PLAQUE DE FAÏENCE BYZANTINE, MUSÉE DU LOUVRE.

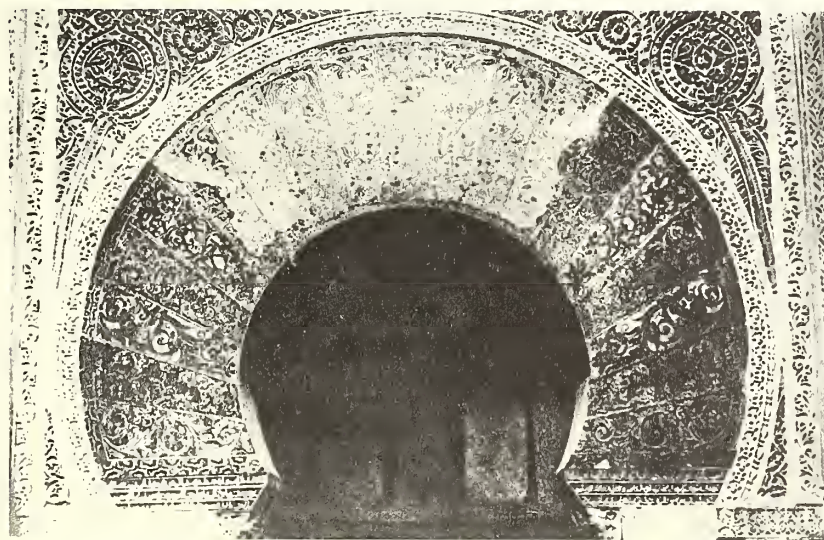


FIG. 64.—ARC DE TÊTE DU MIHRAB, MOSQUÉE DE CORDOUE.

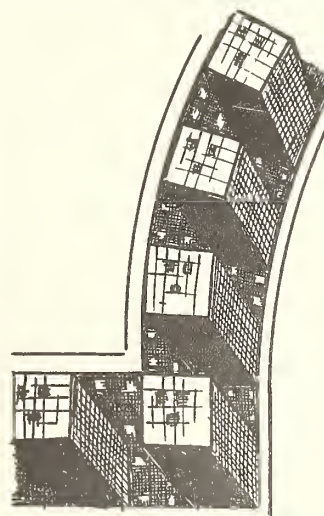


FIG. 65.—MOSAÏQUE, DÉTAIL DE BORDURE, DÔME DU ROCHER.





# TULUNIDISCHE LÜSTERFAYENCE<sup>1</sup>

VON RUDOLPH SCHNYDER

ALS AḤMAD IBN ṬŪLŪN, DER SOHN EINES türkischen Sklaven aus Buchara, im Jahre 868 (A.H. 254) als Statthalter nach Ägypten geschickt wurde, sollte dies den Anfang einer glänzenden Epoche ägyptischer Geschichte bedeuten. In den ersten Jahren seiner Statthalterschaft verstand er es, Ägypten, das seit der arabischen Eroberung dem Kalifen in Bagdad unterstanden hatte, zu einem ziemlich selbständigen Staate zu machen. Wenn das Land bis anhin erbarmunglos von der Regierung ausgesogen worden war, seine Einnahmen teils nach Bagdad, teils in die Privattasche des jeweiligen Steuerdirektors flossen, dann brachte das Auftreten Aḥmads und die Begründung einer selbständigen, ṭulunidischen Dynastie eine grundlegende Besserung der Zustände: der Geldabfluss nach Bagdad hörte auf, der Überschuss an Steuern wurde frei für Ausgaben im Lande selbst. Obgleich Aḥmad sein Werk mit der äusserst kostspieligen Aufstellung einer zuverlässigen und kriegstüchtigen Armee begonnen hatte, schien er sich die Mittel zu deren Unterhalt nicht durch Schröpfen seiner Untertanen zu beschaffen; vielmehr war er bestrebt, seine Position vermittlels einer gesunden Wirtschaft und leistungsfähiger Industrien zu untermauern, so dass aus der heruntergekommenen Provinz Ägypten das Zentrum eines blühenden Reiches wurde, dessen Macht sich in der Folge bis nach Syrien, Cilicien und Mesopotamien erstreckte.<sup>1</sup> Fustāt wurde zur glänzenden Metropole, an deren Peripherie ein neuer Stadtteil, das Kasernen- und Palastquartier al-Qaṭā'i emporwuchs. In

Alt-Kairo entstanden die uns heute noch erhaltene, berühmte Moschee des Ibn Ṭulūn, ein prächtiger Palast, ein Krankenhaus, ein Aquädukt; andere öffentliche Bauten wurden nicht nur in der ägyptischen Hauptstadt errichtet, sondern auch in Städten des Deltas und Oberägyptens.<sup>2</sup> Durch diese Bautätigkeit dienten die Ausgaben Aḥmads indirekt dem öffentlichen Wohle, der wachsenden Prosperität, die sich bis zu seinem im Jahre 884 (A.H. 270) plötzlich erfolgten Tode immer weiter ausbreitete, die auch unter der Regierung seines Sohnes und Nachfolgers Khumārawayh allgemein anhielt, obgleich dieser im Gegensatz zu seinem Vater ein wenig nüchternes, fantastisch absurdes Regiment führte. Unbekümmert um jeden Staatshaushalt entfaltete er einen höfischen Pomp und Glanz, erfand er kostspielige Liebhabereien, gefiel er sich in verschwenderischen Gesten, dass die Millionen seines Vermögens wie Feuerwerk versprühten. Vielen schönen jungen Frauen und Sängerinnen war er zugetan und stattete deren Wohnungen fürstlich aus, er zog ausgesuchte Blumen, hatte eine grosse Volière mit den seltensten Vögeln und die reichste Menagerie der Welt. Leidenschaftlich liebte Khumārawayh die Kunst, weshalb man ihn häufig als Gast in den koptischen Klöstern fand, wo er sich am Gold der Mosaiken nicht sattsehen konnte. Aus

<sup>1</sup> C. H. Becker, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens unter dem Islam*, Strassburg, 1903, vol. 2, pp. 149–198.

<sup>2</sup> H. A. R. Gibb, *Tuluniden*, *Enz. d. Islam*, vol. 4, p. 905, nennt den Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer, Führer durch die Ausstellung No. 773, Wien, 1892, als ein Dokument, das Bezug nimmt auf die Ausstattung einer Moscheeschule in Ashmunain durch Aḥmad Ibn Ṭulūn. Über die Bautätigkeit von Aḥmad orientiert K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim architecture*, Oxford, 1940, vol. 2, pp. 327–360. Dasselbst findet sich auch eine umfassende Bibliographie.

Liebe zu Glanz und Schönheit liess er in seinem Palast einen Pavillon bauen, dessen Wände mit einer Schicht massiven Goldes verkleidet und mit Pflanzen- und Blattwerk aus Lapislazuli inkrustiert waren,—liess er davor einen Teich aus reinem Quecksilber anlegen, der in Mondnächten wunderbar schimmerte. Vom Golde glänzten seine Kleider, glänzte sein Hofstaat, dass Khumārawayh als legendäre Gestalt der ägyptischen Vergangenheit selbst Vertreter des prachtliebenden französischen "Grand Siècle" wie de Maillet, den Gesandten Ludwigs XIV in Ägypten, in Staunen versetzte und faszinierte.<sup>3</sup>

Bei dem allgemeinen, alle Sphären des Lebens miteinbeziehenden Aufwand, der von Ibn Ṭūlūn mit weisem Masshalten, von Khumārawayh mit massloser Verschwendung betrieben wurde, muss angenommen werden, dass nicht nur Palast und Leibgarde, Tracht und Armaturen repräsentativ aufgeputzt wurden, sondern auch alle kleinen und kleinsten Belange des täglichen Umgangs ihren fürstlichen Rahmen hatten; da jedoch, was diese kleineren Dinge anbetrifft, die Sorge um eine festliche Tafel ein sehr wesentlicher Punkt ist, mag zumindest Khumārawayh Gedecke gehabt haben, wo chinesisches Porzellan so wenig fehlte wie die feinsten Erzeugnisse islamischer Fayence-Manufakturen. Ihm, dem Kenner, der sich am Glanz des Goldes ergötzte wie kein anderer, können die raffinierten Reize der golden schillernden Lüsterfayence nicht verborgen geblieben sein. Davon mögen die reichen Funde erzählen, die im Gebiete der Schutthügel von Fustāt und auf dem Areal der unter den Ṭūlūniden stark geförderten Industriezentren Behnasa und Ashmūnayn in Oberägypten an feinsten Lüsterfayence des

<sup>3</sup> Benoit de Maillet, *Description de l'Égypte, composée sur les mémoires de M. de Maillet, ancien consul de France au Caire, par l'Abbé Le Mascrier*, la Haye, 1750; Zaky Mohamed Hassan, *Les Tulu-nides*, Paris, 1933, pp. 125–133.

neunten Jahrhunderts gemacht wurden. Es handelt sich dabei um Scherben von der gleichen Art, wie sie anlässlich der grossen deutschen Ausgrabung in den Palästen von Samarra erstmals in grösseren Mengen zum Vorschein kamen, jener Stadt in Mesopotamien, die 838 bis 883 Residenz der Kalifen war. Die in Samarra gefundenen Fragmente zögerte man nicht, auf Grund ihrer hohen handwerklichen Qualität und vornehmen Dekoration, deren Lüstereffekte eine überragende Technik des Rauchbrandes voraussetzen, als Bruchstücke einer in der Nachbarschaft des Hofes entstandenen Ware anzusehen und dementsprechend als "Keramik von Samarra" zu bezeichnen.<sup>4</sup> Unter diesem Begriff wurden in der Folge auch sämtliche anderwärts aufgetauchten Beispiele gleicher Art verstanden: die Fundstücke aus Ägypten, die Fundstücke aus den persischen Städten Rayy, Sāveh und Nishapur und die berühmten Fliesen am *miḥ-rāb* von Sidi 'Okba in Kairouan.<sup>5</sup> Meist be-

<sup>4</sup> Friedrich Sarre, *Die Keramik von Samarra*, Berlin, 1925.

<sup>5</sup> Für Persien vgl. Ch. Vignier, *New excavations at Rhages*, Burlington Magazine, vol. 25, July 1914; M. Pézard, *La céramique archaïque de l'Islam et ses origines*, Paris, 1920; R. Koechlin, *Les céramiques musulmanes de Suse au Musée du Louvre*, Paris, 1928; A. U. Pope, *A survey of Persian art*, London-New York, 1939, vol. 2, pp. 1487–98; *The Iranian expedition 1937*, Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, vol. 33, No. 11, sect. 2, November 1938, p. 14.

Für Ägypten vgl. A. J. Butler, *Islamic pottery*, London, 1926; Aly Bey Baghat et Félix Massoul, *La céramique musulmane de l'Égypte*, le Caire, 1930; H. Gallois in *Aréthuse*, No. 28, 1930; 'Abd al-Ra'uf 'Ali Yūsuf, in *Majallah Kuliyat al-Adab*, vol. 18, Mai 1956, pp. 71–106.

Für Kairouan vgl. G. Marçais, *Les fayences à reflets métalliques de la grande mosquée de Kairouan*, Paris, 1928.

Allgemein vgl. E. Kühnel, *Die 'abbāsīdischen Lüsterfayencen*, Ars Islamica, vol. 1, 1934, pp. 149–159; R. L. Hobson, *Guide to the Islamic pottery of the Near East*, British Museum, London, 1932; M. S.



wunderte Eigenschaft solcher Samarra-Lüsterfayence ist ihre Polychromie; die feinen Metallfolien ihrer Golddekorationen glänzen in den verschiedensten Farben,—oft erscheinen sie intensiv rubinrot, oft gelb, purpurn oder grünlich schillernd, zuweilen selbst in Rosa- und Lilatönen. Daneben wird der Samarrakeramik zugerechnet auch eine Gruppe von Lüsterfayence, die eine einheitliche, monochrome Lüstrierung zeigt von zumeist grün bis braunolivem oder grün bis goldgelbem Ton. Stücke dieser zweiten Gruppe sind jedoch zum weitaus grössten Teil nicht mehr in die Zeit der Residenz Samarra zu datieren; sie gehören einer späteren Epoche an. Wir haben festen Grund anzunehmen, dass diese mesopotamischen Verhältnisse auch für das ägyptische Fundmaterial gelten. Danach ist zu schliessen, dass unter den Tūlūniden, deren Herrschaft weitgehend in Jahrzehnte fällt, da Samarra noch Stadt der Kalifen war, nicht monochrome, sondern vornehmlich jene brillante, durch farbige Leuchtkraft des Goldes besonders ausgezeichnete, polychrome Lüsterfayence im Schwange war, wie wir sie von vielen in Ägypten gefundenen Fragmenten her kennen.<sup>6</sup> Sie ist deshalb Gegenstand dieser Untersuchung.<sup>7</sup>

Dimand, *A handbook of Muhammadan art*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1944; A. Lane, *Early Islamic pottery*, London, 1947.

<sup>6</sup> Aly Bey Baghat, *La céramique musulmane de l'Égypte*, p. 41 f. verfolgt die ägyptische Lüsterfayence-Produktion bis in vortūlūnidische Zeit zurück. Bei den monochromen Lüsterfayencen, die er als so frühe Beispiele anführt, muss es sich jedoch fast ausnahmslos um Ware des zehnten-elften Jahrhunderts handeln, wie E. Kühnel, *op. cit.*, p. 150 f. schon bemerkte.

<sup>7</sup> Der Verfasser möchte Herrn Dr. Mohamed Mostafa, dem Direktor des Museums für Islamische Kunst in Kairo, Herrn Prof. R. Ghirshman, dem Direktor der Mission archéologique en Susiane, Herrn Arthur Lane vom Victoria und Albert Museum in London, Herrn Prof. K. Erdmann von den Ehemals

## I

Sämtliche Bruchstücke, die an polychrom lüstrierter Fayence in Ägypten zutage kamen, stammen von tadellos gebrannter Ware. Bis heute entdeckte man keine Fragmente, die als Produkte von Fehlbränden, als Scherben missratenen Geschirrs zu betrachten wären. Damit fehlen uns Beweisstücke, die eindeutig den Schluss zuliessen, dass in Ägypten polychrome Lüsterfayence hervorgebracht wurde. Nach der heute vorherrschenden Meinung sollen deshalb alle Stücke dieser Art mesopotamischer Herkunft sein. Zwar wurden auch in Mesopotamien bis heute weder Brennöfen noch im Brand eindeutig gefehlte Stücke gefunden, die den Ort ehemaliger Werkstätten bestimmten, doch scheint das Material für die mesopotamische Herkunft zu sprechen. Nach den Beobachtungen von Ernst Kühnel soll es keine nachweislich ägyptische Ware geben, die nur annähernd denselben Ton und ähnliche Glasuren zeigt wie diese für mesopotamisch erklärten Fragmente. Tatsächlich sondert sich der Samarra-Typus unter den Tausenden von späteren, vornehmlich fatimidischen Lüsterscherben, die in den Schutthügeln von Alt-Kairo zutage kamen, ohne weiteres ab.<sup>8</sup> Dass hier Import vorliegen könnte, ist durchaus möglich, wissen wir doch, dass in jener Zeit ein ausgedehnter Handel blühte, der die grossen Städte Fustāt und Bagdad eng miteinander verband. Auch ist uns ein Beispiel mesopotamischer Exportware erhalten in den polychrom lüstrierten Fliesen am *mihrāb* von Sidi 'Okba in Kairouan, die nach Aussage der Quellen von

Staatlichen Museen in Berlin, ferner den Leitern der islamischen Abteilungen des Louvre, des British Museum und der Museen in Teheran und Kopenhagen danken für ihre freundliche Hilfe und die Erlaubnis zu fotografieren. Dank sei hier auch dem Schweizerischen Nationalfonds, der Keramik-Stiftung Basel und der Janggen-Pöhn-Stiftung St. Gallen abgestattet, die diese Arbeit unterstützt haben.

<sup>8</sup> E. Kühnel, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

Bagdad nach Nordafrika gebracht wurden.<sup>9</sup> Da die Fliesen von Kairouan um 862 zu datieren sind, mochte man auch für die in Ägypten gefundenen polychromen Lüsterscherben eher eine Datierung in vorṭulūnidische Zeit gutheissen. Damals schon muss es in Fustāt eine so grosse Bagdader-Kolonie gegeben haben, dass ein nach Ägypten geflohener Parteigänger des im Jahre 862 ermordeten Kalifen al-Mustanṣir sich fürchtete, auf der Strasse erkannt zu werden.<sup>10</sup> Diese Verhältnisse könnten auf eine entsprechende Verbreitung mesopotamischer Ware schliessen lassen; ob sie aber, zusammen mit den oben geäusserten Gründen, genügen, die zahlreichen ägyptischen Funde an polychromer Lüsterfayence gesamthaft als mesopotamisch zu erklären, dies ist eine andere Frage. Hier muss allein schon die Menge des zutage geförderten Materials, die grösser ist als irgendwo sonst, gewisse Skepsis wecken. Zu denken gibt auch die Tatsache, dass in Ägypten ausschliesslich lüstrierte "Samarra-Ware" gefunden wurde, während andere "Samarra-Keramik", wie kobaltblau oder kupfergrün bemalte Fayence, hier nicht zum Vorschein kam. Darf dieses Phänomen dahin gedeutet werden, dass man sich in Ägypten aus Gründen des Geschmacks auf golden dekorierte Ware beschränkte? Darf man vermuten, dass sich hier schon jene spezifisch ägyptische Vorliebe für Lüsterfayence abzeichnet, die später, zur Zeit der Fatimiden, in Ägypten allgemein zu beobachten ist? Wie dem auch sei, die präziöse Auswahl der ägyptischen Funde an "Samarra-Keramik" kann nicht nur durch entsprechende, die "Wünsche der ägyptischen Kundschaft berücksichtigende Geschirrsendungen der mesopotamischen Manufakturen erklärt werden,<sup>11</sup> sie kann ebenso-

gut bedingt sein durch eine auf die Erzeugung von Lüsterfayence spezialisierte, einheimisch-ägyptische Industrie. Dass es eine solch im Nillande zwar kaum in vorṭulūnidischer Zeit, wohl aber nach der Machtergreifung Ibn Ṭulūns gab, ist umso wahrscheinlicher, als viele mesopotamische Handwerker und Künstler dem Ṭulūniden in sein neuauflühendes Reich folgten. Damals können auch mesopotamische Töpfer den Weg nach Nordafrika gefunden haben, gleich wie es uns aus Kairouan bezeugt ist, wo ein Mann aus Bagdad einen Teil der Fliesen von Sidi 'Okba an Ort und Stelle geschaffen haben soll.<sup>12</sup> So wie die Fliesen von Sidi 'Okba alle, sowohl die aus Mesopotamien importierten, als auch die in Kairouan fabrizierten Stücke, typisch mesopotamischen Stil zeigen, müssen wir annehmen, dass auch die Produkte neu eingewanderter, mesopotamischer Handwerker in Ägypten zur Zeit Ibn Ṭulūns rein mesopotamisch aussahen. Dies beweisen die Stuck-Dekorationen der Ṭulūnidenmoschee zur Genüge!<sup>13</sup> Wenn man jedoch meinte, dass für die Keramik insofern andere Verhältnisse vorlägen, als zwar Töpfer aus dem Zweistromland in Ägypten mesopotamische Formen hätten hervorbringen können, dass ihnen aber die für Mesopotamien typischen Rohmaterialien fehlten, wie der feine Ton und die Mineralien zur Erzeugung mesopotamischer Fayenceglasuren, dann wird durch diesen Einwand der wahre Sachverhalt nur verdunkelt. Bei der äussersten Feinheit der in Frage stehenden Ware sind wir nämlich gezwungen anzunehmen, dass die hierfür verwendeten Rohstoffe mit grösster Sorgfalt ausgesucht und präpariert wurden. Wahrscheinlich wurde der Ton

<sup>9</sup> G. Marçais, *Les faïences à reflets métalliques de la grande mosquée de Kairouan*, Paris, 1928, p. 10.

<sup>10</sup> K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim architecture*, vol. 2, p. 356.

<sup>11</sup> Es ist interessant, dass Friedrich Sarre solche

Spezialanfertigungen für Persien und Ägypten durchaus für möglich hält. Sarre, *op. cit.*, pp. 36ff., 101.

<sup>12</sup> G. Marçais, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

<sup>13</sup> S. Flury, *Samarra und die Ornamentik der Moschee des Ibn Ṭulūn*, *Der Islam*, vol. 4, pp. 421-432.



nicht nur geschlemmt, sondern auch mit andern Lehmarten vermischt und zu einer kunstvoll geschmeidigen Masse aufgearbeitet, die leicht zu formen war, beim Trocknen wenig schwand und möglichst alle jene Eigenschaften zeigte, die den hohen Anforderungen der mesopotamischen Töpfer genügen konnten. Deshalb dürfen wir uns nicht wundern, wenn ausserhalb des Zweistromlandes von mesopotamischen Handwerkern gearbeitete Gefässe einen verblüffend ähnlichen Scherben zeigen wie Ware aus Samarra oder Susa. In der Regel neigt in Ägypten gefundene "Samarra-Keramik" mehr zu leicht rotem Scherben, mesopotamische Stücke sind eher von bläulichem Ton, ägyptische Ware zeichnet oft ihre beachtliche Härte aus, wohingegen die Keramik aus Samarra fast ausnahmslos auffallend weich gebrannt ist. Bei diesen fast unmerklichen Differenzen zwischen hier und dort dürfen wir uns nicht durch die viel gröbere Tonqualität fatimidischer Lüsterfayence zu dem Schluss verleiten lassen, dass diese allgemein für jede ägyptische Ware typisch sein müsse.

Viel ausgesprochener noch als die Tonmasse ist die Glasur ein künstliches, nach einem bestimmten Rezept zusammengestelltes Erzeugnis. Das Rezept von neu nach Ägypten eingewanderten Töpfern konnte nur mesopotamisch sein. Es lautete auf jenen wunderbar homogenen, eher dick aufgetragenen, opak-weißen Glasfluss, der, häufiger in Samarra, selten in Fustât, schlecht am Scherben haftet und zum Absplittern neigt. Da Rezepte, wonach die Töpfer arbeiten, im allgemeinen ausserordentlich konservativ sind, müssen wir zur Einsicht kommen, dass weder Tonqualität noch Glasur eindeutige Kriterien abgeben können, einheimisch-mesopotamische Ware von anderwärts, nach mesopotamischen Rezepten hergestellter Ware zu unterscheiden. Wenn also nach Massgabe dieser mehr technischen Gesichtspunkte kein Anlass besteht, die in Ägypten

gefundenen, polychromen Lüsterfayencen gesamthaft als mesopotamische Importware zu erklären, dann soll im Folgenden dargelegt werden, dass auch aus zeitlich-stilistischen Gründen eine von Mesopotamien abgezweigte, einheimisch ägyptische Fayence-Manufaktur durchaus wahrscheinlich erscheint.

## II

Die Datierung polychromer Lüsterfayence ist weitgehend gesichert dank der präzisen Anhaltspunkte, die uns die deutsche Ausgrabung von Samarra hinterlassen hat. Nach der zuverlässigen Auskunft von Friedrich Sarre wurden hier die meisten und besten Lüsterfragmente im Kalifenpalast Jawsaq al-Khâqâni oder Bayt al-Khalifah und in den Ruinen des Qaṣr al-ʿĀshiq gefunden.<sup>14</sup> Seit der Gründung von Samarra residierten die Kalifen meistens im Jawsaq, bis al-Muʿtamid im Jahre 878 seinen Hof in das neuerbaute Schloss al-ʿĀshiq verlegte, bevor er Samarra 883 endgültig verliess. Wenn die Überlieferung auch angezweifelt wird, ob al-Muʿtamid der Erbauer von al-ʿĀshiq sei, dann scheint mir doch sehr wahrscheinlich, dass die daselbst gefundenen Beispiele polychromer Lüsterfayence aus der kurzen Zeit datieren, da das Schloss Residenz des Kalifen war.<sup>15</sup> Deshalb wird auch jenes bekannte Fundstück aus al-ʿĀshiq, der heute in Berlin-Ost aufbewahrte, lüstrierte Fayencenapf, in den Jahren um 880 in Ge-

<sup>14</sup> F. Sarre, *op. cit.*, pp. 36–42. Aus al-ʿĀshiq speziell polychrome Lüsterware, p. 40 f., sowie kleine rubinrote Fragmente in Berlin, davon unser Fussprofil D abgenommen wurde.

<sup>15</sup> Ernst Herzfeld, *Die Geschichte der Stadt Samarra*, Hamburg, 1948, p. 129; K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim architecture*, vol. 2, p. 363 f.; E. Kühnel, *Samarra*, Bilderhefte der islamischen Abteilung der Staatlichen Museen in Berlin, p. 21, meint im Gegensatz zu Herzfeld und Creswell al-ʿĀshiq früher datieren zu müssen auf Grund der Stuckdekorationen.

brauch gewesen sein.<sup>16</sup> Dieser Napf wurde bis anhin nach Massgabe der Fayence-Fliesen von Kairouan um 860 datiert. Ob die Dekorationen des in Frage stehenden Stückes zu einer so frühen Datierung Anlass geben, ist allerdings fraglich. Wenn wir nämlich die umfangreiche und für den Zeitpunkt ihrer Entstehung zweifellos repräsentative Muster-Kollektion der Kairouaner Lüsterfliesen auf die Dekorationsmotive des Napfes aus al-'Āshiq hin absuchen, dann lassen sich Unterschiede feststellen nicht nur im Hinblick auf den Formenschatz der Palmetten, sondern auch in der Auswahl der die Palmetten-Felder belebenden Zeichnungen. So ist beispielsweise im Inventar der Palmettenfüllungen von Kairouan nicht anzutreffen jene für das Stück aus al-'Āshiq bezeichnende, weitmaschige, mit Farbtupfen besetzte Gitterdekoration, wie sie ähnlich auch ein kreisförmiges Feld zeigt auf dem hier in Tafel V, 28 abgebildeten Fragment aus Fustāṭ. An demselben Motiv lässt sich auch eine für Kairouan nicht bezeugte Trennung von Zeichnung und Malerei beobachten, indem die flächigen Farbakzente ziemlich frei in das vorgezeichnete Liniennetz der Konturen und Schraffen gestreut sind, ein Dekorationsstil, der viel ausgeprägter noch mancher andern in Mesopotamien oder in Ägypten gefundenen Lüsterscherbe eignet. Wenn man den Reichtum des Materials von Kairouan bedenkt, dann kommt diesen motivischen und stilistischen Differenzen wenigstens so viel Bedeutung zu, dass man eine etwas spätere Datierung des in al-'Āshiq zutage gekommenen Fundstücks für wahrscheinlich halten darf.

In diesem Zusammenhang sei auch auf die

<sup>16</sup> Sarre, *op. cit.*, Taf. XVI, p. 155; Kühnel, *Die 'abbāsiden Lüsterfayencen*, fig. 2, p. 148; Kühnel, *Samarra*, Abb. 27. Es ist wohl kein Zufall, dass auch ein in Samarra gefundenes Stofffragment den Kalifen al-Mu'tamid nennt, d.h. aus der letzten Zeit der Residenz Samarra datiert (Kühnel, *Samarra*, Abb. 21).

Funde an polychromer Lüsterfayence aus Susa hingewiesen. Zwar konnten hier weder aus dem Gelände noch aus glücklichen Fundumständen Anhaltspunkte für die Datierung einzelner Scherben gewonnen werden, doch geben in diesem besonderen Fall Ereignisse der Geschichte gewisse Richtlinien. Dabei denken wir an den grossen Sklavenaufstand, der das Gebiet des südlichen Irak in den Jahren von 869 bis 883 schwer heimsuchte. 871 fiel die blühende Handels- und Hafenstadt al-Baṣrah in die Hand der Rebellen, welche die Bevölkerung zu hunderttausenden hinmordeten, die Bazare plünderten und alles in Brand steckten. Das Ausmass der Folgen dieser Katastrophe ist schwer abzuschätzen; wir wissen aber, dass al-Baṣrah ein sehr bedeutendes Zentrum der mesopotamischen Glasfabrikation und Töpferei war. Eine ganze Reihe von Anzeichen weist darauf hin, dass hier sowohl lüstriertes Glas als auch Lüsterfayence hervorgebracht wurde.<sup>17</sup> Deshalb mag der Zusammenbruch insbesondere diese beiden Industrien entscheidend getroffen haben. Die Vermutung liegt nahe, dass die dem Verhängnis entronnenen Handwerker in die sicheren Städte der Umgebung flohen. Flüchtlinge können damals sehr wohl auch nach Susa gekommen sein. Diese Erwägung drängt sich einem geradezu auf, wenn man die in Susa gefundenen, polychromen Lüsterfayencen betrachtet. In dem ziemlich umfangreichen Material bemerkt man eine relativ grosse Zahl völlig gleichartiger Stücke, die, nach den Formen und nach dem Stil ihrer Dekorationen zu urteilen, eine völlig in sich

<sup>17</sup> Ya'kubi, *Les pays* (tr. par Gaston Wiet), Le Caire, 1937, p. 57, sagt, dass unter den Handwerkern, die nach Samarra gebracht wurden, auch Glasbläser und Töpfer waren. Auf die Produktion von Lüsterfayence und -glas weisen hin: A. Lane, *Glazed relief ware of the ninth century AD.*, *Ars Islamica*, vol. 6 (1939), pp. 56-65; R. Ettinghausen, *An early Islamic glass-making center*. Record of the Museum of Historic Art, Princeton University, vols. 1, 2, 1942.



geschlossene Gruppe bilden. Der Vorschlag von Raymond Koechlin, dass es sich hierbei um Produkte einer lokal-einheimischen Werkstatt handeln könnte, ist deshalb naheliegend und durchaus zu erwägen.<sup>18</sup> Er scheint noch berechtigter zu sein, wenn man bedenkt, dass die betreffende Ware nach Massgabe der datierten Vergleichsstücke von Kairouan und al-‘Āshiq durchaus in der Zeit nach der Zerstörung von al-Baṣrah, d.h. in den Jahren um 870/880 entstanden sein könnte. Dafür lassen sich von ganz anderer, unerwarteter Seite neue Belege erbringen. Seltsamerweise wurden nämlich auffallend viele, der Susa-Keramik nächst verwandte Lüsterfragmente nicht in Ctesiphon oder Samarra, den Städten Zentralmesopotamiens gefunden, sondern in Oberägypten: in Behnasa. Bis zu welchem Grade sich Stücke von hier und dort zum Verwechseln ähnlich sehen können, illustrieren Beispiele in Tafel III. Auch die Mehrzahl der in Tafel IV wiedergegebenen Fragmente zeigt Dekorationen, die dem Zeichenschatz von Susa, nicht aber von Samarra nahestehen.<sup>19</sup> Es besteht nun gewiss kein Grund, die in Ägypten gefundenen Fragmente früher zu datieren als das ihnen entsprechende Material von Susa. Sie gehören in die Zeit der aufsteigenden Macht des Ṭulūniden. Zwingt uns diese Beobachtung nicht dazu, noch in anderem Sinne als es bis anhin geschah, eine gemeinsame Quelle anzunehmen, die sowohl nach Susa und Persien, als auch nach Ägypten ausstrahlte? Müssen wir daraus nicht schliessen, dass es weniger mesopotamische Exportgüter sein können, die das reiche ägyptische Fundmaterial an polychro-

mer Lüsterfayence ausmachen, als vielmehr Werke von Fachleuten, die, vertrieben aus ihrer zerstörten Heimat, den Weg nach Westen fanden, geleitet von dem neuaufgegangenen Stern Ägyptens? Jedenfalls gibt es eine ganze Reihe positiver Anzeichen dafür, dass in der Folgezeit unter den Ṭulūniden eigene Manufakturen feinstes Geschirr mit mehrfarbig schillernden Goldlüsterdekorationen nach mesopotamischem Vorbild erzeugten.<sup>20</sup>

### III

Die Klassierung polychromer Lüsterfayence allein auf Grund der äusserlichen, bei feinen Nuancen äusserst heiklen Merkmale von Tonqualität und Glasuren kann nach dem oben Gesagten den Anforderungen nicht genügen, die zur Unterscheidung von Scherben verschiedenen Alters und verschiedener Herkunft nötig sind. Viel zuverlässiger erweist sich für diesen Zweck die sorgfältige Untersuchung der fraglichen Stücke insbesondere auf jene Details hin, die speziell vom individuellen Formwillen einer Schule, einer Werkstatt, eines Töpfers oder Malers abhängen. Dabei denken wir vor allem an die Profile der Schalenfüsse und an die Welt der Dekorationen. Schalen- und Gefässformen fallen hier ausser Betracht, weil uns nur sehr wenig intakte oder vollständig rekonstruierbare Stücke erhalten sind. Für unsere Studie sind wir fast ausschliesslich auf Fragmente angewiesen, die glücklicherweise relativ häufig Anschnitte von Fussringen enthalten. Bei der Beobachtung dieser Fussringe ist man immer wieder überrascht von der Viel-

<sup>18</sup> R. Koechlin, *op. cit.*, p. 5; J. M. Unvala, *Note on the lusted ceramics of Susa*, Bulletin of the American Institute for Persian Art and Archaeology, vol. 4 (1935), p. 79.

<sup>19</sup> Vgl. vor allem unsere Stücke No. 14–17; dann auch Pézard, *op. cit.*, Taf. CXL, vol. 2 (abgebildet auch bei H. Rivière, *La céramique dans l'art musulman*, Paris, 1913, fig. 7).

<sup>20</sup> R. Ettinghausen, *op. cit.*, weist auf zwei Fragmente von Lüsterglas hin, die in Fustāt gefunden wurden und signiert sind: al-Baṣri, d.i. "der Mann aus al-Baṣrah;" A. Lane, *Glazed relief ware*, p. 59, weist auf in Ägypten und in al-Mina zutage gekommene Reliefware hin, die al-Naṣri oder al-Baṣri signiert ist; F. Day, rez. A. Lane, *Mediaeval finds at al Mina in Northern Syria*, *Ars Islamica*, vol. 6, 1939, p. 188 gibt al-Baṣri den Vorzug.

falt der Möglichkeiten freier Gestaltung, die der an sich eher spröde scheinende Gegenstand eines Schalen- oder Tellerfusses bietet.<sup>21</sup> Hier fällt jene Uniformität völlig dahin, welche dem Materiale dieser frühen Lüsterfayence in so starkem Masse nachgesagt wird, dass man zuweilen geneigt war, alle dazugehörigen Fundsplitter als Produkte ein und derselben Herkunft zu erklären. An Stelle dieser Einheitlichkeit tritt eine mannigfach differenzierte Formenfülle, die nur mit Mühe überblickt werden kann und einen bedeutend komplizierten Sachverhalt vermuten lässt. In *Abbildung A-B* wurde der Versuch unternommen, eine möglichst typische, die wesentlichen Formen möglichst vollständig berücksichtigende Auswahl aller jener Fussprofile zu geben, die sich von Fragmenten polychromer Lüsterfayence aus Ägypten abnehmen liessen. Allgemein sind diese Profile in drei Kategorien zu unterteilen: vorerst können wir in dem scheinbar unübersichtlichen Formenschatz Typen erkennen, die im ägyptischen Bereich vereinzelt dastehen, für die sich aber anderwärts, in Mesopotamien oder in Persien, Zweitstücke nachweisen lassen; weiter lassen sich Profile ausscheiden, die sowohl in Ägypten als auch im Zweistromland mehrfach anzutreffen sind; in der Überzahl sind aber jene Typen, die in Ägypten als durchaus gebräuchlich erscheinen, anderwärts jedoch nur ausnahmsweise oder überhaupt nicht vorkommen.

Die erste Art repräsentieren die Profile der Fragmente No. 4, 12, 14. No. 4 zeigt einen auffallend breiten, scharf gekanteten Fussring. No. 12 ist dagegen eine wenig markante Form, die sich aussen zwar vom Schalenkörper deutlich absetzt, innen jedoch einen sanft und flach einspringenden Schalenboden hat. B, ein typisch mesopotamisches Profil, wie es sich an einem Fragment aus Samarra findet (abge-

bildet bei F. Sarre, Taf. XIII, 1) ist hier zum Vergleich wiedergegeben. 14 stellt einen ausgesprochen hohen Fussring dar, der aussen eine rechtwinklige, scharfe, innen eine abgeschrägte, gefaste Kante zeigt. Eine ähnlich geschnittene Form können wir an dem aus Persien stammenden Fragment No. 6 beobachten. Für sämtliche hier genannte Fussformen lassen sich weitere Vergleichsstücke aus Samarra, Susa oder Persien aufzählen, während sich aus Ägypten keine überzeugende Parallele beibringen lässt. Dies darf als Hinweis genommen werden, dass die betreffenden "ägyptischen" Scherben ursprünglich mesopotamischer Herkunft sind.

Profile, die sich sowohl in Ägypten als auch in Mesopotamien mehrfach finden, stellen die Typen 1, 7, 16, 17, 18, 27, 30, 43 dar. 1 zeigt einen ähnlichen Schnitt wie 7, nur ist der Schalenboden beim ersten Stück bedeutend tiefer ausgehoben. Als diesen Formen auffallend verwandt, erweist sich Profil A, das von einem für Susa bezeichnenden Fundstück abgenommen wurde. Beachtliche Parallelen zu Formen aus Susa lassen sich auch für 16 anführen, während 17, 18, und 27 mit ihren flach ausgeschnittenen Schalenböden oder breiten Fussringen auch an Formen aus Samarra erinnern. 30 gehört in die Reihe der hier zuerst genannten Typen; die Proportionen des beidseitig gefasteten Fussrings, die Kerbe, welche den Ansatz des Fusses markiert, wiederholen weitgehend Merkmale von Profil A. Dass die Form hier rechtwinkliger ausgeschnitten und blockhafter behandelt ist, kann weniger auf mesopotamische, mehr auf ägyptische Stücke bezogen werden. 43 gibt endlich einen sonderbar schlanken Fussring, der in C ein ägyptisches, in D ein aus Samarra stammendes Vergleichsstück hat. Weitere Profile ähnlicher Art lassen sich im Fundbestand von Susa nachweisen.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Über die Formgebung von Fussringen vgl. R. Snyder, *Die Keramik von Paterna*, Ars Orientalis, vol. 4 (1961), p. 121 ff.

<sup>22</sup> Vgl. Katalog der abgebildeten Fragmente No. 44.



Die auffallenden Korrespondenzen dieser Gruppe mit mesopotamischen Stücken, vor allem aber mit Fragmenten aus Susa, lassen verschiedene Deutungen zu; einerseits können sie als Beleg für die mesopotamische Herkunft dieses Materials angesehen werden, anderseits entsprechen sie durchaus der oben geäusserten Ansicht, dass in Ägypten Werkstätten von Handwerkern aus der Gegend von al-Baṣrah aufgebaut und betrieben wurden.

Auf eine einheimisch-ägyptische Industrie scheinen schliesslich jene Profile hinzuweisen, die in Mesopotamien nur selten anzutreffen sind, in Ägypten jedoch das Feld beherrschen. Sie werden durch die grosse Gruppe der restlichen Zeichnungen repräsentiert, die insofern eine Einheit darstellen, als es sich hier fast ausschliesslich um kräftig geschnittene, oft leicht nach aussen geschweifte Blockformen handelt. Zwar zeigen diese Blöcke wesentliche Differenzen in Bezug auf den Ausschnitt des Schalenbodens und die Bearbeitung der Kanten. Die äussere Kante des Fussringes ist zuweilen leicht angeschrägt wie bei 34, 35, 38—oder deutlich abgeschrägt wie bei 29, 33, 53, 57; die Fussringe 32, 47, 54, 58 sind doppelt gefast. Meist springt der Schalenboden scharf ein. Auch wenn er nicht durchwegs tief ausgehoben ist, dann ist doch das Profil immer deutlich herausgearbeitet. Dies gilt desgleichen für die Typen 38, 49, 50, die so geschnitten sind, dass der Fuss nach aussen leicht gerundet erscheint, nach innen mit einem starken Wulst versehen ist. Hier heisst No. 50 besonderes Interesse, da dieses Profil von einem Fragment stammt, das in der nahe beim alten Antiochia gelegenen Hafenstadt al-Mina ausgegraben wurde.<sup>23</sup> Es fügt sich ganz selbstverständlich dem ägyptischen Fundmaterial ein. Eine Ausnahme bilden nur die Typen 2, 8, 9, für die ich weder im mesopotamischen noch im ägyptischen

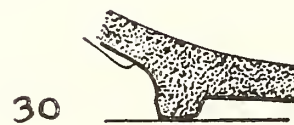
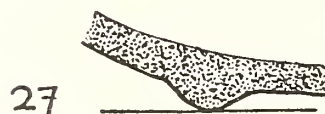
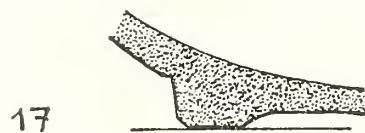
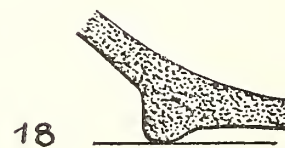
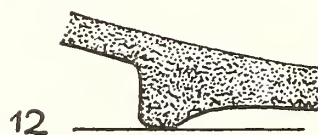
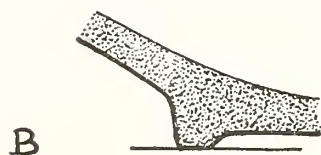
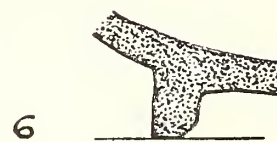
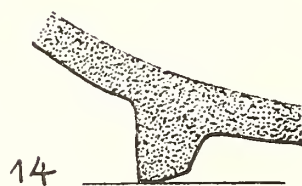
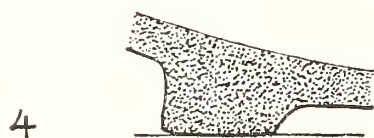
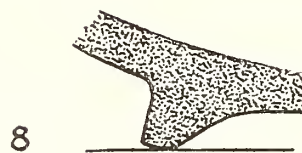
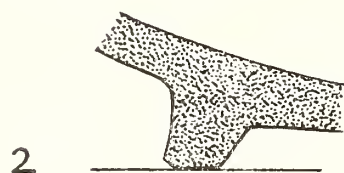
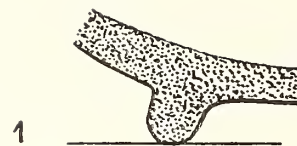
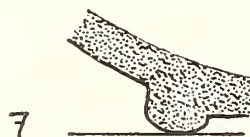
tischen Bereich überzeugende Vergleichsstücke finden konnte.

Die hier vorgenommene Gruppierung des fraglichen Scherbenmaterials auf Grund der verschieden geformten Fussringe ist nur deshalb wertvoll, weil sie unsere Vermutungen betreffs einer tūlunidischen Lüsterindustrie weitgehend zu stützen scheint. Dagegen lässt sich allerdings einwenden, dass Profile im allgemeinen ein sehr diffiziles und deshalb, für sich allein betrachtet, ein ziemlich untaugliches Vergleichsobjekt darstellten. So kann dem sich hier abzeichnenden Verhältnis zwischen mesopotamischer und ägyptischer Lüsterfayence erst dann weitreichendere Bedeutung zugemessen werden, wenn wir in der Lage sein sollten, die an Hand der Fussformen gemachten Beobachtungen vermittels einer Analyse der Dekorationen zu bestätigen.

#### IV

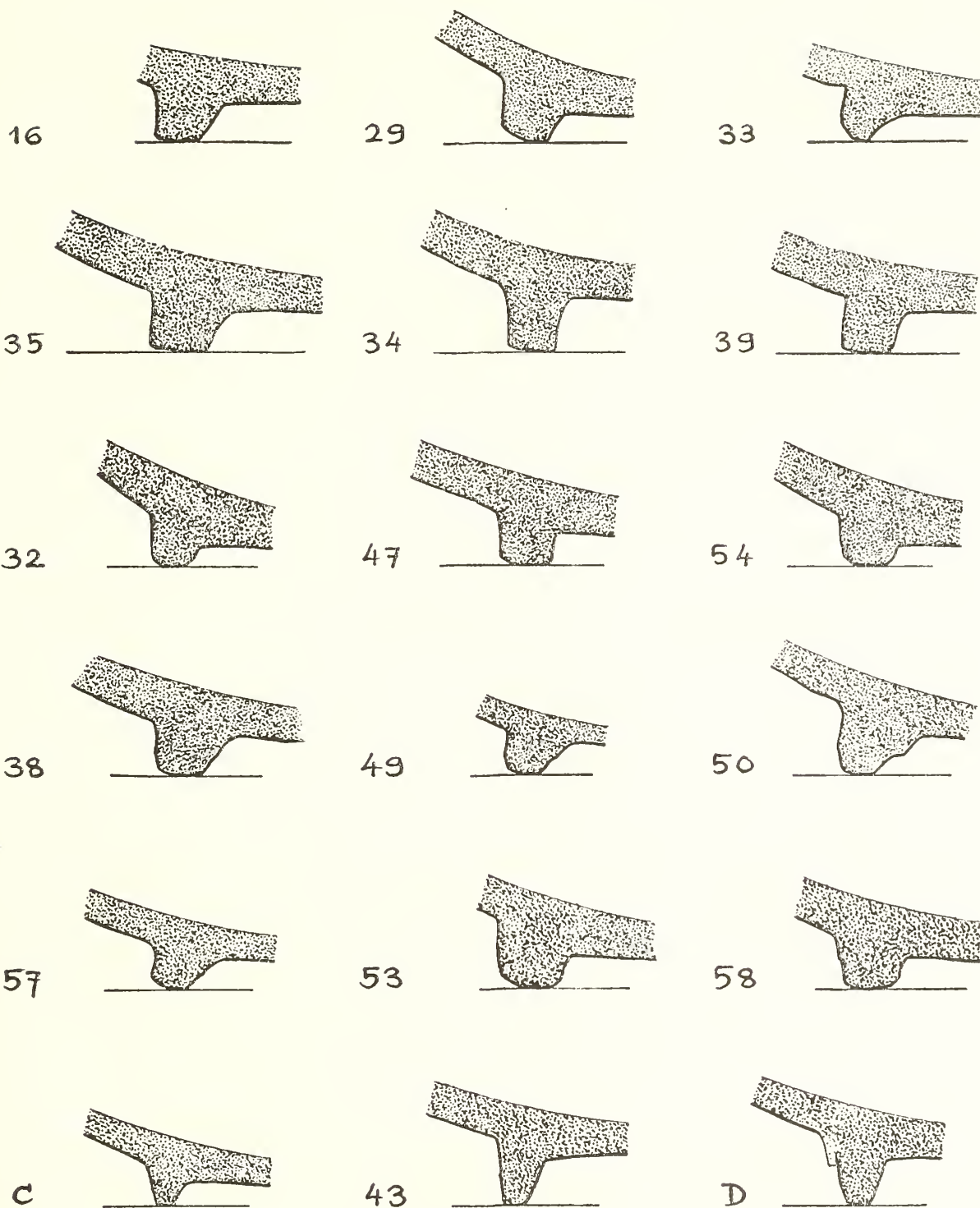
Die Dekorationen der in Ägypten zutage gekommenen Scherben polychromer Lüsterfayence vermitteln im grossen ganzen ein erstaunlich einheitliches Bild. Dieses Bild passt nur ausschnittsweise in den umfassenden Rahmen mesopotamischer Fayencedekorationen, wie wir sie aus Samarra, Susa und Kairouan kennen. Schon früher stellten wir fest, dass in Ägypten nur lüstrierte Ware von der Gattung der Samarra-Keramik gefunden wurde. Nun aber können wir weiter beobachten, dass hier auch nicht sämtliche Spielarten mesopotamischer Lüstermalerei vertreten sind, sondern nur ein Teil derselben. Vergeblich suchen wir im ägyptischen Fundmaterial nach Beispielen für jenen kräftigen, meist in dunkelbraunem Goldlüster gemalten Rankendekor, der die eine Fliesenserie aus dem Kalifenpalast von Samarra schmückt, der zuweilen, im kleinen Masstab, auf mesopotamischen Fragmenten sich findet und dessen dunkle Lüsterfarbe vornehmlich von Dekorationen auf Gläsern

<sup>23</sup> A. Lane, *Medieval finds at Al Mina in North Syria*, Archaeologia, vol. 87 (1937), pp. 19–78.



TEXT ABG. A.—(MASSTAB 1:1)





TEXT ABG. B.—(Masstab 1:1)

bekannt ist.<sup>24</sup> Vergeblich halten wir auch Ausschau nach Fragmenten, die in Ägypten den sonst sehr verbreiteten Dekorationsstil der monochromen Fliesenserie von Kairouan repräsentieren würden.<sup>25</sup> Desgleichen liefern die polychromen Lüsterfliesen von Sidi 'Okba herzlich wenig Vergleichsmaterial. Zwar stimmt hier die Palette weitgehend mit derjenigen des ägyptischen Fundmaterials überein, doch sind die Mustersammlungen der zur Dekoration verwendeten Blatt- und Blütengebilde voneinander verschieden. Es lassen sich nur sehr wenig Formen nachweisen, die beide Kollektionen in ähnlichem Sinn und auf gleiche Art verwenden. Vor allem aber sind die Ornamente der Fliesen von Sidi 'Okba ausnahmslos zusammengesetzt aus mehr oder weniger geschlossenen, schablonenhaften Feldern, die auf dem weissen Fayencegrund ausgelegt ein symmetrisches Dessin bilden, während bei vielen ägyptischen Fundstücken das Dessin aus einer mit Strichen, Punkten, kleinen Haken oder Flechten fein gemusterten Grundfläche ausgespart, bei anderen mit lockerem Pinselstrich grossflächig gemalt erscheint. Wir glauben darin zwei grundlegend verschiedene Stilprinzipien zu erkennen, die kaum auf einen Nenner gebracht werden können.<sup>26</sup> Endlich

<sup>24</sup> Vgl. Katalog der abgebildeten Fragmente No. 10, 11. F. Sarre, *op. cit.*, p. 53; C. J. Lamm, *Mittelalterliche Gläser und Steinschnittarbeiten aus dem Nahen Osten*, Berlin, 1930, vol. 1, p. 105; C. J. Lamm, *Oriental glass of mediaeval date found in Sweden and the early history of lustre-painting*, Stockholm, 1941; R. Ettinghausen, *op. cit.*, fig. 1.

<sup>25</sup> Sarre, *op. cit.*, No. 147, 149, 152; Fragmente aus Samarra in Berlin und London, Victoria und Albert Museum, Inv. No. C684-1922. Fragmente aus Susa im Château de Suse, im Archäologischen Museum Teheran, im Louvre (R. Koechlin, *op. cit.*, Taf. XXIII, 160).

<sup>26</sup> Die hier beobachteten Stil-Differenzen können auch darin niemals ihren Grund haben, dass es sich in einen Fall um Fliesen-, im andern Fall um Geschirrddekorationen handelt! Die Unterschiede im

gibt es unter den ägyptischen Funden nur ein einziges Fragment, das die von Samarra her bekannte Gruppe der gelb und rotbraun lustrierten Ware vertritt. Es zeigt eine einfarbig gelbe Aussenseite wie die meisten Stücke dieser Art.<sup>27</sup> Was in Ägypten gefunden wurde ist beschränkt auf eine relativ kleine Zahl von Scherben mit leuchtend rubinroten und goldgelben Lüsterdekorationen, vor allem aber auf Fragmente, die eine Farb- und Nuancenskala polychromer Lüstermalerei demonstrieren, wie sie anderwärts in solch dekorativer Vielfalt und Eleganz nicht wieder vorkommt.

Unter den Stücken mit rubinroter Lüsterierung können wir zwei Gattungen unterscheiden. Beispiele der ersten Art sind in *Tafel 1* zusammengestellt. Sie zeigen Palmetten und Arabesken auf weissem Grunde in verschwimmendem Rubinluster, der von stark leuchtendem Goldluster konturiert und detailliert wird. Der Grund rund um die Blattmotive ist mit Füllfeldern abgedeckt, die vollgeschrieben und übersät sind mit Kringeln und Punkten. Die Begrenzung dieser Füllfelder ist gegeben durch den ziemlich willkürlichen Kontur des Bildgegenstandes; sie folgt nicht einem abstrakten, geometrischen Gebot. Dekorationen, die eine ähnlich freie Art der Flächenfüllung zeigen, sind bekannt aus Mesopotamien. Ein Beispiel rubinroter Lüstermalerei aus Samarra ist hier in *Tafel 1, Abbildung 3*, wiedergegeben. Andere Stücke aus Susa zeigen einen ähnlichen Dekorationsstil nicht nur in rubinroter Ausführung, sondern auch in Verbindung mit andersfarbigen Lüstereffekten. Als stilistisch vielleicht etwas ferner verwandte Beispiele dürfen an dieser Stelle schliesslich jene ägyptischen Stücke genannt werden, die durchgehend gemusterte Grundflächen aufweisen.

Motivschatz und die unterschiedliche Behandlung der Grundfläche werden dadurch nicht erklärt.

<sup>27</sup> Vgl. Katalog der abgebildeten Fragmente No. 12.



Sämtliche Vertreter dieser ersten Gruppe sind auf der Aussenseite mit schmissigen, parallelgeführten Pinselstrichen geschmückt. Die Exemplare der zweiten Gattung erglänzen dagegen sowohl auf der Innen- als auch auf der Aussenseite in einheitlichem Rubinton. Beispiele dieser letzten Art gibt *Tafel 2*. Sie sind alle nur sparsam dekoriert mit einfachen, grossflächigen, in Gold gemalten Zeichen, die Blätter und Palmetten darstellen oder aussparen. Als Fundorte für solche Ware werden sowohl Persien als auch Ägypten genannt. Kleine Fragmente kamen zudem in Samarra, u. a. in al-'Āshiq zutage. Es hält schwer, hier stilistische Vergleichsobjekte anzuführen, doch meine ich, dass einerseits Stücke mit einheitlich gemusterter Grundfläche, andererseits die grossflächig gemalten Dekorationen von *Tafel 8* als nahe Verwandte in Frage kommen könnten.

Die Palette der übrigen, zahlreichen, polychrom lüstrierten Fragmente aus Ägypten verzichtet fast ganz auf rote Töne. Dennoch übertrifft sie jede andere Ware an ausgesuchten Farbkombinationen. Neben kräftigem, dunklem Dattelbraun finden sich warme, goldene Brauntöne, neben helles, frühlinghaftes Blattgrün tritt ein opakes Oliv, glänzendes Honiggelb findet sich so gut wie stumpfes, schmutziges Senfgelb und leichtes, transparentes Rosa. Unter den Fragmenten, die mit Malereien von solch erlesener Farbigkeit geschmückt sind, können wir drei Dekorations-typen erkennen. Stücke des ersten Typus zeigt *Tafel 4*. Sie sind alle mit geometrischen oder gestreuten Mustern verziert, die ein geschlossenes Netz über den weissen Grund ausbreiten. Oft wird dieses Netz durch Karomuster gebildet, oft nur durch ein einfaches Füllmotiv, darin kreisrunde, mit Rad- oder Blattrosetten geschmückte Medaillons ausgespart sind. Als Füllmotiv besonders beliebt ist jenes aus einer Saat von feinen Feder-

strichen und kleinen Pinseltupfen kombinierte Muster, das uns bestens bekannt ist von den Aussenwand-Dekorationen monochromer Lüsterfayencen des zehnten Jahrhunderts. Die Aussenseiten unserer Fragmente sind mit schmissigen, gelben Pinselstrichen und vereinzelt dunkeln, gross darüber gemalten Kreisen dekoriert. Sowohl in den Mustern als auch im Stil nahe verwandte Stücke fanden sich in Susa und Persien. Für Samarra dagegen scheint dieser Typ nicht gebräuchlich zu sein. Stilistisch darf er in Richtung der letzten, hier noch zu behandelnden Gruppe gesehen werden.

Die in den *Tafeln 5* und *6* wiedergegebenen Stücke der zweiten Gruppe zeigen Dekorationen von wesentlich anderer Spielart. Hier ist der weisse Fayencegrund nicht abgedeckt mit einem einheitlichen Füllmuster, sondern beschrieben mit ziemlich frei gehandhabten Blütenmotiven und Girlanden aus Blättern und Ähren. Oft bilden die Girlanden eine Art Rahmenwerk, darein die Blüten wie kostbare Edelsteine in eine Fassung gelegt sind,—oft ist die Struktur des Dekors ausgerichtet nach den Blüten, darum herum die Girlanden sich schlingen. *Tafel 5* zeigt Dekorationen von grosszügiger Linienführung und nonchalant ausgestreuter Tupfensaat. Die Dekorationen von *Tafel 6* sind dagegen ausgezeichnet durch eine fast pedantische Präzision des Striches und der Farbakzente, die mit Sorgfalt eingesetzt sind in alle dafür vorgesehenen Plätzchen. Von solch feineren Differenzen sehen wir aber ab, denn für unsern optischen Eindruck bestimmender ist hier ganz allgemein die abwechslungsreiche Verwendung von vielen, die Zeichnungen detaillierenden Punkt-, Schraffen-, Gräten-, Tupfen-, Kreistupfen-, Flecht-, Karo-, und Schuppenmuster. Die Liebe zu solchen Musterungen teilt diese Gruppe weitgehend mit den polychromen Fliesen von Kairouan, mit dem Napfe aus al-'Āshiq und mit Stücken aus Susa. Dabei fallen gewisse Unterschiede

auf in der Auswahl und Verwendung der Muster vor allem gegenüber der Kollektion von Kairouan. Motive wie das Kreistupfenmuster erscheinen dort häufig ausgespart in einheitlich ausgemalten Ornamentfeldern, wie wir es sonst nur von braun-gelb dekorierte Lusterware her kennen; auf ägyptischen Stücken ist es immer gebettet in eine fein punktierte Umgebung, gleich wie auf dem Napfe aus al-'Āshiq, der einzelnen Exemplaren unserer Gruppe überhaupt ziemlich nahe zu stehen scheint. Seine Innenseite schmückt das bekannte Pinselstrichmotiv, das auch die Aussenseiten fast aller unserer Fragmente überdeckt, hier allerdings in Verbindung mit grossen, meist dunkel gepinselten Kreisen. Ausnahmen bilden die Scherben 28 und 32, deren eine auf der Rückseite nach Art der fast durchwegs späteren, einfarbigen Ware mit Strich-Tupfenmuster und grossen, ausgesparten, Medaillons dekoriert ist. So scheinen die Stücke dieser Gruppe von selbst eine Art Mittlerstellung einzunehmen und überzuleiten vom früheren Stil der Fliesen von Kairouan zu Dekorationsformen des zehnten Jahrhunderts.

Am repräsentativsten für den ägyptischen Fundbestand sind endlich die in den *Tafeln* 7 bis 10 abgebildeten Exemplare der dritten und letzten Gruppe. Ihre Dekorationen stellen eine Synthese der vorausgehenden Dekorationstypen dar, indem sich hier sowohl den Grund einheitlich abdeckende Füllmuster als auch frei über die Tellerfläche gebreitete Blumen und Kranzgewinde finden. Neu gegenüber dem bisher Betrachteten und verbindlich für die Stücke dieser Gruppe ist die schwungvolle Grossflächigkeit ihrer Bemalung. Hier gibt es nicht nur fein gemusterte, sondern auch einheitlich ausgemalte, ja selbst einheitlich weissgelassene Felder! Grosse Flächen werden vorzüglich mit winzigen Punkten abgedeckt, wodurch sich Musterungen von ausserordentlich homogener Wirkung ergeben. Einheitlich

und grosszügig zugleich wirken auch die locker angeordneten Blumenbilder und die weitmaschigen Sternkonstruktionen in *Tafel* 10, die von sicherer Hand vorgezeichnet und nachträglich mit breitem Pinsel farbig akzentuiert wurden. Beim Setzen der Farbakzente bemühten sich die Maler zuweilen um negative Bildwirkungen, indem sie den Bildgegenstand weiss aussparten und nur Konturen und Bildgrund kolorierten. So erscheinen die Palmetten in *Tafel* 7, *Abbildungen* 40, 41, und der grosse Stern in *Tafel* 10, *Abbildung* 58, als leer gelassene Flächen. In *Abbildung* 40 wird dieses Mittel der negativen Bildwirkung dazu verwendet, eine Art optischer Reliefwirkung zu erzielen, die den keramischen Dekor in flachem Schrägschnitt ausgeführt erscheinen lässt, wie wir es von Wanddekorationen in Stuck und Holz her kennen.<sup>28</sup> Fragmente mit ähnlichen, grossflächig angelegten Dekorationen in polychromem Luster sind mir weder aus Mesopotamien noch aus Persien bekannt. Das einzige vergleichbare auswärtige Stück wurde in al-Mina gefunden. Es ist hier in *Tafel* 9 als *Abbildung* 50 abgebildet und fügt sich so selbstverständlich in unsere Gruppe ägyptischer Fundstücke ein, dass er ihr zweifellos zugerechnet werden darf. Interessant ist, dass die Dekorationen dieser Gruppe gewisse Verwandtschaft zeigen zu späteren Exemplaren eintonig grünlicher Lusterware, deren Bemalung fast durchwegs in noch weit höherem Masse als in unserem Fall grossflächig und breit gestrichen ist. Dort kennt man auch den Reiz negativer Bildwirkungen, und die Auspunktierung grosser Felder ist gebräuchlich. Zudem zeichnet sich bei einigen unserer letzten Stücke die Tendenz ab, die Palette auf einen einfachen grün-braun Ton zu reduzieren. Eine ähnlich gestimmte Farbskala zeigen mesopotamische und persische Fundstücke von der Art

<sup>28</sup> E. Herzfeld, *Der Wandschmuck der Bauten von Samarra und seine Ornamentik*, Berlin, 1923.



des in *Tafel 8, Abbildung 44*, abgebildeten Fragmentes aus Susa. Wenn wir aber die Rückseiten betrachten, dann erweisen sich die ägyptischen Stücke als durchaus konservativ. Ausser dem Fragment No. 36 wiederholen sie alle das bekannte Motiv von schmissigen Pinselftrichen und grossen Kreisen. Stücke ägyptischer Herkunft, die hier völlig überzeugend einen organischen Übergang zum späteren Dekorationsstil der in Ägypten sehr zahlreich gefundenen, monochromen Fragmente demonstrieren würden, sind mir nicht bekannt.

Wenn wir die Dekorationen des gesamten, hier behandelten, ägyptischen Materials überblicken, dann können wir feststellen, dass ihre stilistische Ordnung uns zu sehr ähnlichen Schlüssen zwingt wie die vorausgegangene Betrachtung der Fussformen. Es ergibt sich das Bild, dass Stücke, die sowohl für Mesopotamien als auch für Ägypten bezeugte Dekorationen zeigen, fast durchwegs auch entsprechende Fusstypen aufweisen, ausserhalb Ägyptens nicht nachgewiesene Dekore dagegen meist nur in Verbindung mit speziell ägyptischen Fusstypen anzutreffen sind. Danach lässt sich die Menge der in Ägypten zutage gekommenen, polychromen Lüsterfayence aufteilen einerseits in Fragmente, die sich von Fundstücken aus Mesopotamien und Persien nur wenig oder garnicht unterscheiden, anderseits in Fragmente, die mit auswärtigen Beispielen nicht belegt werden können und deshalb einen ausgesprochen ägyptischen Typ darstellen. Exemplare der ersten Abteilung zeigen weitaus am meisten Verbindungen zu Stücken aus Susa, was hier schon früher auf ein gemeinsames Zentrum in Basrah bezogen wurde, das sowohl nach Westen als auch nach Norden ausstrahlte. Die sozusagen einzigen Korrespondenzen zum Fundmaterial von Samarra betreffen Fragmente aus al-‘Āshiq, was eine Datierung des ägyptischen Bestandes in die letzten Jahre und in die unmittelbar auf

sie folgende Zeit der Residenz Samarra nahelegt und bestätigt, dass die hier behandelten Scherben polychromer Lüsterfayence zum weitaus grössten Teil aus tūlūnidischer Zeit datieren müssen. Die Tatsache, dass sie sich weitgehend zu einer sowohl formtechnisch als auch stilistisch einheitlichen Gruppe vereinigen lassen, die mit Stücken mesopotamischer Herkunft nicht identifiziert werden kann, gibt uns die Gewissheit, dass wir Produkte einer einheimisch-ägyptischen Industrie, Produkte einer tūlūnidischen Fayence-Manufaktur vor uns haben.

## V

Der Begriff “Tūlūnidische Lüsterfayence” erhält damit eine neue Bedeutung. Wann immer bis heute von tūlūnidischer Lüsterfayence gesprochen wurde, dann bezweifelte man deren Existenz oder verstand darunter die in Ägypten sehr zahlreich zutage gekommenen Fragmente mit eintonig grünlichen Lüsterdekorationen, die stilisierte Blätter, frontal gesehene menschliche Figuren und Tierdarstellungen zeigen. Diese Ware kann aber nicht tūlūnidisch sein, da sämtliche für sie in Frage kommenden Vergleichsstücke aus Mesopotamien, Persien und auch Spanien deutlich auf eine spätere Datierung hinweisen. Beispiele vom Typus monochromer Lüsterdekorationen des neuntes Jahrhunderts, wie sie uns bekannt sind aus Kairouan, Samarra und Susa, fehlen in diesem sogenannten “tūlūnidischen” Material vollständig. Unter allen in Ägypten zutage gekommenen Lüsterscherben können einzig die in dieser Arbeit behandelten, polychromen Stücke nachweislich in tūlūnidische Zeit datiert und zum grösseren Teil als Produkte einer tūlūnidischen Industrie erklärt werden. Nach der eindeutigen Auskunft des uns erhaltenen Scherbenmaterials reicht diese Industrie nicht in vortūlūnidische Zeit zurück, sondern sie stellt eine tūlūnidische Gründung dar. Die

Möglichkeit einer solchen Gründung erwähnte schon Ernst Kühnel, wenn er meinte, dass Ibn Ṭūlūn, der in Bagdad und Samarra mit 'abbāsīdischer Kunst eng vertraut geworden war, von dort ausser dem Stuckstil, den wir in seiner Moschee bewundern, auch Lüstergeschirr und vielleicht sogar Töpfer mitbrachte, um die Industrie im Nillande auf eigene Füße zu stellen.<sup>29</sup>

Nach unseren Ausführungen ist es allerdings unwahrscheinlich, dass Ibn Ṭūlūn Keramiker aus Bagdad oder gar aus Samarra in Ägypten ansiedelte. Viel eher kam ihm auch hier, wie schon bei der Gründung seiner Dynastie, das politische Geschehen des grossen Sklavenaufstandes im Gebiet des Shatt al-'Arab zustatten, in dessen Verlauf die blühende Stadt al-Baṣrah, dieses wichtige, vielleicht sogar wichtigste Zentrum der keramischen Industrie Mesopotamiens, vollständig vernichtet wurde. Es scheint nämlich, dass in Folge dieser Katastrophe vertriebene baṣrische Handwerker den Weg nach Ägypten fanden, wodurch der Ṭūlūnide unverhofft zu besten Arbeitskräften kam, die er als kluger Wirtschaftspolitiker geschickt auszuwerten verstand, indem er sie in sein Program einer allgemeinen industriellen Aktivierung des Landes miteinbezog. Davon erzählen vor allem Scherbenfunde aus dem oberägyptischen Textilzentrum Behnasa, wo weitaus am meisten Fragmente zum Vorschein kamen, die unverkennbar nahe Verwandtschaft zeigen zu mesopotamischen Fundstücken aus dem weiteren Umschwung von Baṣrah: aus Susa. Diese nach Susaweisenden Exemplare stellen die früheste, in sich geschlossene Gruppe im ägyptischen Fundmaterial dar und datieren höchst wahrscheinlich aus den Siebzigerjahren des neunten Jahrhunderts, aus der Zeit also, da die Macht Ibn Ṭūlūns in meteorhaftem Aufstieg war und

Behnasa als eines der ersten Industriezentren des Landes die Gunst des Herrschers genoss und grossen Auftrieb erhielt. Ausser einem erstaunlich reichen Fundmaterial haben wir allerdings keine Anhaltspunkte, die der Vermutung Vorschub leisten könnten, Behnasa möchte der Ort gewesen sein, wo solche Ware hergestellt wurde.<sup>30</sup> Ihre oft mit Beispielen aus Susa auffallend übereinstimmenden Formen und Dekore liessen uns überhaupt zögern, an ägyptische Erzeugnisse zu denken, wenn wir uns nicht darüber im Klaren wären, dass jene baṣrischen Handwerker, welche aus Mesopotamien nach Ägypten kamen, während ihrer ersten ägyptischen Zeit zweifellos Keramik hervorbrachten, die den Produkten ihrer früheren Heimat sehr ähnlich sah. Deshalb mögen diese speziell der Keramik von Susa nahestehenden Stücke den Punkt bezeichnen, von wo aus die Entwicklung der ṭūlūnidischen Lüsterfayence ihren Anfang nehmen konnte.

Der blühende Handel Ägyptens, davon der Reichtum der Bazare von Fuṣṭāṭ und al-Qatā'i' erzählte, half wohl leicht über die Anfangsschwierigkeiten hinweg, die die Beschaffung der verschiedenen Rohstoffe verursacht haben mag.<sup>31</sup> So war hier das zur Erzeugung der weissen Fayenceglasur notwendige Zinn erhältlich, das wahrscheinlich aus der auf der Halbinsel Malakka gelegenen Stadt Kalah impor-

<sup>30</sup> Behnasa wäre insofern für eine Industrie günstig gewesen, als es hier grosse Wälder gab. Zudem wissen wir, dass es hier Staatsbetriebe gab, die für die Rechnung des Suzeräns arbeiteten. Andererseits liesse sich im vorliegenden Fall auch an eine Palastindustrie in al-Qatā'i' denken. (Vgl. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Les institutions musulmanes*, Paris, 1921, p. 168.) Immerhin meint Aly Bey Baghat, *op. cit.*, p. 49, dass Ausgrabungen in Ägypten vor allem in der Gegend von Behnasa durchgeführt werden sollten.

<sup>31</sup> Quatremère, *Mémoires géographiques et historiques sur l'Égypte et sur quelques contrées voisines*, Paris, 1811, vol. 2, p. 460; Zaky Mohamed Hassan, *Les Tulunides*, p. 238 ff.; Aly Bey Baghat, *op. cit.*, p. 29 f.

<sup>29</sup> E. Kühnel, *Die 'abbāsīdischen Lüsterfayencen*, p. 150.





ABB. 1.



ABB. 2.



ABB. 3.



ABB. 4.



ABB. 5.

ABB. 1-3, LÜSTERMALEREI RUBINROT UND GOLDGELB; 4, GRÜNOLIV; 5, GRÜN UND GELB. 1-2, 5, AUS FUSAT; 3, AUS SAMARRA;  
 4, AUS BEHNASA. 1-2, MESOPOTAMISCHE ODER ÄGYPTISCHE FABRIKATION UM 870-890;  
 3-5, MESOPOTAMISCHE FABRIKATION UM 870-880.





ABB. 6.



ABB. 7.



ABB. 8.



ABB. 9.

ABB. 6-9, LÜSTERMALEREI GOLDGELB AUF RUBINROTEM GRUND. 6, AUS PERSIEN; 7, AUS FUSTAṬ; 8-9, AUS BEH-NASA. 6, PERSISCHE ODER MESOPOTAMISCHE FABRIKATION; 7-9, ÄGYPTISCHE ODER MESOPOTAMISCHE FABRIKATION UM 870-890.





ABB. 10.

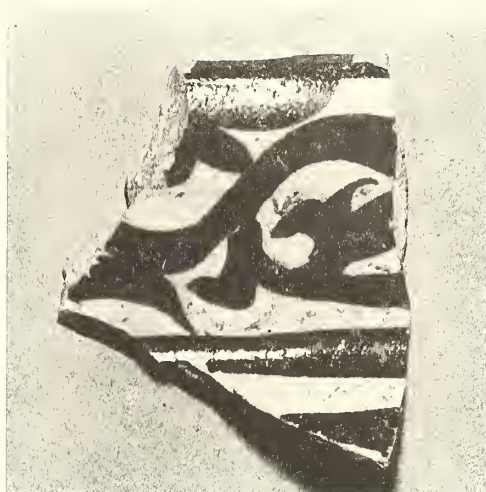


ABB. 11.

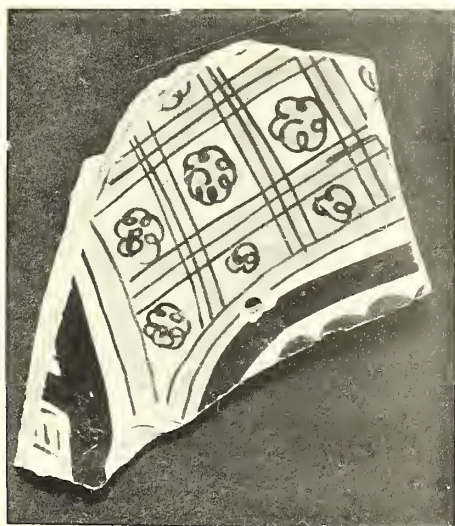


ABB. 12.



ABB. 13.

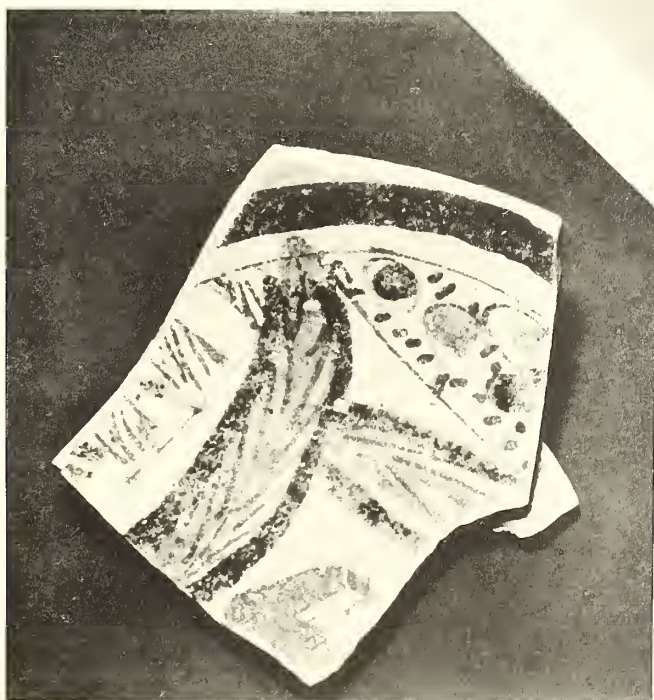


ABB. 14.

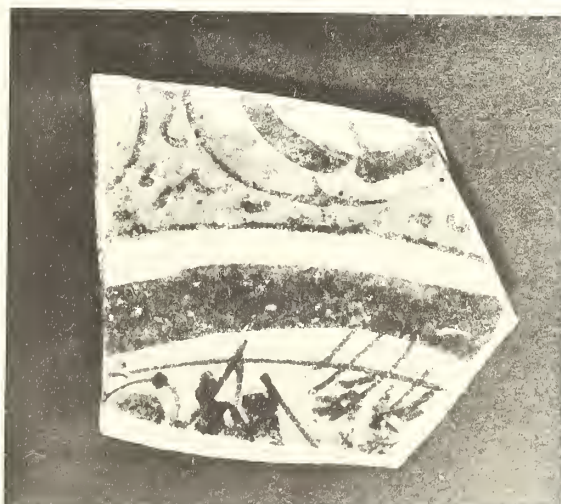


ABB. 15.

ABB. 10-11, LÜSTERMALEREI DUNKELBRAUN; 12, GELB UND BRAUN; 13, GELB UND OLIV-BRAUN; 14-15, GELB, BRAUN UND GRÜNlich. 10, AUS PERSIEN ODER MESOPOTAMIEN; 11, 13, AUS SUSA; 12, AUS FUSṬAT; 14-15, AUS BEHNASA.

10-12, MESOPOTAMISCHE FABRIKATION UM 840-870; 13-15, MESOPOTAMISCHE FABRIKATION UM 870.





ABB. 16.



ABB. 17.



ABB. 18.

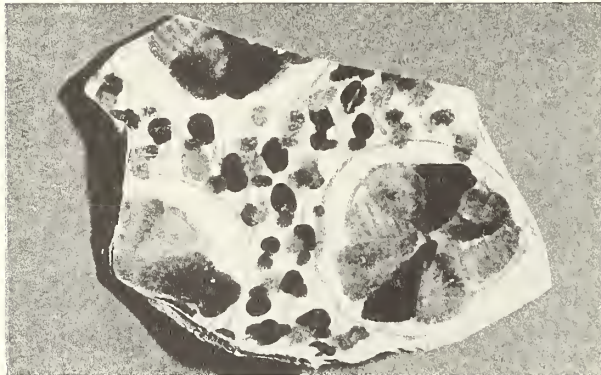


ABB. 19.

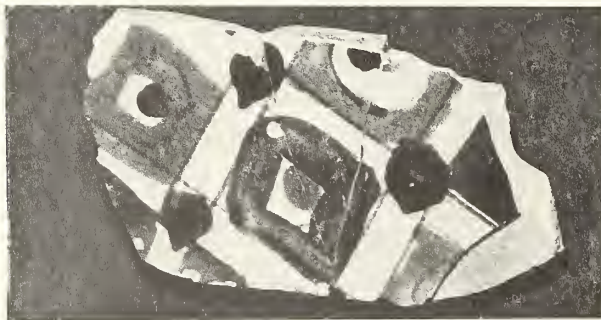


ABB. 20.



ABB. 21.



ABB. 22.



ABB. 23.

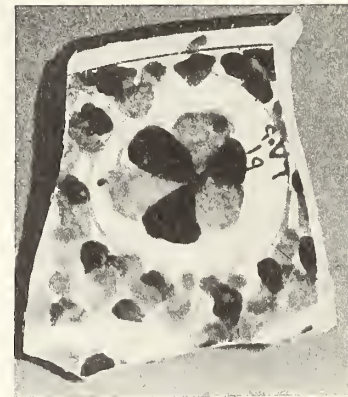


ABB. 24.

ABB. 16-17, 19-24, LÜSTERMALEREI BRAUN, GRÜN UND GELB; 18, BRAUN UND GELB. 16, 19-21, 23-24, AUS FUSTAṬ; 17-18, 22, AUS BEHNASA. 16-17, MESOPOTAMISCHE ODER ÄGYPTISCHE FABRIKATION UM 870-890; 18-24, ÄGYPTISCHE FABRIKATION UM 880-900.





ABB. 25.



ABB. 26.



ABB. 27.



ABB. 28.



ABB. 29.

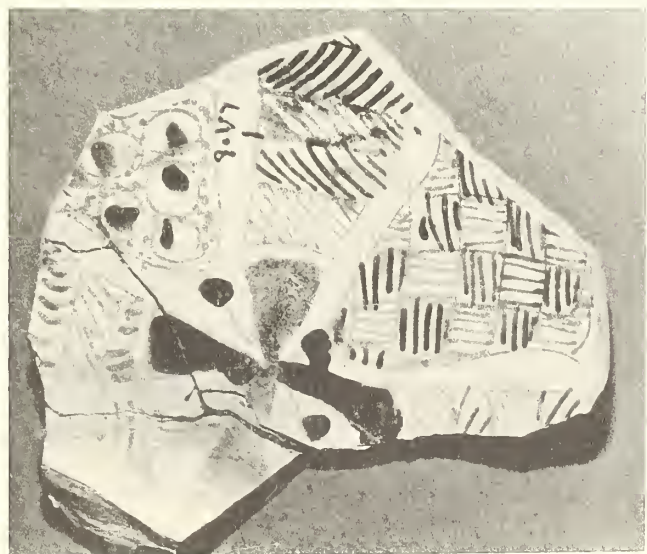


ABB. 30.

ABB. 25-30, LÜSTERMALEREI BRAUN, HELLGRÜN UND HONIGGELB. 25-26, 28, 30, AUS FUSŤAT;  
27, 29, AUS BEHNASA. ÄGYPTISCHE FABRIKATION UM 880-890.



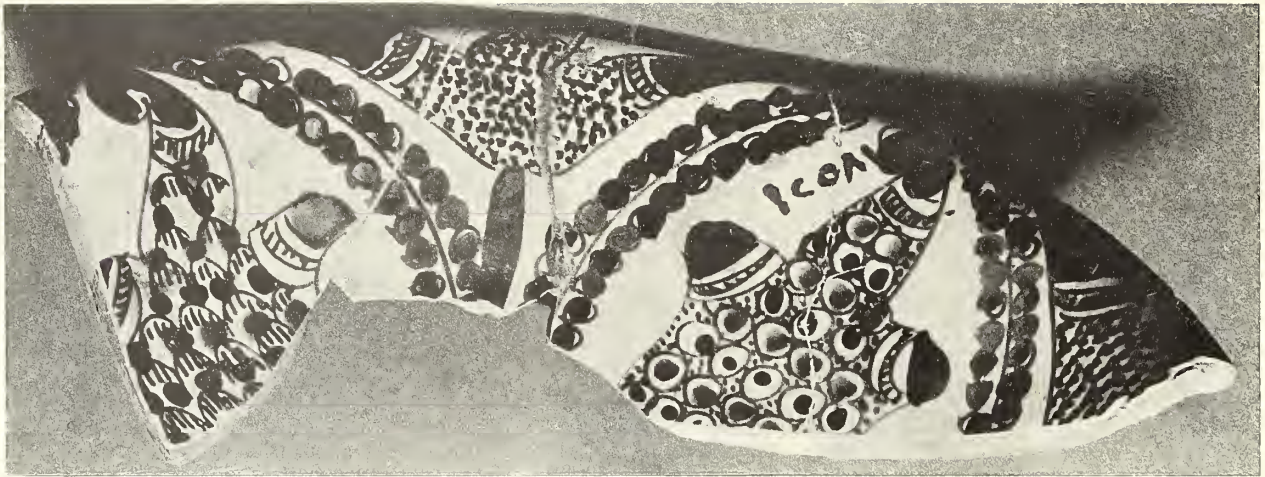


ABB. 31.



ABB. 32.



ABB. 33.

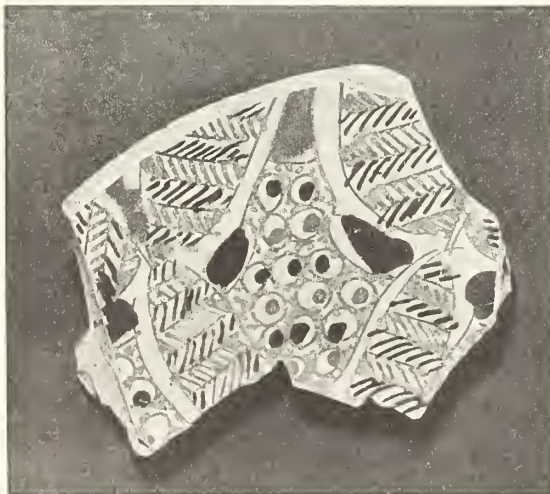


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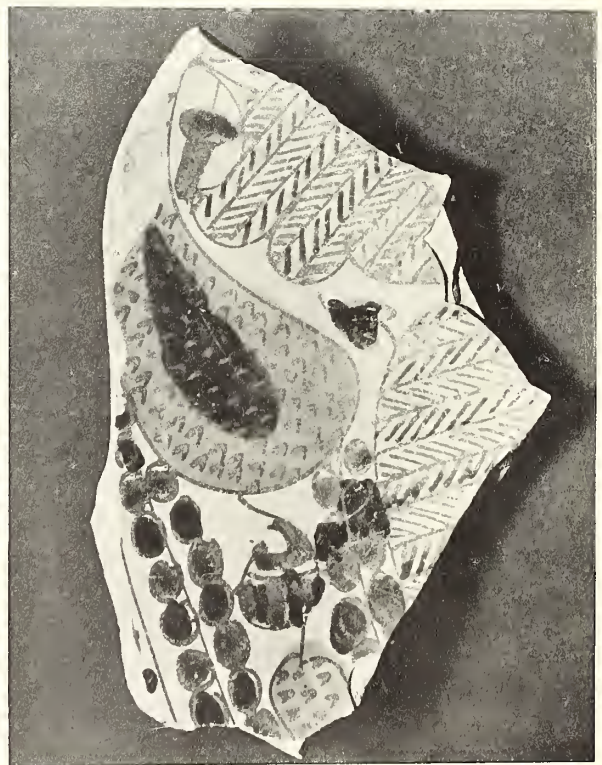


ABB. 35.

ABB. 31-32, 33-35, LÜSTERMALEREI BRAUN, GRÜN UND GELB; 32, GRÜN UND BRAUN. 31-33, AUS FUSTAT;  
34-35, AUS BEHNASA. ÄGYPTISCHE FABRIKATION UM 880-890.



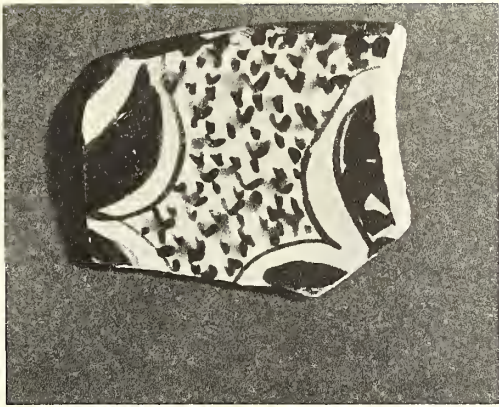


ABB. 36.

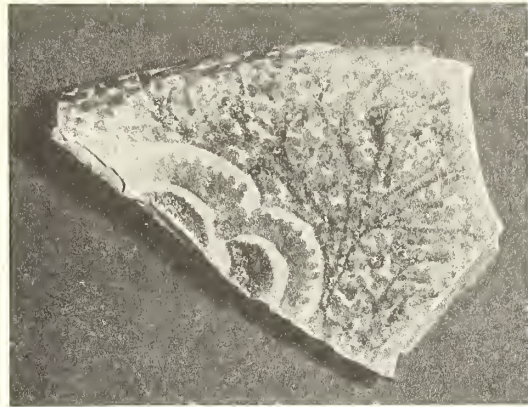


ABB. 37.

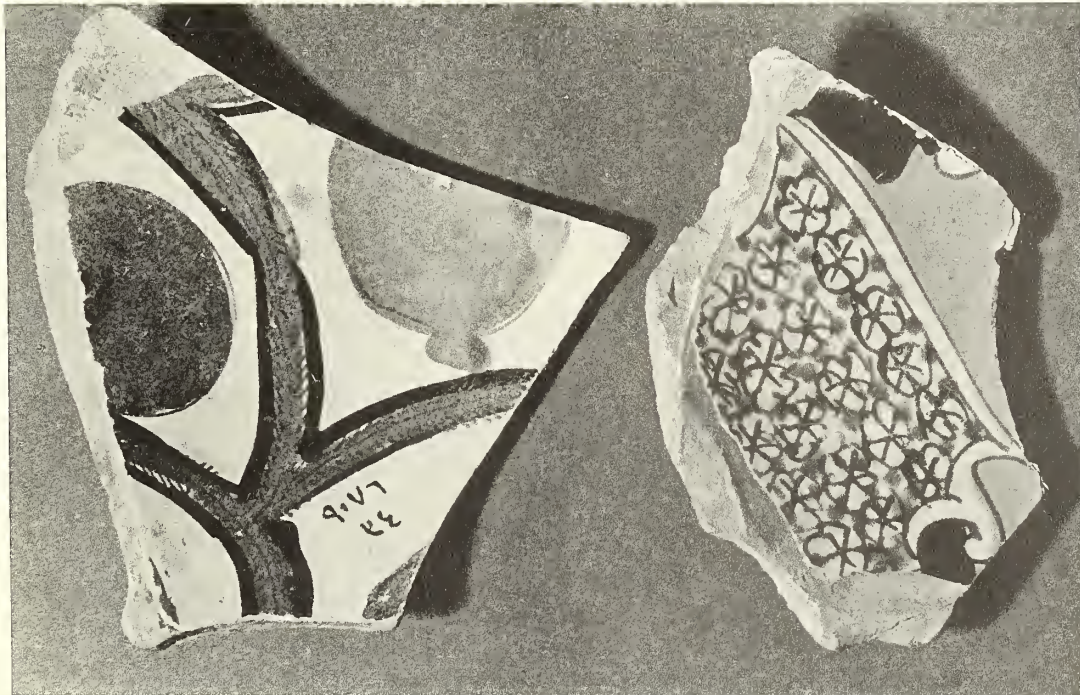


ABB. 38.

ABB. 39.



ABB. 40.



ABB. 41.

ABB. 36-39, LÜSTERMALEREI BRAUN, HELL GRÜN UND GELB; 40-41, GRÜN UND BRAUN. 36-39, AUS FUSTAṬ; 40-41, AUS BEHNASA. ÄGYPTISCHE FABRIKATION UM 880-900.





ABB. 42.

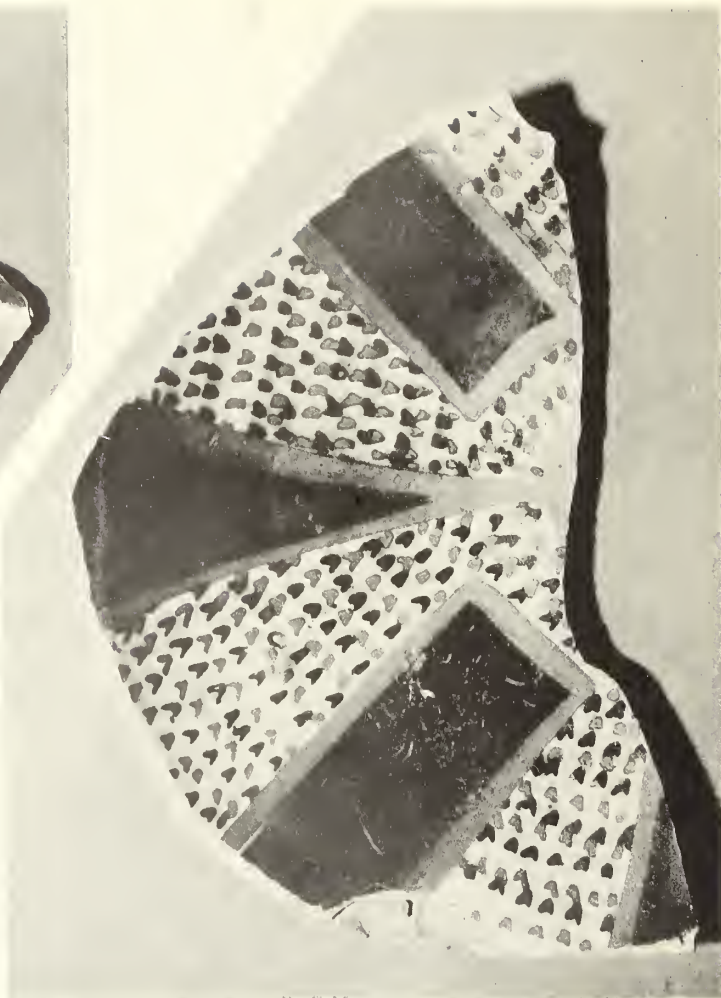


ABB. 43.

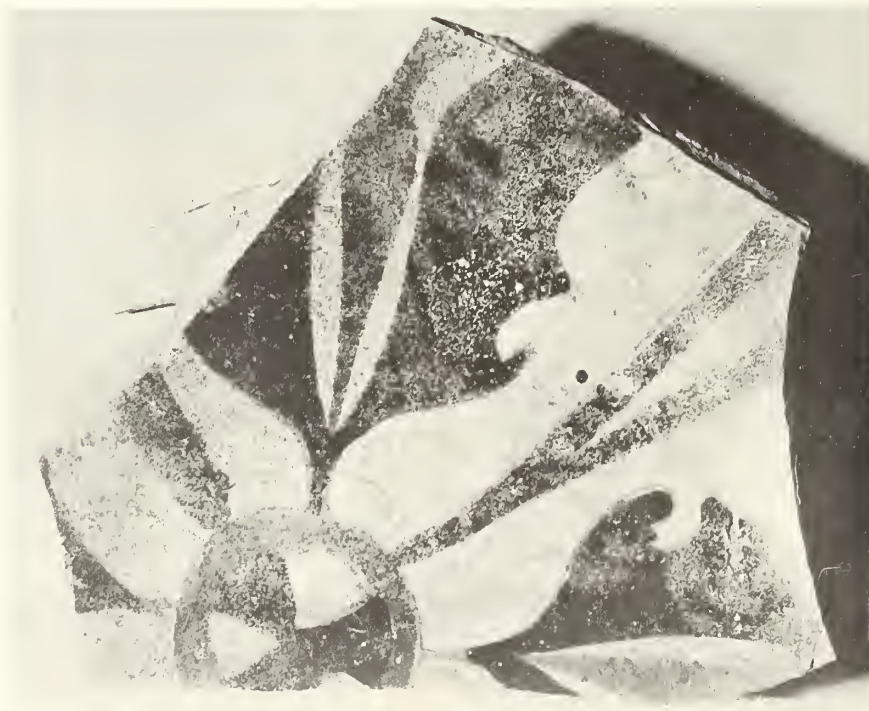


ABB. 44.

ABB. 42, LÜSTERMALEREI BRAUN, OLIV UND GELB; 43, ROT UND GOLDGELB; 44, GRÜN UND BRAUN. 42-43, AUS FUSTAṬ; 44, AUS SUSA. 42-43, ÄGYPTISCHE FABRIKATION UM 880-900; 44, MESOPOTAMISCHE FABRIKATION 2. HÄLFTE 9. JH.



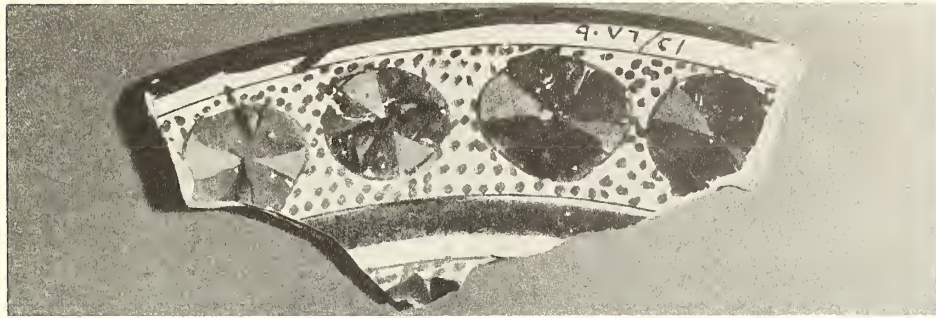


ABB. 45.

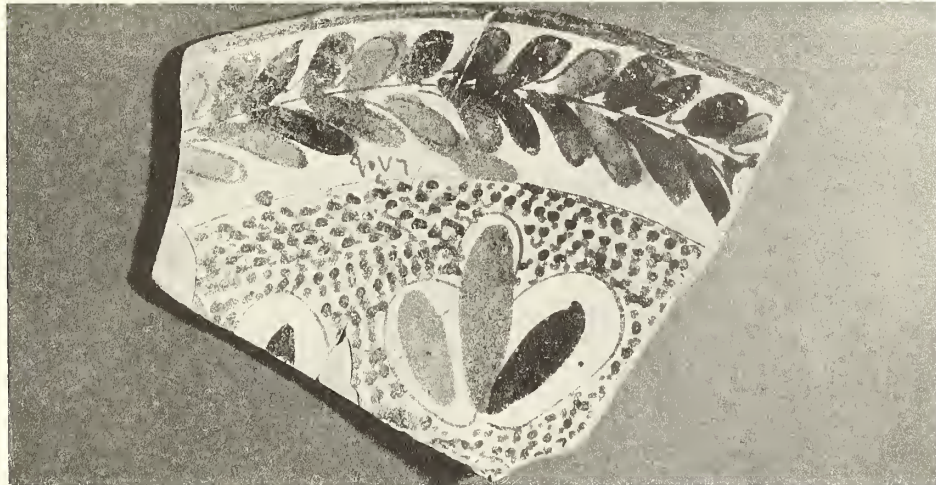


ABB. 46.

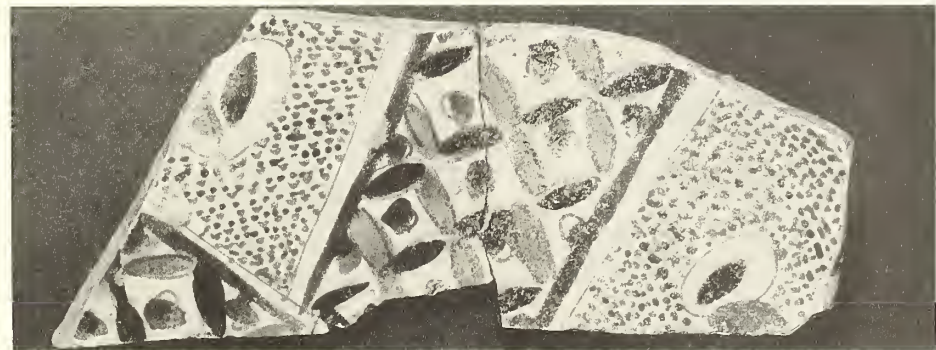


ABB. 47.

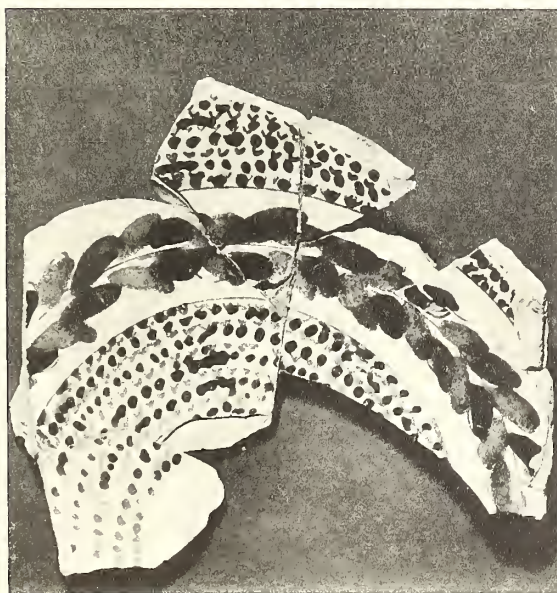


ABB. 48.

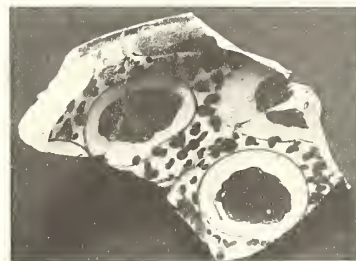


ABB. 49.

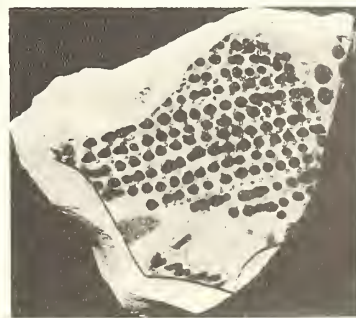


ABB. 50.

ABB. 45-48, LÜSTERMALEREI BRAUN, GRÜN UND GELB; 49-50, BRAUN UND GRÜN. 45-46, 48-49, AUS FUSTAT; 47, AUS BEHNASA; 50, AUS AL-MINA.  
ÄGYPTISCHE FABRIKATION UM 880-900.





ABB. 51.

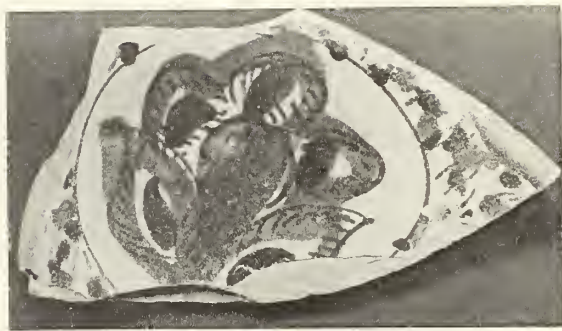


ABB. 52.

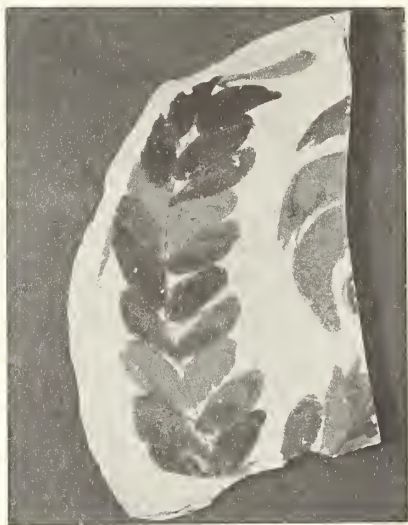


ABB. 53.

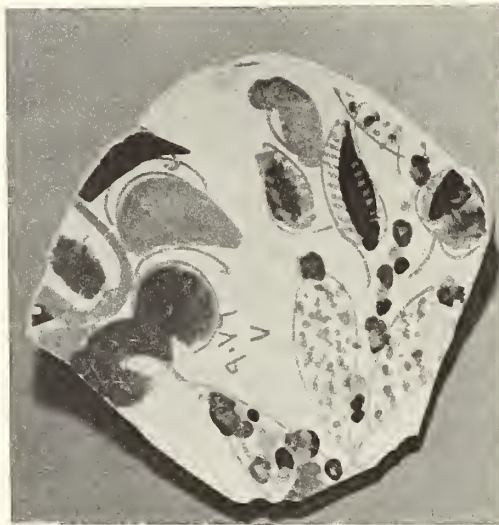


ABB. 54.



ABB. 55.



ABB. 56.



ABB. 57.



ABB. 58.

ABB. 51-52, 58, LÜSTERMALEREI HELLBRAUN, DUNKELBRAUN UND GRÜN. 53-56, BRAUN, GRÜN UND GELB;  
57, BRAUN UND GRÜN. 51, 53-56, 58, AUS FUSTAṬ; 52, 57, AUS BEHNASA.  
ÄGYPTISCHE FABRIKATION UM 880-900.



tiert wurde. Für die Lüsterdekorationen beschaffte man Silber und Kupfer aus dem Sudan. Manganoxyd kam vom Berge Sinai und Eisenverbindungen lieferte das Mutterland Ägypten. Damit fehlte keines der Metalloxyde, die den nach Ägypten übergesiedelten Töpfern zur Herstellung ihrer Lüsterfayence vonnöten waren. Einzig blau dekorierte Fayence scheinen sie nicht hervorgebracht zu haben, vielleicht in Ermangelung von Kobalt, das aus Persien hätte eingeführt werden müssen.

Der tūlunidische Staat bot die besten Voraussetzungen für eine rasche Entwicklung der neuen Industrie. Im Lande herrschte Ruhe, und der allgemeine Wohlstand wuchs beständig. Er erzeugte eine immer grössere Kundschaft für Luxusgegenstände von der Art teuren Geschirrs. Besondern Vorteil mochten der Industrie die schnell sich vermehrenden Bedürfnisse des Hofes gebracht haben, die vor allem nach dem Tode Ibn Ṭūlūns völlig masslose Formen annahmen, als die Regierung in die Hand seines Sohnes Khumārawayh übergegangen war. Damals hatten die ägyptischen Werkstätten für Lüsterfayence ihre Anlaufzeit überwunden und waren auf eine Zukunft vorbereitet, die grosse Ansprüche an sie stellte. Sie standen gewiss nicht vergeblich bereit, denn mit Khumārawayh kam ein Prinz zur Macht, der die Schönheit schmucker, kleiner Dinge nicht nur sah, sondern auch liebte. Seine Kennerschaft muss deshalb das gesamte Kunsthandwerk gefördert und befruchtet haben. Sie trug auch wesentlich dazu bei, dass die finessenreiche Technik der Erzeugung von polychromen Lüstereffekten in einem ganz erstaunlichen Mass vervollkommen wurde und die Fayencindustrie jene einzigartige, kurze Blütezeit erleben konnte, von der ein Grossteil unserer Scherben kündet.

Ogleich diese Blüte auf ägyptischem Boden hervorgetrieben wurde, zeigt doch die aus ihr entstandene, prunkvolle Ware keinen ty-

pisch ägyptischen Stil. Dies ist vor allem auf das oft erwähnte Bestreben der Ṭūlūniden zurückzuführen, in Ägypten eine Filiale mesopotamisch-abbāsidischer Kultur zu eröffnen. Es ist selbstverständlich, dass dabei das mesopotamische Kunsterbe der aus dem Zweistromland zugewanderten Handwerker in Ägypten eine Art Hofstil darstellte, der möglichst rein erhalten bleiben musste. Damit fehlten aber die Voraussetzungen für eine fruchtbare Verbindung dieses Hofstiles mit einheimisch-ägyptischen Elementen. Wir dürfen uns deshalb nicht darüber wundern, dass die während der kurzen Zeit der tūlunidischen Herrschaft in Ägypten erzeugte Lüsterfayence ein ähnlich reines Dokument 'abbāsidischer Kunst ist, wie die Stuckdekorationen der Ṭūlūnidenmoschee. Die tūlunidische Fayencemanufaktur wird entsprechend konservativ dem mesopotamischen Dekorationsstil verpflichtet gewesen sein, der im Zweistromland vor der Abwanderung vieler Töpfer zu Ibn Ṭūlūn nach Ägypten verbreitet war. Während die Ereignisse in Mesopotamien, der Wegzug bester Arbeitskräfte und die schweren politischen Unruhen, die das Land erschütterten, dazu führten, dass man sich dort in der Folgezeit auf die Herstellung einfacher, monochromer Ware zu beschränken begann, führte Ägypten die Tradition polychromer Lüsterfayence noch glanzvolle Jahre hindurch weiter. Wie sehr damals die Prachtentfaltung Ägyptens, davon der Reichtum und die Qualität unserer Lüsterfayence eindruckliches Zeugnis ablegen, in krassem Gegensatz zu den bescheideneren Verhältnissen Mesopotamiens stand, wird uns anlässlich der im Jahre 895 (A.H. 282) gefeierten Hochzeit des Kalifen al-Mu'taḍid mit Qatr al-Nada, der Tochter Khumārawayhs geschildert. Als nämlich die ägyptische Prinzessin mit prunkvoll orientalischem Geleit nach Bagdad kam, sollen dem Kalifen die Mittel zu einem entsprechend würdigen Empfang gefehlt haben, so dass er, statt seiner Braut entgegenzueilen, zu seinem

Obereunuchen gesagt haben soll: "Komm, wir wollen uns verstecken, damit unsere Armut nicht gesehen werde."<sup>32</sup>

Lange sollte Khumārawayh die Herstellung dieser vornehmen Verbindung nicht überleben; noch im Jahr der Hochzeit seiner Tochter wurde er von seinen Sklaven in Damaskus ermordet. Damit setzte der rapide Zerfall der ṭulūnidischen Macht ein. Zehn Jahre später schon folgte ihr gänzlicher Zusammenbruch, als der Kalife al-Muktafi ein Heer unter der Führung des berühmten Generals Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān nach Ägypten entsandte, das Fuṣṭāṭ am 12. Januar 905 (A.H. 292) einnahm und plünderte. Die von Aḥmed gegründete militärische Volstadt al-Qatā'i wurde geschleift, und die männlichen Nachkommen aus dem Hause Ṭulūns führte man nach Bagdad ab. Es scheint, dass damals auch die ägyptische Lüsterfayenceindustrie zerstört wurde. Möglich, dass ihre Handwerker in Anbetracht der immer prekärer werdenden Verhältnisse schon vor dem endgültigen Fall der ṭulūnidischen Dynastie abzuwandern begannen; möglich auch, dass sie nun erst wieder nach Mesopotamien zurückgebracht wurden, woher sie vor etwa dreissig Jahren gekommen waren. Ob ein Teil von ihnen in Ägypten blieb, lässt sich vorläufig nicht mit Bestimmtheit sagen. Ägyptische Fundstücke, die dies eindeutig beweisen könnten, sind bis heute nicht identifiziert.<sup>33</sup> Auch die Exemplare jenes schon öfters erwähnten, grossen Fundmaterials ägyptischer, monochromer Ware, die fälschlicherweise schon für ṭulūnidisch gehalten wurden, können kaum die Tradition unserer polychromen Lüsterfayence direkt weiterführen. Sie zeigen einen so rein ausgebildeten, unfarbgraphischen Stil, dass sie grösstenteils erst aus

der Zeit der ikshidischen Dynastie datieren mögen, die Muḥammad ibn Tujj im Jahre 935 (A.H. 323), dreissig Jahre nach dem Zusammenbruch der ṭulūnidischen Herrschaft, in Ägypten gründete. Es scheint deshalb, als ob die ägyptische Produktion von Lüsterware in diesen dreissig Jahren, die zwischen den beiden Dynastien verstrichen, auf ein Minimum reduziert war oder gar überhaupt aussetzte. Wenn wir uns die völlig anarchischen Zustände vergegenwärtigen, unter denen das Land damals schwer litt, dann mochte der in jenen Jahrzehnten darbenenden Bevölkerung der Luxus und die einstige Pracht der Ṭulūniden nur umso glänzender, ihr Sturz nur umso tiefer erscheinen, weshalb sie ein zeitgenössischer Dichter mit den Versen bedacht: "O ihr Söhne Ṭulūns, ihr wart die Zierde dieser Erde, aber eure kostbaren Seidengewänder sind zu verbrauchten Lumpen geworden."<sup>34</sup>

## VI

### KATALOG DER ABGEBILDETEN FRAGMENTE

1. *Schalenfussfragment angeblich aus Fuṣṭāṭ*  
Kairo, Museum für Islamische Kunst  
Inv.-No. 9076,5.

Gelblicher, sehr fein geschlemmter Ton; Ringfuss (vgl. *Profilzeichnung 1*); opak-weiße, gletscherige Glasur; rubinrote Lüstermalerei, die von einer Zeichnung in stark leuchtendem Goldluster detailliert wird; Flügelpalmetten und Blattwerk als Ornamentmotive, fortlaufende Spirallinie als Füllmotiv. Aussen rote, parallelgeführte Pinselstriche.

Ähnlich geschnittene Fussprofile zeigen: Unsere Fragmente No. 7 und 48 aus Fuṣṭāṭ, unsere *Profilzeichnung A* von der aus Susa stammenden Schale im Louvre Inv.-No. 10812 (abgebildet bei R. Koechlin, *Les Céramiques musulmanes de Suse*, Taf. XXI, 144);

<sup>32</sup> M. Sobernheim, *Khumārawayh*, *Enz. d. Islām*, vol. 2, p. 1045; Zaky M. Hassan, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

<sup>33</sup> Vielleicht gehören die Stücke: Berlin, Statl. Museen Inv.-No. I 4949; Kairo, Museum für Islam. Kunst Inv.-No. 19076, 3 hierher.

<sup>34</sup> Zaky M. Hassan, *op. cit.*, p. 275.



—zur Gruppe: die angeblich aus Fustāt stammende Schale im Louvre Inv.-No. 6700 (abgebildet bei M. Pézard, *La Céramique archaïque de l'Islam*, Taf. CXLI, 2; resp. E. Kühnel, *Die 'abbāsīdischen Lüsterfayencen*, fig. 1); die aus Susa stammenden Stücke Koechlin, Taf. XXI, 143, und Pézard, Taf. CXLIII, 3; endlich die angeblich aus Rei stammende Schale im Louvre Inv.-No. 7812.

Ähnlichen Dekor zeigen: Unsere Fragmente No. 2 aus Fustāt, No. 3 aus Samarra, No. 4 angeblich aus Behnasa;—zur Gruppe: Die oben genannte Schale im Louvre Inv.-No. 6700; das angeblich aus Fustāt stammende Fragment im British Museum (No. 1932), angeblich aus Susa stammende Fragmente im Archäologischen Museum Teheran und im Louvre (ohne Inventar).

Möglicherweise mesopotamische, eher aber ägyptische Fabrikation. Um 870–890.

2. *Schalenfussfragment aus Fustāt*. London, Victoria und Albert Museum Inv.-No. 891–1902.

Weicher, gelblicher Ton; Ringfuss (vgl. *Profilzeichnung 2*); opakweisse, gletscherige Glasur; goldgelbe Lüsterzeichnung mit nachträglich rubinroter Übermalung; Blattwerk als Ornamentmotiv, Punktsaat und zufällig verlaufende Linienschrift als Füllmotive. Aussen braune und gelbe Lüsterierung.

Ähnlich geschnittene Fussprofile zeigen: Unsere Fragmente No. 4, 9, 16, 35 aus Fustāt;—zur Gruppe: Zwei Fragmente im British Museum, eines angeblich aus Fustāt (No. 1932), eines angeblich aus Samarra (ohne Inventar).

Stücke mit ähnlichem Dekor: Vgl. unser Fragment No. 1.

Wahrscheinlich ägyptische Fabrikation. Um 880–890.

3. *Schalenfussfragment aus Samarra*. Berlin, Ehemals Staatliche Museen (ohne Inventar).

Graubläulicher, fein geschlemmter Ton; Ringfuss (ohne Zeichnung); opak-weise, gletscherige Glasur mit Spuren von grauem Niederschlag; rubinrote Lüstermalerei, die von einer Zeichnung in stark leuchtendem Goldluster detailliert wird; Flügelpalmetten und Blattwerk als Ornamentmotive, Kringel- und Tupfen-Strichmuster als Füllmotive. Aussen rote, parallelgeführte Pinselstriche.

Ähnlich geschnittene Fussprofile lassen sich nur für Fundstücke aus dem mesopotamischen Gebiet (Samarra-Susa) nachweisen. Ähnlichen Dekor zeigt eines der unter No. 1 erwähnten, angeblich aus Susa stammenden Fragmente im Archäologischen Museum Teheran;—zur Gruppe: Gemeentemuseum van s'Gravenhage Inv.-No. OK I 117 und das diesem genau entsprechende Stücke im British Museum (Inv.-No. 1956.7–28.2).

Mesopotamische Fabrikation. Um 870–880.

4. *Schalenfussfragment angeblich aus Behnasa*. London, Victoria und Albert Museum Inv.-No. C 760–1921.

Gelblicher, fein geschlemmter Ton; breiter Ringfuss (vgl. *Profilzeichnung 4*); opak-weise, kalte Glasur; grünoliver, leicht rötlich schimmernder Lüster; Kringel als Füllmotiv.

Ähnlich geschnittene Fussprofile: Vielleicht unsere Fragmente No. 2 und No. 35 aus Fustāt und Behnasa. Ein ähnlich breiter Fussring ist mir ausser einem Bruchstück aus Samarra (Sarre, Taf. XVII, 1–3, No. 163) von lüsterter Keramik nicht bekannt, wohl aber von einer wahrscheinlich ostasiatischen, weisen Porzellanschale im Château de Suse.

Ähnlichen Dekor zeigt am ehesten unser Stück No. 3 aus Samarra, nebst Fragmenten aus Susa im Archäologischen Museum Teheran und im Louvre (ohne Inventar).

Wahrscheinlich mesopotamische Fabrikation. Um 870.

5. *Tellerrandfragment angeblich aus Fustāt* (?). London, Victoria und Albert Museum Inv.-No. C 1661-1921.

Gelblicher Ton; opak-weiße, kalte Glasur; grün und gelb skizzierte und gemalte Lüsterdekoration; Blattweigornament.

Ähnlichen Dekor zeigt unser Fragment No. 13 aus Susa;—zur Gruppe: Fragmente angeblich aus Susa und Samarra im Louvre, im British Museum, im Archäologischen Museum Teheran (ohne Inventar).

Mesopotamische Fabrikation. Um 870.

6. *Schalenfragment aus Persien*. Teheran, Archäologisches Museum (ohne Inventar).

Harter, gelber Ton; Ringfuss (vgl. *Profilzeichnung* 6); opak-weiße, gut am Scherben haftende Glasur, uni rubinrot lüstriert; Dekor in stark leuchtendem Goldluster; Arabeske. Aussen einheitlich rubinrote Lüsterung.

Ähnlich geschnittene Fussprofile: Vielleicht unser Fragment No. 14 aus Behnasa;—zur Gruppe: Ein angeblich aus Persien stammendes Stück in Kairo, Islam. Museum Inv.-No. 4176 (abgebildet bei M. Mostafa, *Céramiques musulmanes*, fig. 1).

Ähnlichen Dekor zeigen unsere Fragmente No. 7 angeblich aus Fustāt, No. 8 und No. 9 angeblich aus Behnasa;—zur Gruppe: Stücke mit einheitlich rubinroter Lüsterung kamen auch in Samarra zutage (Sarre, Taf. XVII, 4), sollen auch in Rei gefunden worden sein (Auskunft Rabenou, Teheran).

Persische oder mesopotamische Fabrikation. Um 870-890.

7. *Schalenfragment angeblich aus Fustāt*. Kairo, Museum für Islamische Kunst Inv.-No. 9076,35.

Weissgelblicher Ton; Ringfuss (vgl. *Profilzeichnung* 7); opak-weiße, leicht absplittende Glasur, uni rubinrot lüstriert mit Spuren von grauem Niederschlag; Dekor in stark leuchtendem Goldluster; Blattornament.

Ähnlich geschnittene Fussprofile: Vgl. unser Fragment No. 1;—zur Gruppe: Vor allem die durch Profilzeichnung A repräsentierte, mesopotamische Ware aus Susa.

Stücke mit ähnlichem Dekor: Vgl. unser Fragment No. 6.

Möglicherweise ägyptische, eher aber mesopotamische Fabrikation. Um 870-890.

8. *Schalenfussfragment angeblich aus Behnasa*. London, Victoria und Albert Museum Inv.-No. C 853-1921.

Weissgelblicher, hart gebrannter Ton; Ringfuss (vgl. *Profilzeichnung* 8); opak-weiße Glasur, uni rubinrot lüstriert; Dekor in stark leuchtendem Goldluster; Blattdekorationen.

Ähnlich geschnittene Fussprofile: Vgl. unsere Fragmente No. 2 aus Fustāt; No. 9 angeblich aus Behnasa; No. 57 aus Behnasa;—zur Gruppe: ein angeblich aus Samarra stammendes Fragment im British Museum (ohne Inventar).

Stücke mit ähnlichem Dekor: Vgl. unser Fragment No. 6.

Ägyptische oder mesopotamische Fabrikation. Um 870-890.

9. *Schalenfussfragment angeblich aus Behnasa*. London, Victoria und Albert Museum Inv.-No. C 854-1921.

Gelblicher Ton; Ringfuss (vgl. *Profilzeichnung* 9); opak-weiße Glasur, uni rubinrot lüstriert; Dekor in stark leuchtendem Goldluster; Wabenmuster als Füllmotiv zwischen ausgespartem Dreiblattornament.

Ähnlich geschnittene Fussprofile: Vgl. unsere Fragmente No. 2 aus Fustāt; No. 8 aus Behnasa; vielleicht auch No. 4 aus Behnasa;



—zur Gruppe: angeblich aus Samarra stammendes Fragment im British Museum (ohne Inventar).

Ähnlichen Dekor zeigen: Unsere Fragmente No. 6–8;—zur Gruppe: Kairo, Islam. Museum Inv.-No. 9076,39.

Ägyptische oder mesopotamische Fabrikation. Um 870–890.

10. *Tellerfragment aus Persien oder Mesopotamien*. Teheran, Archäologisches Museum (Inventar?).

Gelber, ziemlich hart gebrannter Ton; opak-weiße Glasur mit grauem Niederschlag; dunkelbraune, lüsterähnlich Bemalung; Blattrankenornament. Aussen helles Kastanienbraun mit negativ ausgesparter, weißer Zeichnung (abgebildet in der irakischen Zeitschrift *Sumer*, Januar 1948, Taf. 21).

Ähnlichen Dekor zeigt: Unser Fragment No. 11 aus Susa;—zur Gruppe: aus Susa stammendes Stück im Louvre (ohne Inventar, abgebildet bei A. Lane, *Early Islamic pottery*, Taf. 11A; resp. R. Koechlin, *Les Céramiques musulmanes de Suse*, Taf. XXII, 158); Gläser mit lüsterähnlicher Bemalung (vgl. p. 13, Anm. 24).

Mesopotamische Fabrikation. Möglicherweise zwischen 840 und 870.

11. *Tellerandfragment angeblich aus Susa*. Teheran, Archäologisches Museum (ohne Inventar).

Gelblicher, nicht sehr fein geschlemmter Ton; nicht aufgedrehte, sondern nach Art der reliefierten Ware gepresste Form; opak-weiße Glasur mit grauem Niederschlag; dunkelbraune, lüsterähnliche Bemalung; Ranke. Aussen nicht bemalt.

Ähnlichen Dekor zeigt: Unser Fragment No. 10;—zur Gruppe: Ähnliche Rankenmotive zeigen die Dekorationen verschiedener Fliesen der monochromen Serie von Kairouan

(abgebildet bei K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim architecture*, vol. 2, Taf. 86A, 125, 131).

Mesopotamische Fabrikation. Möglicherweise zwischen 840 und 870.

12. *Schalenfussfragment angeblich aus Fustāt*. London, Victoria und Albert Museum Inv.-No. C 10B–1949.

Gelblicher Ton; Ringfuss (vgl. *Profilzeichnung 12*); opak-weiße, kalte Glasur; kastanienbraune Lüsterzeichnung und goldgelbe Ausmalung; Netzwerk mit Rosetten als Füllmotiv. Aussen einheitlich gelbe Bemalung.

Ähnlich geschnittene Fussprofile: Unsere *Profilzeichnung B* von der aus Samarra stammenden Schale (bei F. Sarre, *Die Keramik von Samarra*, No. 156);—zur Gruppe: Aus Susa stammende Stücke im Louvre (No. S191); ein Stück ohne Inventar (abgebildet bei R. Koechlin, *Les céramiques musulmanes de Suse*, Taf. XXII, 154; resp. M. Pézard, *La céramique archaïque de l'Islam*, Taf. CXXXV, 1; vielleicht auch das Fragment No. 10830 im British Museum (abgebildet bei Pézard, Taf. CXXXVI, 2); aus Samarra stammende Fragmente in Berlin (ohne Inventar).

Ähnlichen Dekor zeigt keines der in Ägypten zutage gekommenen Fragmente;—zur Gruppe: Fundstücke aus Samarra in Berlin (vgl. Sarre, No. 156, 157); Fundstücke aus Susa im Louvre ohne Inventar (abgebildet bei Koechlin, Taf. XXII, 154; resp. Pézard, Taf. CXXXV, 1); No. 10830 im British Museum (abgebildet bei Pézard, Taf. CXXXVI, 2); Fundstücke aus Mesopotamien oder Persien im Louvre Inv.-No. 8179 (abgebildet bei A. Lane, *Early Islamic pottery*, Taf. 11B); im Art Institute Chicago (abgebildet bei A. Lane, Taf. 10B); im Victoria und Albert Museum Inv.-No. C45–1952 (abgebildet bei Pézard, Taf. CXXXIV); (vgl. auch Pézard, Taf. CXXXIII).

Mesopotamische Fabrikation. Um 850–870.

13. *Schalenrandfragment aus Susa*. Mission archéologique en Susiane. Château de Suse.

Gelber, sehr fein geschlemmter Ton; opak-weiße, gletscherige Glasur; Dekoration in olivbrauner und honiggelber Lüstermalerei; Randdekor und Netzmuster mit Punktsaat, Flecken und Schraffen als Füllmotive.

Ähnlichen Dekor zeigen: Unsere Fragmente No. 14 und No. 15 angeblich aus Behnasa;—zur Gruppe: Aus Susa stammende Stücke im Louvre (ohne Inventar, vgl. R. Koechlin, *Les céramiques musulmanes de Suse*, Taf. XXI, 143); angeblich aus Susa stammende Fragmente im Archäologischen Museum Teheran (ohne Inventar); angeblich aus Samarra stammende Fragmente in Berlin (ohne Inventar), im British Museum (ohne Inventar), im Victoria und Albert Museum Inv.-No. C632-1922; angeblich aus Afrasiab stammendes Fragment im Victoria und Albert Museum Inv.-No. 1712-1898.

Mesopotamische Fabrikation. Um 870.

14. *Schalenfussfragment angeblich aus Behnasa*. London, Victoria und Albert Museum Inv.-No. C758-1921.

Braungrauer, ziemlich hart gebrannter Ton; Ringfuss (vgl. *Profilzeichnung 14*); opak-weiße, gletscherige Glasur, leicht rötlich durchscheinender Scherben; Dekor in brauner, gelber und grünlicher Lüstermalerei.

Ähnlich geschnittene Fussprofile: Vielleicht unser Fragment No. 6 aus Persien;—zur Gruppe: Stücke aus Samarra in Berlin (ohne Inventar); Fragmente aus Susa im Château de Suse und im Louvre (Koechlin, *Les céramiques musulmanes de Suse*, Taf. XXI, 143); aus Persien in Kairo, Islam. Museum Inv.-No. 4176 (abgebildet bei M. Mostafa, *Céramiques musulmanes*, fig. 1).

Stücke mit ähnlichen Dekor: Vgl. unser Fragment No. 13.

Wahrscheinlich mesopotamische Fabrikation. Um 870.

15. *Schalenfragment angeblich aus Behnasa*. London, Victoria und Albert Museum Inv.-No. C757-1921.

Gelblicher Ton; opak-weiße, gletscherig kalte Glasur; grünliche und gelbe Lüstermalerei. Aussen gelbe und rötliche Pinselstriche.

Stücke mit ähnlichen Dekor: Vgl. unser Fragment No. 13.

Wahrscheinlich mesopotamische Fabrikation. Um 870-880.

16. *Schalenfussfragment angeblich aus Fustât*. Kairo, Museum für Islamische Kunst Inv.-No. 9076,8.

Gelblicher, ziemlich harter Ton; Ringfuss (vgl. *Profilzeichnung 16*); opak-weiße Glasur mit starkem grauem Niederschlag; braune, grünliche und honiggelbe Lüstermalerei.

Ähnlich geschnittene Fussprofile zeigen: Unsere Fragmente No. 2 aus Fustât, No. 35 angeblich aus Behnasa;—zur Gruppe: Angeblich aus Susa stammende Fragmente im Louvre und im Archäologischen Museum Teheran (ohne Inventar); aus Persien stammendes Stück (Besitz Rabenou); angeblich aus Mesopotamien stammendes Stück im British Museum (Inv.-No. 1923-7-25-2).

Ähnlichen Dekor zeigt keines der mir bekannten, in Ägypten zutage gekommenen Fragmente;—zur Gruppe: Stücke aus Persien (Besitz Rabenou) und Archäologisches Museum Teheran (Inv.-No. G129-8211); daselbst zahlreiche, angeblich aus Susa stammende Fragmente (ohne Inventar).

Wahrscheinlich mesopotamische Fabrikation. Um 870-890.

17. *Schalenfussfragment angeblich aus Behnasa*. London, Victoria und Albert Museum Inv.-No. C768-1921.

Gelblicher Ton; Ringfuss (*Profilzeichnung 17*); opak-weiße, gletscherige kalte Glasur;



dattelbraune, grünliche und gelbe Lüstermalerei; Striche und Tupfen als Grundmuster, darin ausgesparte Medaillons mit Radrosetten.

Ähnlich geschnittene Fussprofile: Unsere Fragmente No. 18 und No. 27 aus Behnasa; —zur Gruppe: Angeblich aus Samarra stammende Fragmente im British Museum (ohne Inventar); Gemeentemuseum van s'Gravenhage Inv.-No. OK I 117.

Ähnlichen Dekor zeigen: Unsere Fragmente No. 15, 18 angeblich aus Behnasa; No. 19, 21, 24 angeblich aus Fustāt; —zur Gruppe: Victoria und Albert Museum Inv.-No. C 46–1952; aus Susa stammende Stücke im Louvre (vgl. Pézard, *La céramique archaïque de l'Islam*, Taf. CXLIII, 3); angeblich aus Persien (Rei) stammendes Stück bei Pézard, Taf. CXXXIII, 1; angeblich aus Persien stammende Stücke im Archäologischen Museum Teheran (ohne Inventar).

Mesopotamische oder ägyptische Fabrikation. Um 870–890.

18. *Schalenfussfragment angeblich aus Behnasa*. London, Victoria und Albert Museum Inv.-No. C 766–1921.

Graugelber Ton; Ringfuss (*Profilzeichnung 18*); opak-weiße Glasur, leicht rötlich durchschimmernder Scherben; dattelbraune und honiggelbe Lüstermalerei; Striche und Tupfen als Grundmuster, darin ausgesparte Medaillons mit Rosetten.

Ähnlich geschnittene Fussprofile: Unser Fragment No. 17; —zur Gruppe: Vielleicht das aus Susa stammende Fragment im Louvre No. S191; Gemeentemuseum van s'Gravenhage Inv. No. OK I 117.

Ähnlichen Dekor zeigen: Unsere Fragmente No. 19 und No. 24, beide angeblich aus Fustāt; No. 52 angeblich aus Behnasa; —zur Gruppe: Victoria und Albert Museum Inv.-No. C 773–1921 angeblich aus Behnasa; Gemeentemuseum van s'Gravenhage Inv.-No. OK I 117 und das diesem genau entsprechende

Stück im British Museum (Inv.-No. 1956.7.–28.2.); Archäologisches Museum Teheran Inv.-No. G129–8211 aus Persien; ein Fragment aus Samarra in den Staatlichen Museen Berlin (ohne Inventar); Stücke aus Susa im Château de Suse und im Archäologischen Museum Teheran (ohne Inventar).

Wahrscheinlich ägyptische Fabrikation. Um 880–890.

19. *Randtellerfragment angeblich aus Fustāt*. Kairo, Museum für Islamische Kunst Inv.-No. 9076,10.

Gelber, hart gebrannter Ton; opak-weiße, homogene, gut am Scherben haftende Glasur; honiggelbe, hellgrüne und dattelbraune Lüstermalerei; Striche und Tupfen als Grundmuster, darin ausgesparte Medaillons mit Rosetten. Aussen gelbe Pinselstriche und grosse, braune Kreise.

Stücke mit ähnlichem Dekor: Vgl. unser Fragment No. 18.

Ägyptische Fabrikation. Um 880–900.

20. *Tellerfragment angeblich aus Fustāt*. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Inv.-No. I 1995.

Gelbrötlicher, fein geschlemmter Ton; opak-weiße, nicht sehr gut am Scherben haftende Glasur; honiggelbe, grünliche und dattelbraune Lüstermalerei; Karomuster.

Ähnlichen Dekor zeigt: Unser Fragment No. 22 angeblich aus Behnasa; —zur Gruppe: Victoria und Albert Museum Inv.-No. C 784–1921 angeblich aus Behnasa; British Museum No. 10830 aus Susa (vgl. Pézard, *La céramique archaïque de l'Islam* Taf. CXXXVI, 2); Staatliche Museen Berlin, Fragment aus Ctesiphon (ohne Inventar).

Wahrscheinlich ägyptische Fabrikation. Um 880–900.

21. *Schalenrandfragment angeblich aus Fustāt*. Kairo, Museum für Islamische Kunst Inv.-No. 9076,17.

Gelbrötlicher Ton; opak-weiße, kalte, gut

am Scherben haftende Glasur (aussen verschwindende Spuren von grauem Niederschlag); senfgelbe, rotbraune und grünolive Lüstermalerei; abgedeckte Grundfläche mit ausgesparten Medaillons und Borte mit Blattzweig. Aussen gelbe Pinselstriche und rotbraune Kreise.

Ähnlichen Dekor zeigen: Unsere Fragmente No. 15, 35, und 59 angeblich aus Behnasa; No. 45, 46 angeblich aus Fustāt;—zur Gruppe: Aus Susa stammende Stücke im Louvre (Koechlin, *Les céramiques musulmanes de Suse*, Taf. XXI, 143); Victoria und Albert Museum Inv.-No. C 785-1921 angeblich aus Behnasa.

Ägyptische Fabrikation. Um 880-900.

22. *Schalenrandfragment angeblich aus Behnasa*. London, Victoria und Albert Museum Inv.-No. C 772-1921.

Gelbrötlicher Ton; opak-weiße, kalte Glasur; grünliche und dattelbraune Lüstermalerei; Karomuster und Borte mit Flechtband.

Stücke mit ähnlichem Dekor: Vgl. unsere Fragmente No. 20, 21, 40.

Ägyptische Fabrikation. Um 880-900.

23. *Schalenfragment angeblich aus Fustāt*. Kairo, Museum für Islamische Kunst Inv.-No. 9102.

Gelbrötlicher, hart gebrannter Ton; opak-weiße, homogene Glasur; honiggelbe, grünliche und dattelbraune Lüstermalerei; gestreutes Blattmotiv.

Ähnlichen Dekor zeigen: Unsere Stücke No. 19, 24, 42, 46 aus Fustāt; No. 47 angeblich aus Behnasa;—zur Gruppe: Kairo, Islam. Museum Inv.-No. 9076,12 aus Fustāt; Victoria und Albert Museum Inv.-No. C 764-1921 angeblich aus Behnasa; ein aus Persien stammendes Stück im Archäologischen Museum Teheran (ohne Inventar).

Ägyptische Fabrikation. Um 880-900.

24. *Schalenrandfragment angeblich aus Fustāt*. Kairo, Museum für Islamische Kunst Inv.-No. 9076,19.

Gelbrötlicher, hart gebrannter Ton; opak-weiße, homogene Glasur; honiggelbe, hellgrüne und dattelbraune Lüsterbemalung; Striche und Tupfen als Grundmuster, darin ausgesparte Medaillons mit Rosetten.

Stücke mit ähnlichem Dekor: Vgl. unser Fragment No. 18.

Ägyptische Fabrikation. Um 880-900.

25. *Schalenfragment angeblich aus Fustāt*. Kairo, Museum für Islamische Kunst Inv.-No. 9076,11.

Gelblicher Ton; opak-weiße, kalte, homogene Glasur (aussen Spuren von grauem Niederschlag); honiggelbe, hellgrüne und dattelbraune Lüstermalerei; Blüte als Ornamentmotiv, Punkte, Kreistupfen und Grätenmuster als Füllmotive. Aussen Pinselstriche und konzentrische Kreise.

Ähnlichen Dekor zeigen: Unsere Fragmente No. 26, 29, 30 aus Fustāt, No. 34 angeblich aus Behnasa.

Ägyptische Fabrikation. Um 880-900.

26. *Schalenfragment angeblich aus Fustāt*. Kairo, Museum für Islamische Kunst Inv.-No. 9076,37.

Gelbrötlicher, hart gebrannter Ton; opak-weiße, kalte, homogene Glasur; honiggelbe, hellgrüne und purpurne Lüstermalerei; Palmetten, Blatt- und Ährengirlanden als Ornamentmotive, Kreistupfen und Grätenmuster als Füllmotive.

Ähnlichen Dekor zeigen: Unsere Fragmente No. 27 und No. 34 angeblich aus Behnasa;—zur Gruppe: Kairo, Islam. Museum Inv.-No. 9076,38; 9076,9; 12335,3 u.a. aus Fustāt; ein angeblich aus Susa stammendes Stück im Archäologischen Museum Teheran (ohne Inventar).

Ägyptische Fabrikation. Um 880-890.



27. *Schalenfragment angeblich aus Behnasa.*  
London, Victoria und Albert Museum  
Inv.-No. C 763-1921.

Gelbrötlicher, hart gebrannter Ton; Ringfuss (vgl. *Profilzeichnung* 27); opak-weiße, gletscherige Glasur; gelbe, olivgrüne und dattelbraune Lüstermalerei; Ährengirlande und Palmetten als Ornamentmotive, Kreistupfen, Gräten- und Schuppenmuster als Füllmotive.

Ähnlich geschnittene Fussprofile: Vgl. unser Fragment No. 17.

Stücke mit ähnlichem Dekor: Vgl. unser Fragment No. 26.

Ägyptische Fabrikation. Um 880-890.

28. *Schalenfragment aus Fustāt.* Kairo, Museum für Islamische Kunst Inv.-No. 9076,6.

Rötlicher, hart gebrannter Ton; opak-weiße, homogene, kalte Glasur: (ausen Spuren von grauem Niederschlag); honiggelbe, leuchtend grüne und dattelbraune Lüstermalerei; Palmetten und Blüten als Ornamentmotive; Karotupfen, Karogeflecht und Schuppenmuster als Füllmotive. Ausen gegenständige Pinselabdrücke, die ein Blattmuster ergeben.

Ähnlichen Dekor zeigen: Unsere Fragmente No. 29, 30, 31 angeblich aus Fustāt;—zur Gruppe: Der aus Samarra (Ashiq) stammende Napf in den Staatlichen Museen Berlin (Sarre, *Samarra*, Taf. XVI, 155) und Fragmente aus Samarra (Sarre, Taf. XVII, 168); Stücke aus Susa im Archäologischen Museum Teheran (ohne Inventar); angeblich aus Mesopotamien stammendes Stück im Metropolitan Museum, New York (abgebildet bei A. Lane, *Early Islamic pottery*, Taf. 10A).

Ägyptische Fabrikation. Um 880-890.

29. *Schalenfragment angeblich aus Behnasa.*  
London, Victoria und Albert Museum  
Inv.-No. C 765-1921.

Rötlicher Ton; Ringfuss (vgl. *Profilzeichnung* 29); opak-weiße, homogene, kalte Gla-

sur; honiggelbe, grünliche und dattelbraune Lüstermalerei; Rosette und Palmetten als Ornamentmotive, Schuppen-, Gräten-, und Tupfenmuster als Füllmotive.

Ähnlich geschnittene Fussprofile zeigen: Unsere Fragmente No. 16, 33, 53 angeblich aus Fustāt.—zur Gruppe: Kairo, Islam. Museum Inv.-No. 9076,36 aus Fustāt; Victoria und Albert Museum Inv.-No. C 165-1939 angeblich aus Fustāt.

Ähnlichen Dekor zeigen: Unsere Fragmente No. 27 angeblich aus Behnasa; No. 21, 28, 30 angeblich aus Fustāt.

Ägyptische Fabrikation. Um 880-890.

30. *Schalenfussfragment angeblich aus Fustāt.* Kairo, Museum für Islamische Kunst Inv.-No. 9076,1.

Gelbrötlicher Ton; Ringfuss (*Profilzeichnung* 30); opak-weiße, homogene Glasur; honiggelbe, hellgrüne und dattelbraune Lüstermalerei; Kreuzornament, Karogeflecht, Kreistupfen, Gräten- und Schraffenmuster als Füllmotive.

Ähnlich geschnittene Fussprofile zeigen: Unser Fragment No. 7 aus Fustāt; zur Gruppe: Die durch *Profilzeichnung A* repräsentierte mesopotamische Ware aus Susa; Victoria und Albert Museum Inv.-No. C 764-1921 angeblich aus Behnasa.

Ähnlichen Dekor zeigen: Unsere Fragmente No. 25 aus Fustāt; No. 27 und 29 angeblich aus Behnasa.

Wahrscheinlich ägyptische Fabrikation. Um 880-890.

31. *Schalenrandfragment angeblich aus Fustāt.* Kairo, Museum für Islamische Kunst Inv.-No. 12581.

Gelbrötlicher, hart gebrannter Ton; opak-weiße, homogene Glasur; honiggelbe, grün-olive und dattelbraune Lüstermalerei; Palmetten und Girlanden also Ornamentmotive, Kreistupfen, Schuppenmuster und Punktreihen

als Füllmotive. Aussen gelbe Pinselstriche und rotbraune Kreise.

Ähnlichen Dekor zeigen: Unsere Fragmente No. 32, 33, 55 angeblich aus Fustât; No. 35 angeblich aus Behnasa.

Ägyptische Fabrikation. Um 880–890.

32. *Schalenfussfragment angeblich aus Fustât.*  
Kairo, Museum für Islamische Kunst  
Inv.-No. 9076,15.

Gelbgrauer, hart gebrannter Ton; Ringfuss (vgl. *Profilzeichnung* 32); opak-weiße, homogene Glasur; honiggelbe, grünolive und dattelbraune Lüstermalerei; Blütendolde und Palmetten als Ornamentmotive, Kreistupfen und Punktierung als Füllmotive. Aussen Strich-Tupfenmuster mit ausgesparten Medaillons, Schalenboden kariert.

Ähnlich geschnittene Fussprofile zeigen: Unsere Fragmente No. 47 angeblich aus Behnasa; No. 54 und No. 58 angeblich aus Fustât.

Ähnlichen Dekor zeigen: Unsere Fragmente No. 31, 33, aus Fustât; No. 50 aus al-Mina;—zur Gruppe: Dekorationen mit ähnlichen Blütendolden finden sich auch in Kairouan (vgl. G. Marçais, *Les fayences à reflets métalliques de la grande mosquée de Kairouan*, Taf. XI, 62; Taf. XIV, 79; 81); Berlin, Staatliche Museen Inv.-No. I 6249 angeblich aus Fustât.

Ägyptische Fabrikation. Um 880–890.

33. *Schalenfussfragment angeblich aus Fustât.*  
London, Victoria und Albert Museum  
Inv.-No. C10A–1949.

Gelbgrauer, hart gebrannter Ton; Ringfuss (vgl. *Profilzeichnung* 33); opak-weiße, homogene Glasur; grünliche und braune Lüstermalerei; Füllhörner als Ornamentmotiv, Schraffen und Punktreihen als Füllmotive.

Ähnlich geschnittene Fussprofile: Vgl. unser Fragment No. 29.

Ähnlichen Dekor zeigen: Unsere Fragment No. 28, 31, 32, 48, 53 aus Fustât. No. 50

aus al-Mina;—zur Gruppe: Das Füllhornmotiv ist bekannt von den Füllhornranken der Wandmalereien von Samarra (E. Herzfeld, *Die Malereien von Samarra*, Berlin, 1927, Taf. XII–XIV).

Ägyptische Fabrikation. Um 880–890.

34. *Schalenfussfragment angeblich aus Behnasa.* London, Victoria und Albert Museum Inv.-No. C 767–1921.

Rötlicher, fein geschlemmter Ton; Ringfuss (vgl. *Profilzeichnung* 34); opak-weiße, homogene, kalte Glasur; gelbe, grünliche und dattelbraune Lüstermalerei; Palmetten als Ornamentmotiv, Kreistupfen und Grätenmuster als Füllmotive.

Ähnlich geschnittene Fussprofile zeigen: Unsere Fragmente No. 35, 39 aus Fustât bzw. Behnasa.

Ähnlichen Dekor zeigen: Unsere Fragmente No. 25, 26, 30, 31 aus Fustât; No. 35 angeblich aus Behnasa;—zur Gruppe: Victoria und Albert Museum Inv.-No. C 782–1921 angeblich aus Behnasa.

Ägyptische Fabrikation. Um 880–890.

35. *Schalenfussfragment angeblich aus Behnasa.* London, Victoria und Albert Museum Inv.-No. C 762–1921.

Gelblicher, hart gebrannter Ton; Ringfuss (vgl. *Profilzeichnung* 35); opak-weiße, homogene Glasur; gelbe, grünliche und braune Lüstermalerei; Girlanden und Palmetten als Ornamentmotive, Grätenmuster als Füllmotiv.

Ähnlich geschnittene Fussprofile: Vgl. unser Fragment No. 34.

Ähnlichen Dekor zeigen: Unsere Fragmente No. 21, 31, 55 angeblich aus Fustât; No. 34 angeblich aus Behnasa;—zur Gruppe: Victoria und Albert Museum Inv.-No. C 782–1921; Berlin, Staatliche Museen Inv.-No. I 6249.

Ägyptische Fabrikation. Um 880–890.



36. *Schalenrandfragment angeblich aus Fustāt*. Kairo, Museum für Islamische Kunst Inv.-No. 9076,22.

Gelblicher Ton; opak-weiße, homogene Glasur; honiggelbe, grünliche und dattelbraune Lüstermalerei; gepunkteter Grund, darin ausgesparte Palmettformen. Aussen gepunkteter Grund mit ausgesparten Medaillons.

Ähnlichen Dekor zeigen: Unsere Fragmente No. 37, 38, 39, 46, 49, 56 angeblich aus Fustāt; No. 41, 47 angeblich aus Behnasa; —zur Gruppe: Victoria und Albert Museum Inv.-No. C 769–1921 angeblich aus Behnasa.

Ägyptische Fabrikation. Um 880–900.

37. *Schalenrandfragment angeblich aus Fustāt*. Kairo, Museum für Islamische Kunst Inv.-No. 9076,13.

Gelbrötlicher Ton; auffallend dickwandiger Scherben; opak-weiße, homogene, ziemlich schlecht am Scherben haftende Glasur mit Spuren von grauem Niederschlag; hellgrüne, honigbraune und gelbe Lüstermalerei; mit Flechten gemusterter Grund und ausgespartes Ornament.

Stücke mit ähnlichem Dekor: Vgl. unser Fragment No. 36.

Ägyptische Fabrikation. Um 880–900.

38. *Schalenfussfragment aus Fustāt*. Kairo, Museum für Islamische Kunst Inv.-No. 9076,34.

Gelbrötlicher, fein geschlemmter Ton; dickwandiger Scherben; opak-weiße, homogene, ziemlich schlecht am Scherben haftende Glasur; hellgrüne, honiggelbe und dattelbraune Lüstermalerei; girlandenartiges Rahmenwerk mit grossflächigen Füllungen. Aussen Pinselstriche und grosse Kreise.

Ähnlich geschnittene Fussprofile zeigen: Unsere Fragmente No. 49 angeblich aus Fustāt; No. 50 aus al-Mina.

Stücke mit ähnlichem Dekor: Vgl. unser Fragment No. 36.

Ägyptische Fabrikation. Um 880–900.

39. *Schalenfussfragment aus Fustāt*. Kairo, Museum für Islamische Kunst Inv.-No. 9076,30.

Gelbrötlicher Ton; dickwandiger Scherben; opak-weiße, homogene, ziemlich schlecht am Scherben haftende Glasur; honiggelbe, hellgrüne und dattelbraune Lüstermalerei; Palmetten als Ornamentmotiv, Punktsaat zwischen Rosetten als Füllmotiv. Aussen Pinselstriche.

Ähnlich geschnittene Fussprofile: Vgl. unser Fragment No. 34.

Stücke mit ähnlichem Dekor: Vgl. unser Fragment No. 36.

Ägyptische Fabrikation. Um 880–900.

40. *Schalenrandfragment angeblich aus Behnasa*. London, Victoria und Albert Museum Inv.-No. C 770–1921.

Gelbgrauer Ton; opak-weiße, homogene, ziemlich schlecht am Scherben haftende Glasur; grünliche und dattelbraune Lüstermalerei; weiss ausgesparte Arabeske und Borte mit Blattornament.

Ähnlichen Dekor zeigen: Unsere Fragmente No. 36, 38, 42, 58 angeblich aus Fustāt; No. 41 angeblich aus Behnasa; —zur Gruppe: In flachem Schrägschnitt ausgeführte Holz- und Stuckdekorationen aus Samarra und aus der Moschee des Ibn Tulun in Kairo.

Ägyptischen Fabrikation. Um 890–900.

41. *Schalenfragment angeblich aus Behnasa*. London, Victoria und Albert Museum Inv.-No. C 783–1921.

Gelblicher Ton; opak-weiße, homogene Glasur (aussen grauer Niederschlag); grüngoldene und dattelbraune Lüstermalerei; gepunkteter Grund mit ausgesparten Ornamentformen.

Stücke mit ähnlichem Dekor: Vgl. unser Fragment No. 36.

Ägyptische Fabrikation. Um 880–900.

42. *Schalenfragment aus Fustāt*. Kairo, Museum für Islamische Kunst Inv.-No. 9076,3.

Gelbrötlicher Ton; opak-weiße, homogene Glasur; gelbe, olivgoldene und dattelpbraune Lüstermalerei; grossflächig angelegte Dekoration. Aussen gelbe und hellgrüne Pinselstriche.

Ähnlichen Dekor zeigen: Unsere Stücke, No. 23, 38, 39, 43, 56, 58 angeblich aus Fustāt; No. 40, 41, 47 angeblich aus Behnasa;—zur Gruppe: Die Dekorationen der Innenseite des Fundstückes aus Samarra, Sarre No. 168.

Ägyptische Fabrikation. Um 880–900.

43. *Schalenfussfragment aus Fustāt*. Kairo, Museum für Islamische Kunst Inv.-No. 9076,9.

Graurötlicher, ziemlich hart gebrannter Ton; Ringfuss (vgl. *Profilzeichnung* 43); opak-weiße Glasur mit Spuren von grauem Niederschlag; rote und goldgelbe Lüstermalerei; Radornament vor gepunktetem Grund.

Ähnlich geschnittene Fussprofile: Vgl. *Profilzeichnung C* von einem angeblich aus Fustāt stammenden Stück in Berlin, Staatliche Museen Inv.-No. I 1901; vgl. *Profilzeichnung D* von einem kleinen, uni rubinrot lüstrierten Fragment aus al-'Ashiq, Samarra in Berlin, Staatliche Museen (ohne Inventar); ein ähnlich geschnittenes Profil zeigt auch unser Fragment No. 44 (ohne Zeichnung).

Stücke mit ähnlichem Dekor: Vgl. unser Fragment No. 36. Zu nennen sind hier insbesondere No. 41 aus Behnasa; Vielleicht auch das Radornament No. 44 aus Susa.

Wahrscheinlich ägyptische Fabrikation. Um 880–900.

44. *Schalenfragment aus Susa*. Mission archéologique en Susiane. Château de Suse.

Gelber Ton; Ringfuss (ohne Profilzeichnung); opak-weiße Glasur mit starkem, grauem Niederschlag; grünliche und braune Lüstermalerei; Radornament mit Flügelpalmetten.

Ähnlichen Dekor zeigen: Vielleicht unser Fragment No. 43;—zur Gruppe: Die Dekorationen der Innenseite des Fundstückes aus Samarra, Sarre, No. 168; Pézard *La céramique archaïque de l'Islam*, Taf. CXXXII (angeblich aus Rei).

Wahrscheinlich mesopotamische Fabrikation. Zweitere Hälfte des neunten Jahrhunderts.

45. *Schalenrandfragment angeblich aus Fustāt*. Kairo, Museum für Islamische Kunst Inv.-No. 9076,21.

Gelbrötlicher, ziemlich hart gebrannter Ton; opak-weiße, homogene Glasur; honiggelbe, olivgrüne und dattelpbraune Lüstermalerei; Borte mit Radornament vor gepunktetem Grund. Aussen kräftige Pinselstriche und Kreise.

Ähnlichen Dekor zeigen: Unsere Fragmente No. 21, 46, 48 angeblich aus Fustāt; No. 29 und 47 angeblich aus Behnasa;—zur Gruppe: Victoria und Albert Museum Inv.-No. C 785–1921.

Ägyptische Fabrikation. Um 880–900.

46. *Schalenrandfragment angeblich aus Fustāt*. Kairo, Museum für Islamische Kunst Inv.-No. 9076,4.

Gelblicher, ziemlich hart gebrannter Ton; opak-weiße, nicht sehr gut am Scherben haftende Glasur; honiggelbe, grünolive und dattelpbraune Lüstermalerei; gepunkteter Grund mit ausgespartem Blattornament, Borte mit Blattzweig.

Ähnlichen Dekor zeigen: Unsere Frag-



mente No. 36, 43, 48, 49, 56 angeblich aus Fustāt; No. 41, 47 angeblich aus Behnasa; No. 50 aus al-Mina;—zur Gruppe: Das angeblich aus Rei (Persien) stammende Stück Pézard, *La céramique archaïque de l'Islam*, Taf. CXXXII; Victoria und Albert Museum Inv.-No. C 769–1921 angeblich aus Behnasa.

Ägyptische Fabrikation. Um 880–900.

47. *Schalenfussfragment angeblich aus Behnasa*. London, Victoria und Albert Museum Inv.-No. C 761–1921.

Gelbrötlicher Ton; Ringfuss (vgl. *Profilzeichnung 47*); opak-weiße Glasur; gelbe, grünliche und dunkelbraune Lüstermalerei; Kreuzornament.

Ähnlich geschnittene Fussprofile: Vgl. unser Fragment No. 32.

Stücke mit ähnlichem Dekor: Vgl. unser Fragment No. 46.

Ägyptische Fabrikation. Um 880–900.

48. *Schalenfussfragment angeblich aus Fustāt*. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Inv.-No. I 6241.

Gelblicher, fein geschlemmter Ton; Ringfuss (ohne Zeichnung); opak-weiße, homogene Glasur; honigbraune, grünliche und dattelbraune Lüstermalerei; gepunkteter Grund und Blattzweigornament.

Ähnliche Stücke: Vgl. unser Fragment No. 46.

Ägyptische Fabrikation. Um 880–900.

49. *Schälchenfragment angeblich aus Fustāt*. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Inv.-No. I 1998.

Gelblicher, fein geschlemmter Ton; Ringfuss (vgl. *Profilzeichnung 49*); opak-weiße, homogene Glasur, grünliche und honigbraune Lüstermalerei; gepunkteter Grund mit ausgesparten Medaillons. Aussen Pinselstriche.

Ähnlich geschnittene Fussprofile: Vgl. unser Fragment No. 38.

Stücke mit ähnlichem Dekor: Vgl. unser Fragment No. 46.

Ägyptische Fabrikation. Um 890–900.

50. *Schalenfussfragment aus al-Mina*. London, Victoria und Albert Museum Inv.-No. C 246A–1937.

Gelblicher Ton; Ringfuss (vgl. *Profilzeichnung 50*); dickwandiger Scherben; opak-weiße, Ziemlich schlecht am Scherben haftende Glasur (aussen Spuren von grauem Niederschlag); grünliche und braune Lüstermalerei; Blütendolde und gepunktete Palmette.

Ähnlich geschnittene Fussprofile: Vgl. unser Fragment No. 38.

Stücke mit ähnlichem Dekor: Vgl. unsere Fragmente No. 32 und No. 46.

Wahrscheinlich ägyptische Fabrikation. Um 880–900.

51. *Schalenfragment angeblich aus Fustāt*. Kairo, Museum für Islamische Kunst Inv.-No. 9076,20.

Gelbrötlicher, hart gebrannter Ton; opak-weiße, homogene Glasur; honigbraune, grünliche und dattelbraune Lüstermalerei; Blütenornament.

Ähnlichen Dekor zeigen: Unsere Fragmente No. 19, 32, 33, 54, 56, aus Fustāt; No. 52 angeblich aus Behnasa.

Ägyptische Fabrikation. Um 880–900.

52. *Schalenrandfragment angeblich aus Behnasa*. London, Victoria und Albert Museum Inv.-No. C 776–1921.

Graurötlicher Ton; opak-weiße Fayenceglasur; honigbraune, dattelbraune und grünliche Lüstermalerei; Strich-Tupfenmuster, darin ausgespart Medaillon mit Blüte.

Stücke mit ähnlichem Dekor: Vgl. unser Fragment No. 51.

Ägyptische Fabrikation. Um 880–900.

53. *Schalenfussfragment angeblich aus Fustāt.* London, Victoria und Albert Museum Inv.-No. C 10-1949.

Gelblicher Ton; Ringfuss (vgl. *Profilzeichnung* 53); opak-weiße, homogene Glasur; honiggelbe, dattelpbraune und grünliche Lüstermalerei; Blattornamente.

Ähnlich geschnittene Fussprofile: Vgl. unser Fragment No. 29.

Stücke mit ähnlichem Dekor: Vgl. unser Fragment No. 46.

Ägyptische Fabrikation. Um 880-900.

54. *Schalenfussfragment aus Fustāt.* Kairo. Museum für Islamische Kunst Inv.-No. 9076,7.

Graurötlicher, hart gebrannter Ton; Ringfuss (vgl. *Profilzeichnung* 54); opak-weiße, homogene Glasur; honiggelbe, dattelpbraune und hellgrüne Lüstermalerei; Blütenornamente.

Ähnlich geschnittene Fussprofile: Vgl. unser Fragment No. 32.

Ähnlichen Dekor zeigen: Unsere Fragmente No. 23, 25, 32, 46, 51, 55, 56, 58, alle aus Fustāt.

Ägyptische Fabrikation. Um 880-900.

55. *Schalenrandfragment angeblich aus Fustāt.* London, Victoria und Albert Museum Inv.-No. C 10F-1949.

Gelbrötlicher Ton; dünnwandiger Scherben; opak-weiße, homogene Glasur; gelbe, grünliche und braune Lüstermalerei; Girlanden und Sternmedaillons.

Ähnlichen Dekor zeigen: Unsere Fragmente No. 31, 53, 54, 56, 58 aus Fustāt; No. 35, 57 aus Behnasa.

Ägyptische Fabrikation. Um 880-900.

56. *Schalenrandfragment angeblich aus Fustāt.* Kairo, Museum für Islamische Kunst Inv.-No. 9076,25.

Gelbgrauer, hart gebrannter Ton; opak-weiße, homogene Glasur; honiggelbe, hellgrüne und dattelpbraune Lüstermalerei; Sternmedaillon und Borte mit Blattzweig.

Stücke mit ähnlichem Dekor: Vgl. unsere Fragmente No. 54, 55.

Ägyptische Fabrikation. Um 880-900.

57. *Schalenfussfragment angeblich aus Behnasa.* London, Victoria und Albert Museum Inv.-No. C 759-1921.

Grauer, fein geschlemmter Ton; Ringfuss (vgl. *Profilzeichnung* 57); opak-weiße, homogene Glasur; grünliche und braune Lüstermalerei; Sternornament.

Ähnlich geschnittene Fussprofile: Vielleicht unser Fragment No. 34.

Ähnlichen Dekor zeigen: Unsere Fragmente No. 55, 56, 58 angeblich aus Fustāt; vielleicht auch unser Fragment No. 2 aus Fustāt.

Ägyptische Fabrikation. Um 880-900.

58. *Schalenfussfragment angeblich aus Fustāt.* London, British Museum (ohne Inventar).

Gelbrötlicher, ziemlich grober Ton; Ringfuss (vgl. *Profilzeichnung* 58); dickwandiger Scherben; opak-weiße, homogene Glasur; grünliche, hell- und dunkelpbraune Lüstermalerei; Sternornament.

Ähnlich geschnittene Fussprofile: Vgl. unser Fragment No. 32.

Ähnlichen Dekor zeigen: Unsere Fragmente No. 20, 33, 38, 46, 53, 55, 56 angeblich aus Fustāt; No. 40, 57 angeblich aus Behnasa.

Ägyptische Fabrikation. Um 890-900.



# SOME THOUGHTS ON THE PROBLEMS OF EARLY ORIENTAL CARPETS

BY AGNES GEIJER

THE PRIVILEGE OF REVIEWING ERNST KÜHNEL'S and Kurt Erdmann's recent books on carpets<sup>1</sup> has inspired the author to take this material as a starting point for presenting some views which are a natural consequence of experiences gained in her own field research: the history of textile art in Europe with special reference to the Scandinavian countries.<sup>2</sup> In these countries a series of fortunate circumstances has preserved native textiles from the 13th to the 16th centuries which in many cases provide a direct link with the folk-art products which were still a living tradition in the 19th century. Knowledge of how this art adopted, in various ways, stylistic impulses from outside, but also retained certain ancient and purely primitive features, gives an insight into the nature and into the special evolutionary process of the art of textiles, or more correctly, into these aspects of the different types of textile products. These observations, I venture to think, are also applicable to Oriental textile art.

"The Oriental rug," as we know it, is mainly folk art and has probably been so from the very beginning. Professor Erdmann is certainly right in emphasizing the opinion of

<sup>1</sup> W. V. Bode-E. Kühnel, *Vorderasiatische Knüppteppiche aus alter Zeit*, 4th ed., Braunschweig, 1955; Kurt Erdmann, *Der orientalische Knüppteppich, Versuch einer Darstellung seiner Geschichte*, Tübingen, 1955.

<sup>2</sup> Article published in *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift* (Stockholm Art Review), 1959, pp. 1-12, 72. The actual paper, contributing partly to this article, was written with the encouragement of Dr. Richard Ettinghausen of the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., to whom the present writer expresses her cordial thanks. It should, however, be noted that the unpretentious remarks presented below come from a nonspecialist in the field of Oriental research.

Alois Riegl and later scholars that the technique, knotted pile weave, was invented by pastoral nomad tribes somewhere in the highlands of Central Asia as a utility article for everyday use. On the other hand, the whole truth is not likely to be found in the supposition that the intention was primarily to imitate animal skins which were already in good supply. The reason was certainly more positive and functional: something better was needed than a skin, which, as we know, has the tiresome drawback of becoming hard and unpleasant when wet.

In any event, this disadvantage provides the explanation why the *rya*, the Scandinavian kinsman of the Oriental rug, long survived in the damp coastal areas of both Norway and Sweden as the covering that was taken to sea, whereas inland during the winter a dressed skin was often used as a bedcover. The old Scandinavian *rya*, made entirely of wool and always used as a bedcover, has long knots of coarse yarn (as a rule of the Ghiordes type), which were turned downward on the bed for the sake of warmth. This so-called *slit-rya* was a plain utility cover, usually without any decided pattern. Roughly the same primitive type, which was still being made in the 19th century (*pl. 1, B*), is recorded in 1420 at the Convent of Vadstena. During the 15th and 16th centuries plain *ryas* were frequently used in royal and noble houses and by the middle classes, but around 1600, as we learn from surviving records, the use of "utility *ryas*" became steadily more and more common.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> U. T. Sirelius, *Finlands ryor*, Helsingfors, 1924, p. 6; Vivi Sylwan, *Svenska ryor*, Stockholm, 1934, pp. 14, 22. Cf. also Helen Engelstad, *Norske ryer*, Oslo, 1942.

By degrees the technique was used for decoration—multicolored knots or tufts of yarn were employed and organized to form patterns. More elaborate designs led to shorter pile and smaller, denser knots. This “pretty” type, which had its full flowering in the 18th and 19th centuries particularly in Finland and Sweden, was still used on the bed but now with the decorative side up. In some cases a pile was formed on both sides with one side elaborately patterned and the other plainer. The patterns were often taken from samplers or woven fabrics, but the whole class was probably originally inspired by English “Turkey work” imported as chair cushions, etc. The Scandinavian *rya* has been the object of extensive research, especially by U. T. Sirelius and Vivi Sylwan, but no early connection with Oriental rugs has yet been traced.

A similar evolution must have taken place in the Orient, but where and when?

Considered from the viewpoint of production, the extant Oriental carpets are of three essentially different kinds. The primitive handicraft of the nomadic and of the settled populations stands out as the basic method of production, both types of manufacture working with traditional motifs which are, so to speak, known by heart. A strong conservatism in the pattern types was the inevitable consequence.

The antithesis of this system was provided by the court factories, primarily the Persian ones, which cultivated the pile technique and under the guidance of eminent artists raised it to a technical and artistic perfection that attained its peak in the 15th and 16th centuries. We might say that the Persian rug of the golden age is a synthesis or, if we prefer, an offshoot of the art of bookmaking—the layout is often that of the book cover with the details corresponding to the richly decorated illustrations.

Between these opposite poles of the av-

erage homecraft and the artist-guided manufactures that are likely to have existed at all the principal Islamic courts, and yet in character differing from both of them, stand the craftsmen of the towns organized into large or small workshops. Their work was based on folk art but they must have also produced standardized goods from models of various kinds which utilized patterns and motifs both from more important workshops and from other crafts.

A Swedish archaeologist is likely to feel at home with the typological method,<sup>4</sup> which is consistently employed by Professor Erdmann. Particularly in the case of products derived more or less from folk art, this method of classification gives an insight into the development which must be correct in principle. Nevertheless in some cases this method of research is misleading and appears to be a trifle unrealistic, as when the theory of an internal typological evolution within this art is exclusively stressed, leaving other contemporary art out of the account. Sometimes it seems to be forgotten that a multicolored, all-over pattern was also employed in other techniques—sculpture and stucco, architectural decoration in colored stone and brick, wall enrichment with tiles or mosaics—and also that there were textiles in other techniques and materials than knotted pile. Despite the difference in material, the techniques can be very much akin; so, for instance, the knots in a rug have about the same aesthetic function as the stones in a mosaic.

When pointing out that many of these products derive from common prototypes and that many times one craft undoubtedly inspired execution in a wholly different material and technique, the present writer does not

<sup>4</sup> Oscar Montelius, *Die typologische Methode*, Stockholm, 1903. Cf. under Montelius in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. 15, 1960, p. 756, and *Das grosse Brockhaus*, vol. 8, 1955.



claim to say anything new. Rather, she ventures to think that this aspect has not been given sufficient consideration in connection with carpet designs.<sup>5</sup>

From more recent times it is not difficult to find examples of carpetweavers having borrowed their patterns from drawloom woven fabrics. In the case of Spanish carpets, this was a very usual way of obtaining patterns with a minimum of trouble.<sup>6</sup> Persian and Anatolian carpet weavers were more scrupulous and introduced a variety of details, but there can be little doubt that the main scheme of composition was frequently taken from a real velvet or other silk textile.<sup>7</sup> The average folk art provides many instances of a similar adaptation of pattern, where a certain type of decoration has become fixed in a definite technique or function and has thus survived through the centuries. As has been shown in a separate article, the designs of many Swedish textiles include devices from Near Eastern prototypes.<sup>8</sup> The technique used in many of these more or less coarse weaves of wool or of wool

and linen necessitated modification of the motifs and resulted in angular forms, this leading inevitably to a deformation which became intensified each time the pattern was carried out anew. The late medieval canvas embroidery from a remote church in northern Sweden (*pl. 3, B*), has much in common with the silk and the rug shown in *plates 3, D and 2, B*. The design worked in the brocading technique called *dukagång* on a Scanian wall-hanging (*pl. 4, C*), shows a further stage of angularization. It is easy to see the formal relationship between the octagons of such folk art textiles and the circular medallions enclosing "heraldic" animals displayed in Persian and Byzantine silks. As is generally known, the same tendency is also noticeable in silk weaving, where it is more or less dependent on the skill of the weaver and the fineness of the weave. What this can mean for the shaping of details is made clear by Dorothy Shepherd in her recent study of the Zandaniji silks.<sup>9</sup>

Our last pair of examples (*pls. 4, A and B*), are very different and are shown for the sake of comparison. One is a mosaic pavement from a 12th-century church in Calabria and the other is a 15th-century wool *intarsia* (inlay work of coarse woollen fabrics in contrasting colors), from Sweden.<sup>10</sup> They illustrate the kind of stylization that results when the technique is not bound by the geometrical limitations of a weave. The rounded forms were easily rendered, but the clumsy material caused other deformations. The primary prototypes were certainly in both cases Byzantine silks resembling the gown of the court official portrayed in the well-known codex of

<sup>5</sup> Exceptions are constituted by Dr. M. Dimand and R. Meyer-Riefstahl when comparing a piece of carpet with mosaic pavements: M. S. Dimand, *An early cut-pile rug from Egypt*, Metropolitan Museum Studies, vol. 4, 1933; R. Meyer-Riefstahl, *Ein Knüpftteppich spätantiker Tradition aus Ägypten im Metropolitan Museum zu New York*, Mitteil. d. deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abt., vol. 48, 1933.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. A. F. Kendrick and C. E. C. Tattersall, *Handwoven carpets, Oriental and European*, London, 1921, pls. 79-81; E. Kühnel and Louisa Bellinger, *Spanish rugs*, Washington, 1953, Nos. R 84,7; 84,8; and 84,17.

<sup>7</sup> Erdmann, *op. cit.*, e.g., Abb. 75 and 147.

<sup>8</sup> A. Geijer, *Oriental textiles in Scandinavian versions*, Aus der Welt der islamischen Kunst, Festschrift für Ernst Kühnel, 1959, pp. 323-335. One of the first to see this connection was F. R. Martin in *Oriental carpets*, Wien, 1908. The scheme was also treated by Lindblom and Branting in *Mediaeval embroideries and textiles in Sweden*, Uppsala, 1932.

<sup>9</sup> D. G. Shepherd and W. B. Henning, *Zandaniji identified?*, Kühnel Festschrift, pp. 15-40.

<sup>10</sup> Paolo Orsi, *Il patirion di Rossano*, Bolletino d'Arte, vol. 2, 1923.

the Emperor Nicephoros Botaniates (1078–81).<sup>11</sup>

Among the earliest Oriental rugs still extant, two different groups can be distinguished, both generally considered to have originated in Anatolia, or possibly the Caucasus.

One of these groups, characterized chiefly by angularly drawn animals usually disposed in octagonal or square compartments and in several contrasting colors, is often represented in Italian paintings, especially of the 14th century,<sup>12</sup> and this proves that such rugs were a popular commodity in the West. Two almost complete specimens of these "nomad rugs" are in existence: the rug from Marby church in the north of Sweden, now in Stockholm at the *Historiska Museet* (pl. 2, B) and a fragment from an Italian church, now in Berlin. In both cases the inner surface is occupied by two octagonal frames, in the former enclosing paired birds, in the latter a dragon of Chinese origin. Framework, colors, and quality are so alike that they must have been executed at roughly the same place and time. Authorities agree fairly well as to attribution—the end of the 14th century, or the first half of the 15th. Most of the many fragments found at Fustât or near Old Cairo, now in different museums in Europe and the United States, belong to this group.<sup>13</sup> Among them

are designs showing animals without any framework (pl. 3, C).

The other group consists of several large, somewhat fragmentary rugs which until recently have been preserved in two Turkish mosques, at Konya and Beyshehir. It seems that this type was not exported to Italy; at any rate similar rugs have not been identified in Italian paintings. The rugs have a large inner compartment with a small repeating pattern, and a border usually consisting of a Kufic inscription in varying degrees of stylization. On somewhat divergent grounds, these rugs are generally dated to the 13th century or the beginning of the 14th, which means that they would be older than the animal rugs. Erdmann and others describe them as court art, supporting this view with Marco Polo's statement that "the most beautiful rugs in the world were made in the kingdom of the Seljuk Sultans of Rum," the capital of which was Konya. This opinion, however, has been refuted by R. M. Riefstahl who has put forward strong arguments to show that the Seljuk court manufactures which impressed Marco Polo must have been of quite a different type and, moreover, of higher quality, both from a technical and from an artistic point of view.<sup>14</sup> As representative of Seljuk art at the time when Marco Polo visited Anatolia (1271), Riefstahl presents some 10 stone reliefs belonging to exactly dated buildings erected between 1271 and 1279 (pl. 1, A). These "stone carpets" are all composed like real carpets with an inner compartment and an outer border, but the ornamentation is of an entirely different character from that of the extant Konya rugs and is, in addition, much more skillfully designed.

Riefstahl's convincing evaluation of the

<sup>11</sup> O. v. Falke, *Kunstgeschichte der Seidenweberei*, vol. 2, 1913, Abb. 222.

<sup>12</sup> Erdmann, *Orientalische Tierteppiche auf Bildern des XIV. und XV. Jahrhunderts*, Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen, vol. 50, 1929. Cf. the same author, *op. cit.*, Abb. 14 and 9.

<sup>13</sup> E. Kühnel, *op. cit.*, p. 22, and K. Erdmann, *op. cit.*, Abb. 15; Carl Johan Lamm, *The Marby rug and some fragments of carpet found in Egypt*, Svenska Orientsällskapets Årsbok (Journal of the Swedish Oriental Society), 1937, pp. 51–130; *Cotton in medieval textiles in the Near East*, Paris, 1937, p. 136; *A fragment of an early carpet in Stockholm*, *Ars Islamica*, vols. 15–16 (1951), p. 135.

<sup>14</sup> R. Meyer-Riefstahl, *Primitive rugs of the "Konya" type in the Mosque of Beyshehir*, *Art Bulletin*, vol. 13 (1933).



extant Konya rugs as products of local craftsmen is further strengthened by the following observations, which make it clear that at least two of the rugs must be later than has been previously supposed.<sup>15</sup> Both have unsymmetrical repeating patterns evidently derived from silk textiles which can hardly be earlier than 1300 and 1450 respectively.

One of the patterns is a quite direct rendering of a Chinese silk damask, easily recognizable despite the simplification of the forms and the angularity of the drawing necessitated by the coarser rug technique (*figs. 1 and 2*). The Chinese silk belongs to a group found in Egyptian tombs of ca. A.D. 1300.<sup>16</sup> Unfortunately none of the authors referred to above gives the colors of this particular rug with absolute clarity, but both Erdmann and Lamm say in a general way that the Konya rugs are designed in two shades and especially in two tones of blue. This directly suggests a silk damask, which is usually monochrome.

The other design (*fig. 3*) is so strongly confused that it is difficult to find a direct prototype. Some features remind us of Italian silks with unsymmetrical figures of the late 14th century. The main device may represent a tree growing from slanting ground and weighed down on one side by a giant flower, a type of pattern we know from one of the Danzig silks with an elaborate landscape design.<sup>17</sup> In the rug, the regular repetition of the motif is a typical and noteworthy reminder of the mechanical repeat of a drawloom woven silk with the main device turning in the reverse direction in each alternate row.<sup>18</sup> The coarse deformation makes it necessary to as-

sume several intermediate links leading back to the original pattern. For this reason the carpet can hardly have been made before the late 15th century and is probably still later.

If the Konya carpets are as recent as this, it will be difficult to maintain the view that the animal carpets are later. Is it not true, on the contrary, that the animal rug, also as a type, is the older one? We have already found the "nomad rugs"—the Marby rug and the similar examples in the Italian paintings—standing out as typical examples of a genuine folk art. As such, this production, when it had expanded sufficiently to become an export commodity, must have been influenced by motifs and designs created several centuries earlier in a socially higher, art-creative milieu. With such reasoning, one could trace their origin back to the art of Sassanian Iran.

The origin of the extant remains of early Oriental carpets as well as their origin as a general phenomenon (which is indeed quite another matter!) have been discussed by several scholars. The majority of the remains have generally been considered to have been conceived under Byzantine influence, and whether the place of manufacture was located in Anatolia or in the Caucasus may be regarded as a matter of secondary importance. The smaller part of the fragments from Fustât, however, particularly those published by C. J. Lamm, have been assigned to Egypt and Syria. These are also, *inter alia*, distinguished from the former group by technical features: the foundation weave may be of linen or cotton, and the pile executed in varying techniques, not showing a true knot and sometimes described as "looped."

In his recent article in the *Kühnel Festschrift*, Dr. Ettinghausen<sup>19</sup> widens the field of

<sup>15</sup> Text figures 2 and 3, drawn after Erdmann, *Knüpftteppich*, Abb. 3 and 6.

<sup>16</sup> O. v. Falke, *op. cit.*, S. 54, Abb. 332 and 333; M. Feddersen, *Chinesisches Kunstgewerbe*, 2d ed., 1955, p. 231 f.

<sup>17</sup> O. v. Falke, *op. cit.*, Abb. 480.

<sup>18</sup> O. v. Falke, *op. cit.*, Abb. 494.

<sup>19</sup> Richard Ettinghausen, *New light on early animal carpets*, *Aus der Welt der islamischen Kunst*, p. 93 f.



FIG. 1.—CHINESE SILK DAMASK, ABOUT 1300.



FIG. 2.—DETAIL FROM A KONYA CARPET.

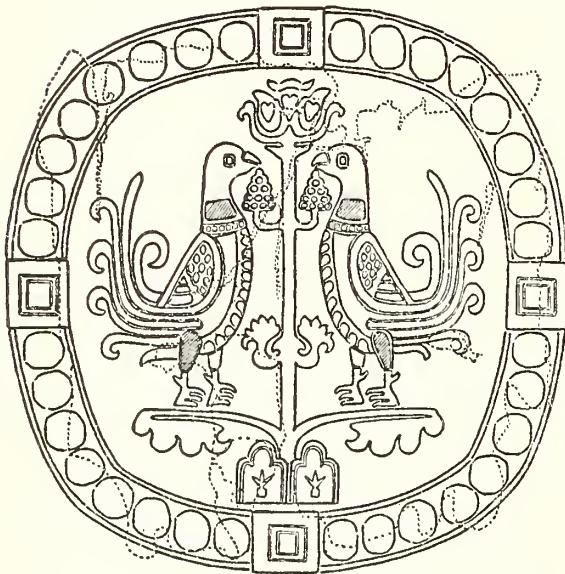
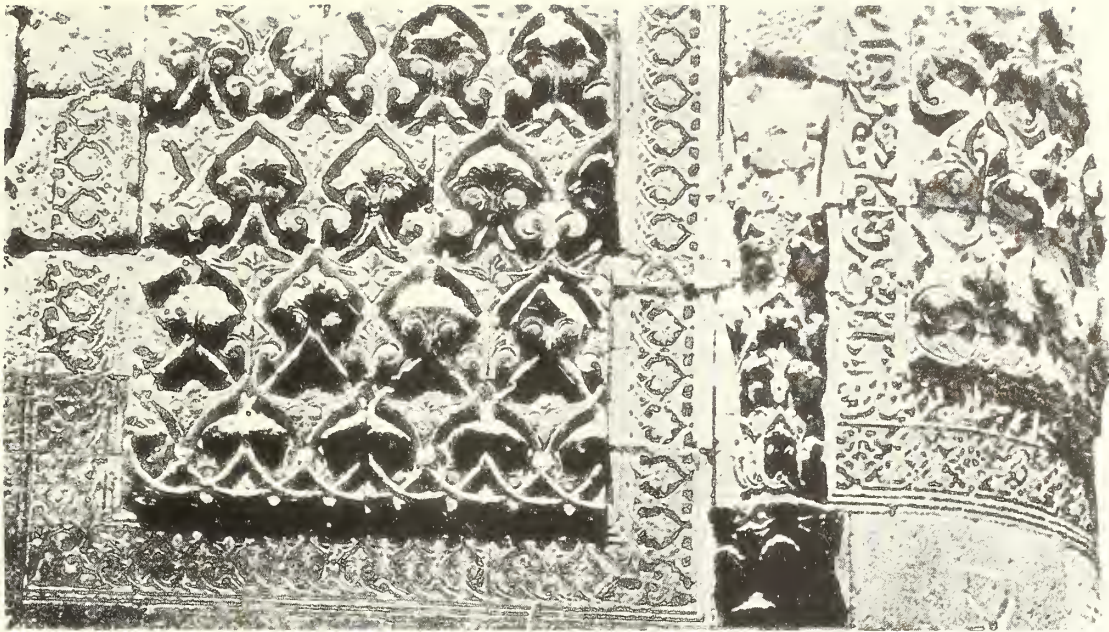


FIG. 4.—COMPOUND TWILL IN COTTON AND WOOL.  
(After Lamm, *Ars Islamica*, vol. 7.)

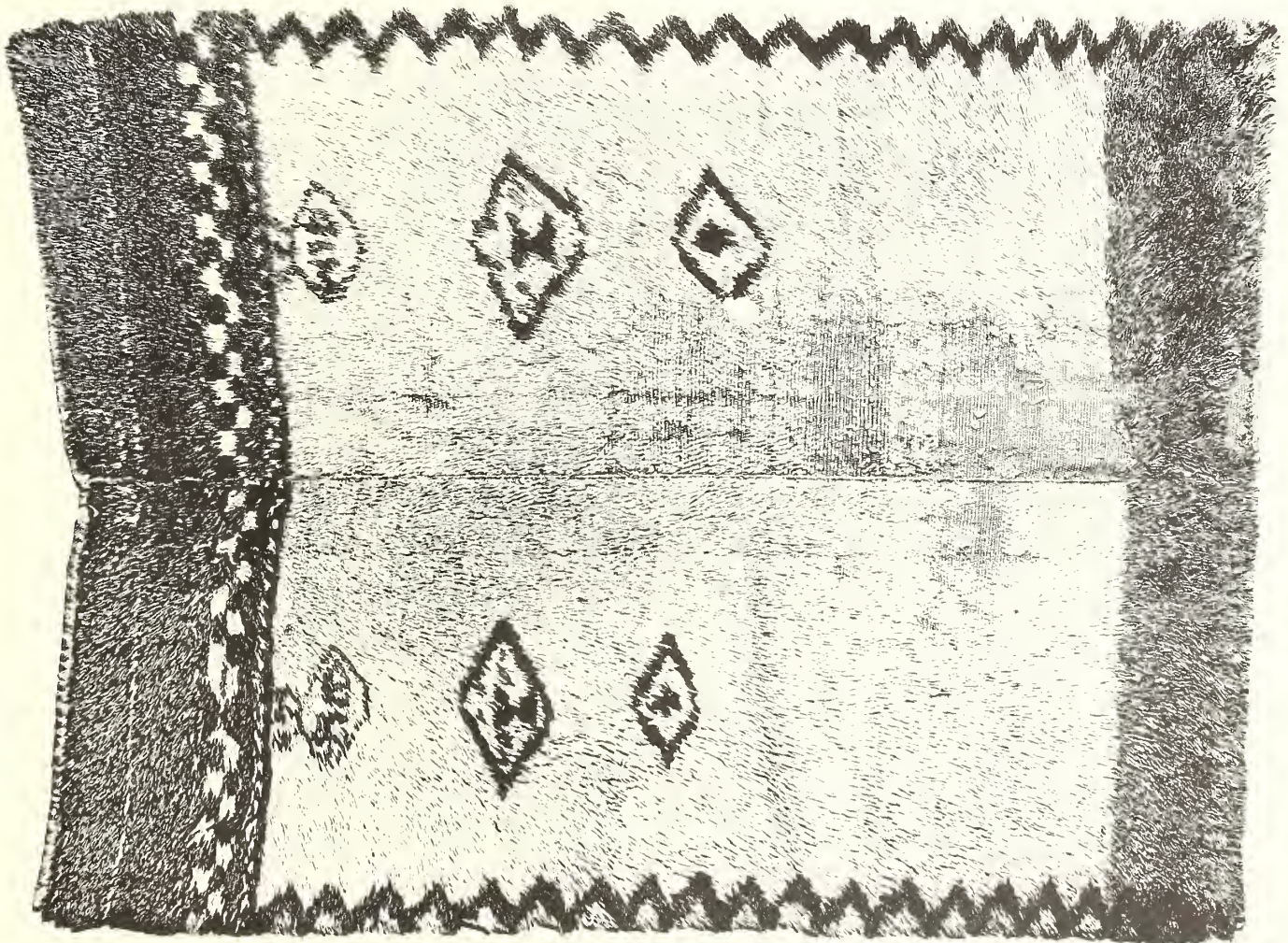


FIG. 3.—DETAIL FROM A CARPET FROM BEYSHEHIR.



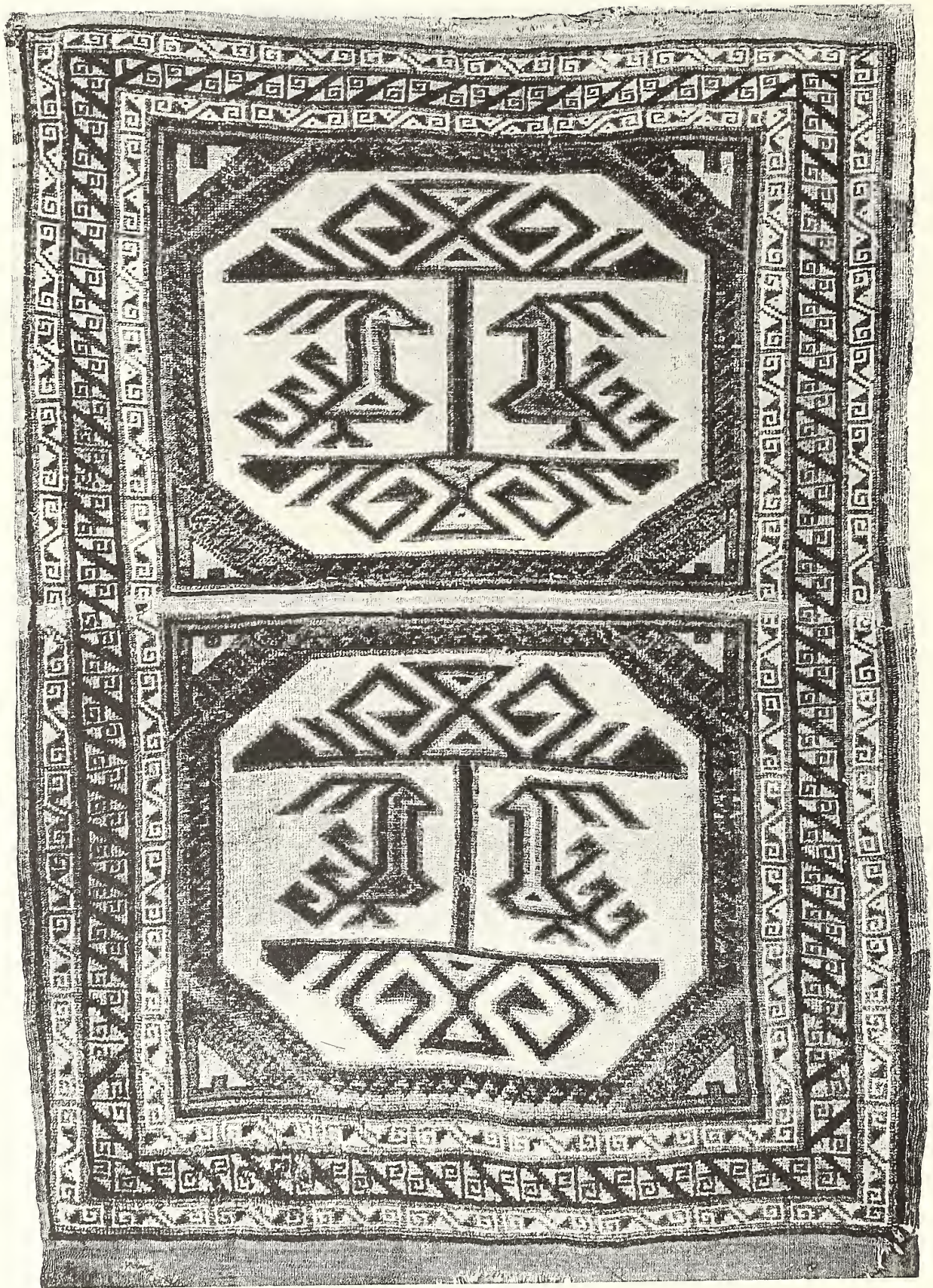


A.—“STONE CARPET” FROM A PALACE IN AMASIA. ASIA MINOR, 1278/79.  
(After Meyer-Riefstahl, *op. cit.*)



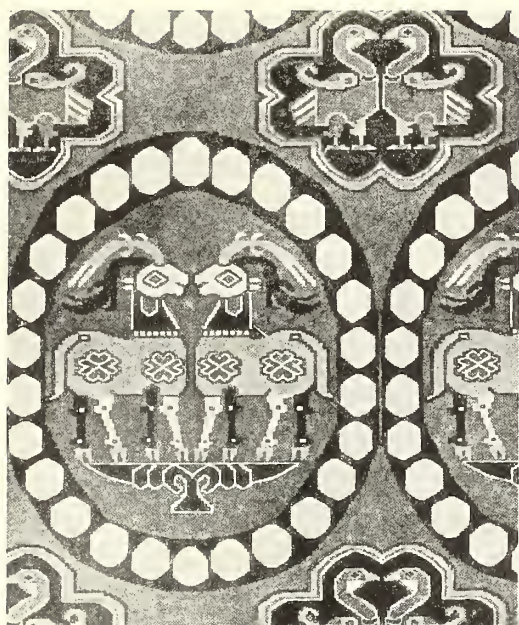
B.—SWEDISH 18TH CENTURY “RYA” OF (VERY) PRIMITIVE TYPE,  
(REPRESENTING THE ONES ON RECORD FROM THE 15TH CENTURY CONVENT OF VADSTENA).  
Stockholm, Nordiska Museet.



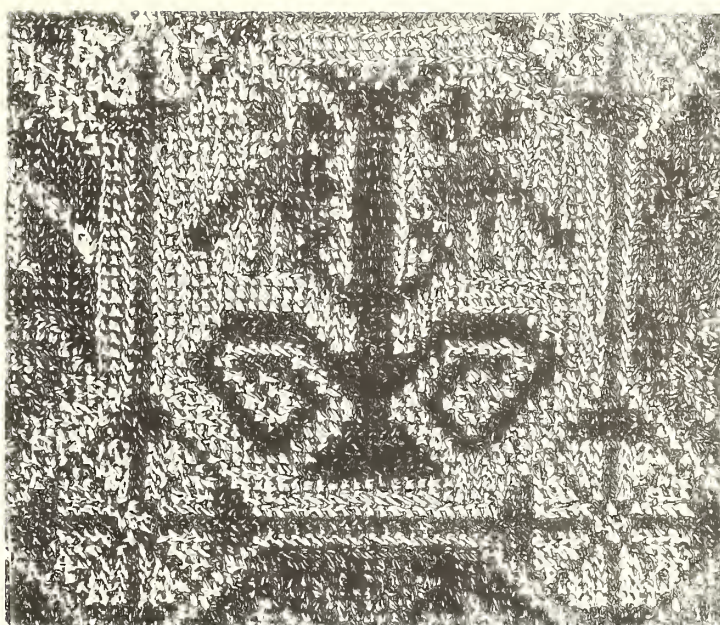


THE MARBY RUG.  
Stockholm, Historiska Museet.

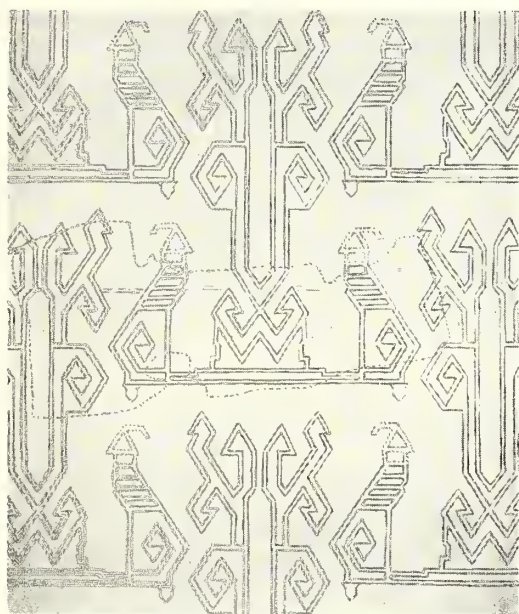




A.—SILK FROM CH'IENT-FO-TUNG.  
(After *Serindia* (pl. CXV), by Aurel Stein.)



B.—CANVAS EMBROIDERY FROM RAMSELE CHURCH, 15TH CENTURY.



C.—RUG FRAGMENT FOUND IN EGYPT.  
(Reconstruction by Lamm, *The Marby rug*,  
fig. 16.)



D.—SILK FRAGMENT FROM THE AACHEN CATHEDRAL.  
(Reconstruction by Branting and Lindblom, *op. cit.*)

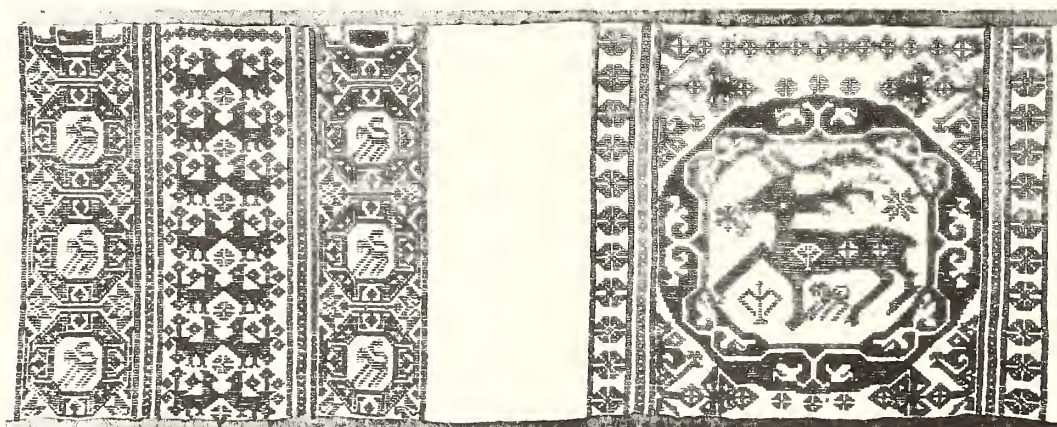




A.—MOSAIC PAVEMENT FROM A CALABRIAN CHURCH, 12TH CENTURY.  
(After Orssi, *op. cit.*)



B.—PART OF A CANOPY, "INTARSIA" WORK IN WOOL, LATE 15TH CENTURY.  
Stockholm, Historiska Museet.



C.—WALL HANGING FROM A FARMER'S HOUSE IN SKÅNE, S. SWEDEN. ABOUT 1800.  
Stockholm, Nordiska Museet.



carpet discussion in both a technical and a geographical sense. He is certainly right in emphasizing that the "looped" and related techniques must also be considered in this connection. My only objection is that these techniques are not more "primitive" (i.e., original) than the knotted pile. The contrary is, in fact, the case, and the techniques may all have been invented more or less independently.<sup>20</sup>

Dr. Ettinghausen's two specimens belong to the latter category. The author maintains that the designs were influenced by tapestries or silk textiles, the medallion frames of which had not yet become angular. This feature, when compared to the "Anatolian" group, would in itself indicate a more direct Sassanian influence. But does not this circumstance also mean that the latter group has a relatively longer development behind it, and therefore should be interpreted as a more ancient folk art that has expanded and become an export? Does it not also suggest that the source of origin lies farther back in time, and toward the East?

As Dr. Ettinghausen points out, Persian 14th-century miniatures showing animal carpets indicate a developed carpet production at that time. One only wonders why, in this connection, he makes no mention of the carpet from Pazyryk.<sup>21</sup> With its early dating to

about the fourth century B.C. and its obvious relationship to the old Persian style, it constitutes, despite all question marks, an undeniable fact, suggesting the still earlier existence of an advanced manufacture within the sphere of Iranian culture. From the geographical viewpoint, the following finds might also have deserved mention: Stein's finds from Lop Nor (third century A.D.), von le Coq's from Qyzil (fifth or sixth century), and others.<sup>22</sup>

Let us now make the Marby rug, center piece of the animal group, the object of a stylistic comparison, this time exclusively with silk textiles.

The resemblance to the silk from Aachen shown on *plate 3, D* is very striking but unfortunately gives no decisive information of where the creative force was located, its attribution fluctuating between Iran and Byzantium.<sup>23</sup> Nevertheless, an analysis of style may be ventured upon here.

The skillfully modeled, rounded lines point to a leading workshop ranking with a court manufacture. The paired ducks appear very Sassanian, but the geometric frame seems hardly likely as early as Sassanian times. If the piece be later, it can surely not be Persian in view of the perfect execution. The skillfully balanced composition, a rare example of the artist's having consciously utilized the tex-

<sup>20</sup> This also seems to be the real opinion of Dr. Ettinghausen, writing on page 98, "*fifth*: . . . used their traditional pile technique."

<sup>21</sup> S. I. Rudenko, *Kultura Naselenija Garnogo Altaja v. skifskoje vremja* (*The culture of the Altai during Scythian times*), Moscow, 1953, pl. 115 f. and p. 352 f.; R. D. Barnett and W. Watson, *The world's oldest Persian carpet*, Illustrated London News, vol. 223, July 11, 1953, p. 69; John F. Haskins, *Pazyryk, the valley of the frozen tombs*, Bulletin of the Needle and Bobbin Club, vol. 40 (New York, 1956); Walter Endrei, *Les fragments de tissus de Pazyryk*, Bulletin du Centre International des Etudes des Textiles Anciens (stencil), (Lyon, 1958). Rudenko assigned this *kurgan* to the fifth century B.C.,

while other scholars consider it to be some centuries later.

<sup>22</sup> Sir Aurel Stein, *Ruins of desert Cathay*, vol. 1, London, 1912, pp. 380, pl. 116; F. Sarre and Th. Falkenberg, *Amtliche Berichte aus den Königlichen Kunstsammlungen*, Berlin, 1918, pp. 110. Cf. Lamm, *The Marby rug*, p. 58.

<sup>23</sup> The drawing from Branting-Lindblom, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, fig. 48, attributed to Byzantium (?), sixth-eighth century; H. Peirce and R. Tyler, *The Prague rider-silk and the Persian-Byzantine problem*, Burlington Magazine, vol. 68, 1936, p. 213, assigns it to Iran, ninth century A.D.; F. Volbach, *I Tessuti del Museo Sacro Vaticano*, 1942, p. 41, has about the same opinion.

tile limitations in his drawing, seems likely to indicate that the silk was manufactured more recently in Byzantium where the Sassanian court style was cultivated side by side with other artistic trends.<sup>24</sup>

The Byzantine designer might have been inspired by a pattern of the type of the rather coarse silk in Wolfenbüttel, ascribed by Sarre to ninth-century Iran,<sup>25</sup> but is it not also imaginable that a similar post-Sassanian fabric was the ancestor of the Marby rug?

Authorities seem to agree regarding the Iranian origin of the well-known "cock silk" in the Sancta Sanctorum, even though it may be questioned whether it is Sassanian or post-Sassanian.<sup>26</sup> It should be noted that the color scheme of the silk resembles very much that of the Marby rug: dominant reddish and blue shades with some yellow details against an ivory background.

Interestingly enough the central motif of the Marby rug and of the Aachen silk—the tree of life, more or less rudimentary or entirely absent, springing from a base with two leaves or stems and enclosed between confronted animals—also occurs in a group of silks dated to the seventh century and localized to Sogdiana. This is the group attributed by von Falke to East Iran, two specimens of which were found by Sir Aurel Stein in Ch'ien-fo-tung (*pl. 3, A*). For further information regarding this group the reader is referred to the recent study by Dorothy Shepherd mentioned above.<sup>27</sup> The kind of fabric called Zandaniji, mentioned by various Arabian authors and now identified by Miss Shepherd, seems to

have been manufactured in several places near Bokhara. The dating of the extant examples, which are mainly confined to the seventh century, is based on the interpretation of an inscription in India ink on the piece belonging to the Collegiate Church of Notre Dame at Huy in Belgium. Most of this group consists of coarse silks in compound twill, amazingly homogeneous in design and technique but exhibiting varying degrees of deformation in the drawing. It is obvious that the coarser, and in this case undoubtedly later, specimens come from simpler workshops than the one that produced the much finer silk in the museum of Nancy. The design of this, which shows confronted lions and the tree of life within a round medallion, is a motif that is Sassanian in origin, but it is executed in a mixed style that indicates a provincial origin and shows an over-detailed style that in itself can well be thought to have originated in a country like Sogdiana, constantly crossed by trade routes. If one compares the Nancy silk with its presumed successors, one has little difficulty in imagining that similar designs after a number of renderings in coarser techniques finally ended in resembling the Marby rug.

One more category of potential models for rug designs deserves mention: the loom-woven fabrics of wool and cotton which, until recently, were preserved in the rubbish heaps of Fustāt. A number of these very interesting fragments have come to Swedish collections through C. J. Lamm, who acquired them in Cairo and has also published several of them (*fig. 4*).<sup>28</sup> Though less rich in color than the silks and tapestries, their designs, often displaying a refined Sassanian style, are carried out with great skill, showing that they were

<sup>24</sup> André Grabar, *Le succès des arts orientaux à la cour byzantine sous les macédoniens*, Münchener Jahrbuch der bildende Kunst, 1951.

<sup>25</sup> F. Sarre, *Die Kunst des alten Persien*, Berlin, 1922, Taf. 100.

<sup>26</sup> Volbach, *op. cit.*, with an excellent color plate.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. note 9.

<sup>28</sup> C. J. Lamm, *Cotton*, especially pp. 29, 34, 38, 44, 46, pls. 2–8, and in *Ars Islamica*, vol. 7, Partz, 1940, p. 168, fig. 2.



the work of professional craftsmen. It does not seem possible that textiles of this less expensive kind may have come into the hands of the primitive weavers who made "nomad" rugs.

The preceding remarks are, of course, nothing but conjectures. When the material

has practically disappeared and all that survives are poor remains left by chance and very special circumstances, we are very much in the dark when we try to reconstruct the events and evolutions that must have occurred in the long-distant past. All we may try to do is to indicate some of the possible explanations.





# THREE MINIATURES FROM FUSTĀṬ IN THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART IN NEW YORK

BY ERNST J. GRUBE

THE EARLIEST ILLUMINATED ARABIC OR Persian manuscripts that have come down to our day date only from the beginning of the 11th century of the Christian Era. There can be little doubt, however, that manuscripts were illustrated at a much earlier date. Various literary references indicate this fact and one may have to consider an almost uninterrupted tradition in the East as well as in the West. This tradition seems in the early centuries of Islam and particularly in the western provinces of the empire to have been predominantly Graeco-Roman, but still too little is known about the influence of painting executed in the East to make a definite statement at this time.<sup>1</sup> We know, however, that in Baghdad, where Al-Muttawakkil (232–247 [A.D. 847–860]) had established a school of scientific studies and translation, it was Greek learning and with it Greek iconographic tradition that was studied, “translated,” and passed on to the Muslims. Attached to this school was a scriptorium in which Greek philosophical, medical, historical, geographical, astronomical and astrological, and literary texts were copied and to a large degree illustrated through the 13th century.<sup>2</sup> Many of these Greek texts,

particularly the scientific-technical ones, but possibly also the literary texts, were already illustrated and the Muslims could borrow the illustrations with the text.

In some cases, like that of the Greek physician Dioscurides whose herbal had been one of the most popular medical handbooks of late antiquity, a number of the Greek original manuscripts that served the Muslims as sources and models have been preserved. All of these Greek Dioscurides manuscripts have extensive Arabic marginal notes which proves that they had been used by Muslim scholars. The earliest of these manuscripts is the copy in the National Library in Vienna that can be dated about A.D. 512.<sup>3</sup> The earliest Arabic version preserved dates only from A.D. 1083, but the colophon of this manuscript states that the codex is a copy of an earlier one dated A.D. 990 which, in turn, we can safely assume, was copied after the early ninth-century version executed in the school of Baghdad.<sup>4</sup>

While in this instance the line of tradition can be easily and clearly followed, the same is not true in other cases.<sup>5</sup> But there can be

<sup>1</sup> See Sir Thomas W. Arnold and Adolf Grohmann, *The Islamic Book*, Leipzig, 1929, pls. 1–8; also D. S. Rice, *The oldest illustrated Arabic manuscript*, Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, vol. 23, Pt. 2, 1959, pp. 207–220, with further references and bibliography.

<sup>2</sup> See G. Bergstrasser, *Hunain ibn Ishāq: Über die syrischen und arabischen Galenübersetzungen*, Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, vol. 17, No. 2, Leipzig, 1925; and L. Leclerc, *De la traduction arabe de Dioscurides et des traductions arabes en*

*général*, Journal Asiatique, 6e ser., vol. 9, 1867, pp. 5–38; Ernst Grube, *Materialien zum Dioscurides Arabicus*, Aus der Welt der Islamischen Kunst, Festschrift für Ernst Kühnel, Berlin, 1959, pp. 163–194.

<sup>3</sup> See Grube, *loc. cit.*, p. 165, n. 16, and No. II, in the same note.

<sup>4</sup> Leiden, University Library, Cod. Or. 289; Grube, *loc. cit.*, p. 169, No. 1, and figs. 5, 10, and 11, on pp. 175 and 185.

<sup>5</sup> See the interesting case of the Baghdad edition of the old Greek Hippatrika, the Kitāb al-baitāra. The earliest manuscript is that in Cairo, Bibl. Nat. Cod. med. VIII, dated Ramadan 605 (A.D. March

little doubt that Graeco-Roman tradition exerted its influence during the first centuries of Islam throughout the Muslim empire. As it still can be found dominating in 13th-century Mesopotamia it should not be surprising to find it at an earlier time even stronger in the western provinces of the Muslim realm.

The earliest monuments of Muslim painting as preserved in Quṣayr 'Amrah date from the early eighth century.<sup>6</sup> Other important wall paintings have come to light in Khirbat al-Mafjar and Qaṣr al-Hair from the middle of the eighth century.<sup>7</sup> A great number of wall paintings have been preserved in Sāmarrā that flourished in the ninth century,<sup>8</sup> and some fragments of figural paintings have been recovered from the 10th-century bathhouse in Nishapūr.<sup>9</sup>

Although, as has been said, not a single

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1209). This is the oldest illustrated version of this text preserved. The earlier Greek copies of the same treatise are not illustrated, although there can be little doubt about the fact that there must have been a preiconoclastic edition that was richly illustrated. Illustrations of a similar kind in other codices make this very probable and there exist later 15th-century copies of the Greek version that are illustrated. The whole question has been discussed by the writer in a paper read at the Fourth International Congress of Persian Art on April 26, 1960, in New York.

<sup>6</sup> A. Musil, *Quṣayr Amra*, Wien, 1907. See also K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim architecture*, vol. 1, Cambridge, 1932, ch. VI, pp. 253–303, pls. 48–51.

<sup>7</sup> Oleg Grabar, *The paintings*, in R. W. Hamilton, *Khirbat al Mafjar*, Oxford, 1959, pp. 294–326, and pls. LXX–LXXV, XCVII, and XCVIIa; Daniel Schlumberger, *Deux fresques omeyyades*, Syria, vol. 25, 1946–48, pp. 86–102.

<sup>8</sup> Ernst Herzfeld, *Die Malereien von Samarra*, Berlin, 1927.

<sup>9</sup> Walter Hauser and Charles K. Wilkinson, *The museum's excavations at Nishapur*, Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, vol. 37, 1942, pp. 83 sqq. Also Walter Hauser, John M. Upton, and Charles K. Wilkinson, Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Sect. II (vol. 33, No. 11), November 1938, pp. 9 sqq.

complete illuminated manuscript of the first three centuries of Islam has survived, a small number of fragmentary leaves with sketches, drawings, and miniatures that originally belonged to such manuscripts have come to light.<sup>10</sup> These few examples of early Muslim book painting cannot give a complete or correct picture of the art of painting of that period as they are in their majority works of minor local schools. But they must at the same time be considered of greatest importance as documents of the first phase of what was to

<sup>10</sup> Besides the fragments illustrated or mentioned in the publications referred to in our note 1, there are a number of other such leaves known. The richest collection is today in the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo which has to a large degree remained unpublished. See, however, Gaston Wiet, *Un dessin du XIe siecle*, Bulletin de l'Institut d'Egypte, vol. 19, 1936–37, pp. 223–227, with two plates, and *idem*, *Une peinture du XIIe siecle*, *ibid.*, vol. 26, 1944, pp. 109–118, with two plates. Basil Gray has published a miniature from the middle of the 12th century in the collection of the British Museum (*A Fatimid drawing*, British Museum Quarterly, vol. XII, 1938, pp. 91–96, pl. XXXIII) which, however, never belonged to a manuscript. The same perhaps is true for a still unpublished miniature in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. D. S. Rice has published another Fatimid drawing which is of quite a different spirit (*A drawing of the Fatimid period*, Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, vol. XXI, 1958, pp. 31–39). It had already been illustrated before, but very badly, in Zaki Muhammad Hasan's *Kunūz al-Fātimiyin*, Cairo, 1937. The miniatures and drawings in a private collection in Cairo have also never been published, save some few examples. The miniature Leigh Ashton has published (*Islamic charm from Fostat*, British Museum Quarterly, vol. IX, 1935, pp. 130–131, pl. XXXVII) is perhaps a century younger than it was supposed when the piece was discovered. Also in the 14th century belong a number of other miniature fragments that have been found in Fustāt, one of which Mohamad Mostafa has illustrated (*Darstellung des täglichen Lebens in der islamischen Kunst*, Bustan, Vienna, vol. 2, 1960, p. 39, fig. 25). The writer is preparing a detailed study of these early miniatures and drawings.



become the most splendid school of book painting in the history of art.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York has recently acquired a number of such illuminated manuscript pages, two of which bear miniatures of exceptionally fine quality and great charm. They shall be presented here as further evidence of a continuous tradition of late-classical painting and drawing through the first centuries of Islam.

The first page (*fig. 1*)<sup>11</sup> is decorated with a miniature representing a rooster. The miniature is painted with a full brush in bright colors of red, green, brown, and ochre over a basic sketch drawing. The colors are not confined to the areas defined by this drawing, however. This is, in fact, not a colored drawing but an actual painting, although the drawing plays a decisive part in the construction of the design. Part of this design, like the neck feathers and the large feathers of the rooster's wing, and all the floral patterns are executed with the brush in colors. The whole aspect of this miniature is that of a wall painting rather than that of a painting in a book. It is not at all impossible that the artist who illuminated this page had been a wall painter or had been trained to paint large images on walls, vaults, and ceilings of the palaces of the early potentates of Islam.

This miniature stands clearly in the tradition of Roman wall painting. One example must suffice here to support this statement. Among the paintings of the catacomb of Pretestato in Rome that date from the late third or early fourth century, we find a number of decorative patterns of which that of two doves sitting on an altar table upon which an urn is placed is one of the most typical (*fig. 2*).<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Acc. No. 54.108.1; 7 x 5¼ in., Rogers Fund, 1954.

<sup>12</sup> Joseph Wilpert, *Die Malereien der Katakomben Roms*, Tafelband, Freiburg 1903, pl. 49. He dates the paintings into the first half of the third

This decoration resembles closely the style of painting represented in the Metropolitan Museum miniature. Particularly impressive is the similarity in the treatment of the floral elements of the paintings: the garlands of the Roman wall painting with oblong narrow leaves and the floral shrub behind the rooster of the miniature are painted in the same free manner, each leaf being done with one dash of the full brush. Muslim monuments of wall paintings that have survived from the eighth and ninth centuries clearly betray the strong influence of this technique and style of painting. The paintings of Quṣayr 'Amrah have, although ambiguously, quite characteristically been called not the first monuments of Muslim but the last of Hellenistic painting.<sup>13</sup> Here we have a style of painting that is clearly reflected in the miniature under discussion (*fig. 3*).<sup>14</sup> It is again most of all the treatment of the floral patterns that is exceedingly similar, the leaves again being painted with one or two quick strokes of the brush quite in the Roman manner. A fragment recovered in Qaṣr al-Hair, now in the Museum in Damascus, which unfortunately has never been published, shows a branch with long narrow leaves that is painted in the same manner. Another wall painting at Quṣayr 'Amrah shows a lion in a vine scroll that is painted in a way very similar to that of the miniature (*fig. 4*);<sup>15</sup> the figure of the lion is drawn in dark, sketchy

century, but they are now generally considered to be of somewhat later date.

<sup>13</sup> Ernst Diez, *Die Kunst der islamischen Völker*, Berlin, 1917, p. 24.

<sup>14</sup> Detail of the painting decorating the northern half of the vault of the apodyterium. Jaussen and Savignac, *Les châteaux arabes de Qeseir Amra, Haraneh et Tuba*, Mission Archeologique en Arabie, vol. 3, Paris, 1922, pl. L, fig. 1. See also Creswell, *op. cit.*, pl. 49a.

<sup>15</sup> Detail of a painting in the window recess in the tepidarium. Jaussen and Savignac, *op. cit.*, pl. LIII. See also Creswell, *op. cit.*, pl. 50b.

outlines and all the details are painted with a full brush.

A similar style can be encountered in Egypt in late Coptic panel painting. Two such panels in the Metropolitan Museum's collection (*fig. 5, a and b*),<sup>16</sup> one with a bird, the other with busts of angels, that should belong in the seventh century but may very well be contemporary with Quṣayr 'Amrah, are perfect examples of this type of painting. The free but somewhat indelicate handling of the brush, the sketchy character of the design and the vigorous effect achieved by bold color combinations and impressionistic treatment of the detail, all these are qualities that characterize this stage of late classical painting and that can be found with only slight alterations in Quṣayr 'Amrah and are still present in the Metropolitan Museum miniature, although the drawing of the basic sketch has become more rigid.

It is in ninth-century Sāmarrā that we find among the many fragments of wall paintings that have been recovered some that represent a style still closer to that of the miniature discussed. A frieze of birds that originally framed a larger picture with dancers is a particularly good example (*fig. 6*).<sup>17</sup> The same combination of sketchy outline drawing and free use of color as in the representation of the rooster can be encountered. It is, in fact, here that we seem to be closest to the actual period in which the Metropolitan Museum miniature must have been painted. Considering the close relationship to the tradition of late Roman painting as preserved in Coptic and Umayyad painting on the one hand and the more concise and defined drawing of the underlying sketch of this miniature which re-

lates it closely to some of the Sāmarrā wall paintings, a placing of the miniature in the late ninth or early tenth century seems to be appropriate.

The page has been found in Egypt as have, in fact, most of these miniatures, having been preserved in a dry climate buried under the ruins of Fuṣṭāṭ, while in other parts of the Muslim world less favorable conditions have not permitted such survival. It would, however, be rash to conclude that all the miniatures that have been found in Fuṣṭāṭ are of local origin, that is to say that they are products of a local Egypto-Arabic school of painting. Nothing of pre-Mamluk times has come down to us of the paintings executed in Egypt save some drawings and some fragments of wall paintings which, however, represent quite a different tradition and are therefore not of much help for an attribution of our miniature. They also are of later date.

Although we have to leave the question of provenance open for the time being, it seems permissible to assume that this miniature represents to a certain extent the style of painting of the ninth and tenth centuries of the western provinces of the Muslim empire.

The other side of the page is left empty and no traces of writing can be detected. This fact would indicate that the miniature had not been part of a codex with, possibly, a zoological text in the bestiary tradition, but rather a sketch made independently and not as a text illustration.<sup>18</sup> Its purpose could have been

<sup>16</sup> New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Acc. No. 39.158.1-2. 11 1/8 x 8 3/4 in. and 11 7/8 x 6 1/4 in.

<sup>17</sup> Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, pl. XXVa, in color. The painting decorated a room in the Harem of the Djausaq palace.

<sup>18</sup> Dr. Rice has given this interpretation to the page with a drawing of a dancing girl he has published (see our note 10); on the other hand, we have a reference to an independent volume of illustrations that accompanied a manuscript of the *Materia Medica* of Dioscurides. The manuscript is preserved today in the Bibl. Nat. in Paris as Cod. arab. 2849 and it is dated A.D. 1219. This manuscript is not illustrated, but mention is made in the introduction of the text that it was accompanied by a volume of miniature representations of plants and animals that illustrated



either to preserve a certain kind of scientific information as we know from the tradition of herbals where painters are reported to have accompanied the physicians on field trips making sketches and full-color paintings on the spot of finds and discoveries;<sup>19</sup> or this miniature may have been painted to serve as model for a wall painter.<sup>20</sup>

No such questions arise when dealing with the second page that recently came to the Metropolitan Museum. It undoubtedly belonged originally to a manuscript and the drawings on it were clearly meant to illustrate the text. At the top of the recto side of the page appears the title of the book indicating that we have here the first page of the original manuscript: *Book on the speech of wild animals*. The name of the author is mentioned on the verso side of the page, Ka'b al-Aḥbār (figs. 7–8).<sup>21</sup> This treatise quite clearly stands in the classical tradition of zoological handbooks which were almost always illustrated with such animal figures.<sup>22</sup> As for the date and origin of this particular manuscript one may

the text. See Grube, *loc. cit.*, pl. 70, n. 38A, where reference is made to other nonillustrated codices of the 13th century that may have been accompanied by such picture volumes. It is even more probable that such tradition of scientific illustration, which was, as we know, practiced in this way in classical times, was still alive in the earlier centuries of the Hijrah. See also E. Bethé, *Buch und Bild im Altertum*, Leipzig und Wien, 1945, ch. 2: *Das Lehrbild*, pp. 22–60; and Kurt Weitzmann, *Illustrations in roll and codex*, Princeton, 1947, pp. 9–10.

<sup>19</sup> Grube, *loc. cit.*, pp. 168–169.

<sup>20</sup> D. S. Rice, *A drawing of the Fatimid period*, Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, vol. 21, 1958, p. 37.

<sup>21</sup> New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Acc. No. 54.108.3; 6 $\frac{3}{8}$  x 4 $\frac{3}{4}$  in.; Rogers Fund, 1954. For Ka'b al-Aḥbār see M. Schmitz in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. 2, Leiden and London, 1927, pp. 582–583.

<sup>22</sup> Kurt Weitzmann, *Ancient book illumination*, Cambridge, 1959, pp. 15 sqq.

find some clues within the wide range of animal motifs in Egyptian art.

The hare was a very common feature of Coptic design, particularly in tapestry weavings. The dating of these weaves is difficult, but agreement has been reached that the monochrome group, the patterns of which are executed in a deep purple, has to be considered for stylistic as well as iconographic reasons of about fifth century date.<sup>23</sup> Of the many tapestry woven bands and panels that have survived and that show the hare as one of the animals that populate the little medallions, cartouches, and scroll, two examples must suffice here to show the appearance of the motif.

The little hare appearing in one of the small medallions of a decorative tapestry band (fig. 9)<sup>24</sup> is of the same type as the hare in Ka'b al-Aḥbār's book. He has the same long, large ears and the same heavy body. The hare in another such tapestry weave (fig. 10)<sup>25</sup> is represented in a position quite similar to that of the hare of the drawing, a position that becomes quite characteristic for this motif: the attentive attitude, arrested shortly before leaping off. The hare is also turning his head, which again is quite typical. The motif is carried through into the Muhammadan period and appears very frequently on Egyptian ivories and woodcarvings (figs. 11, 12).<sup>26</sup> While

<sup>23</sup> The latest and most authoritative writing on the subject has been done by John Beckwith of the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. See his *Coptic textiles*, Ciba Review, vol. 12, No. 133, 1959.

<sup>24</sup> New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Acc. No. 90.5.514. Gift of George F. Baker, 1890.

<sup>25</sup> New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Acc. No. 89.18.298. Purchased 1889 by Subscription Fund.

<sup>26</sup> Fig. 11, a–c. Cairo, Museum of Islamic Art, Nos. 6341/2–3 and 3468 (detail of a carved wooden beam from the ceiling of the Western or Lesser Fatimid palace in Cairo. See K. A. C. Creswell, *The Muslim architecture of Egypt*, vol. 1, Oxford, 1952, pp. 128 sqq., dated A.H. 450/A.D. 1058). Edmond

the representations of the animal on the woodcarvings in Cairo document perhaps primarily the continuation of the motif into the Muslim period and only to a limited degree stylistic affinities, the hares on the ivory panel in the Hermitage clearly betray the same attitude in representing the animal. We find the same arrested movement of the hare's body and the same depiction of peculiar details of its anatomy as, for instance, the short tail (compare also *fig. 11, b*), the large "fluffy" ears, the drawing of the eye which is of triangular shape, and of the outlines of the head, oblong and flattened in front, the nose being turned up a bit, almost exactly like the drawing in Ka'b al-Aḥbār's book. These woodcarvings and the ivory plaque belong in the late 10th and 11th centuries. Precisely dated in the 10th century is a fragment of a wall painting from the bathhouse in Nishapūr, excavated by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, showing a brush drawing of a dog (*fig. 13*).<sup>27</sup> This drawing executed in black and colored deep red and light violet-gray is of extraordinary spontaneity. It resembles very closely the drawing on the manuscript page in New York. We find the same general concept of free representation of an animal's movements, and the same combination of continuous flowing and broken outlines. The broken outlines are used in depict-

ing the shaggy fur of the dog or the "fluffy" ears of the hare.

Another step farther carries us to the design on a luster painted bowl in the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo (*fig. 14*).<sup>28</sup> Reserved in the brown luster appears a man carrying a heavy load. He is accompanied by his dog which, besides being stylistically closely related in its manner of representation to the drawing discussed, has a peculiar likeness to the hare of the manuscript page. The design of this bowl is carried out in quite the same fashion as that of the drawing in Ka'b al-Aḥbār's book; that is to say, it consists of an actual drawing that seems to have been taken right out of an illustrated book of the kind of which the Metropolitan Museum page must have once formed a part. The pottery of this type has been dated in the late 11th or the 12th century.<sup>29</sup>

Turning to the other side of the page with the drawing of the lion (*fig. 8*), we find that the lion, also frequently represented in Coptic textile patterns of the early period, has its

Pauty, *Les bois sculptés jusqu'à l'époque ayyoubide*, Le Caire, 1931, pls. XXXVI and L. All pieces belong to the 11th century.

<sup>27</sup> New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art. From the Museum's excavations of that city during the years 1938-40. See Walter Hauser and Charles K. Wilkinson, *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, vol. 37, 1942, pp. 86 sqq., and *fig. 3*. The fragment is 14 in. high. Even technically this colored drawing goes well together with the drawing of the hare. Although almost nothing remains of it, it seems certain that the drawing in Ka'b al-Aḥbār's book was also lightly tinted in brown and red; that is to say, it was also a colored drawing.

<sup>28</sup> Acc. No. 75781. Compare the fragments illustrated in *La céramique égyptienne au musée de l'art arabe du Caire*, Bâle, 1922, pl. 24 (bottom left), pl. 25 (top), and pl. 26 (top, and bottom left), which are decorated with drawings of the same type, three of them representing hares. Also, *ibid.*, pl. 44, extreme left. In Ali Bey Baghat and Felix Massoul's book, *La céramique musulmane*, Le Caire, 1930, a fragment is illustrated on pl. XXIV, No. 1, that shows the head of a hare which is designed in a manner almost identical to that of the drawing on the manuscript page. Particularly noteworthy is the form of the eye which usually is drawn differently in these pottery decorations.

<sup>29</sup> Arthur Lane, *Early Islamic pottery*, London, 1947, pp. 21-22, pls. 25-29. See also the publication of important pieces from the Cairo collection by Zaki Muhammad Hassan, *Taḥaff jadidah . . .*, *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts and Letters of the University of Cairo*, 1951, pp. 91-110; and 'Abd al-Raūf 'Alī Yūssuf's very important study, *Ṭabaq "ghabr"*. . . *ibid.*, 1958, pp. 87-106.



closest counterpart in a fragment of an earthenware jar that has been found in Sāmarrā and in the luster pottery of Egypt. The brush drawing on the fragment of a jar from Sāmarrā (*fig. 15*)<sup>30</sup> shows the head of a lion that is represented in a way very similar to that of the drawing on the manuscript page. The head of the lion is seen from the same peculiar angle, that is, straight from above, but possibly also his lower jaw was shown in a profile view, a feature very common in Egypt. It is this combination of profile view and view from above that appears in the representation of a luster bowl in Cairo (*fig. 16*).<sup>31</sup> The outline of the lion's head, particularly of the nostrils, is almost identical with that of the lion's head of the drawing in New York. The same kind of lions appear also in the decorative paintings of the ceiling of the Capella Palatina in Palermo (*fig. 17*).<sup>32</sup> The Capella Palatina was erected by Roger II in A.D. 1144; the paintings of the ceiling were most likely executed by artists from Egypt.

It is the similarity between the drawing of the dog on the first luster bowl from Cairo (*fig. 14*) and the hare, and the lion of the

second luster bowl (*fig. 16*) and the lion of the manuscript page that particularly indicate a 12th-century date and an Egyptian provenance for these drawings. The painting of the Capella Palatina (*fig. 17*), being dated well into the middle of the 12th century, supports this attribution. Only the fragment from Sāmarrā (*fig. 15*) has been dated in the ninth century because of the circumstances of find. But it seems of considerably later date. Dr. Miles has only recently drawn attention to the fact that it is by no means permissible to terminate the activity of Sāmarrā with the flight of the caliph al-Mu'tamid in A.D. 883 from that city or even with his death in A.D. 892.<sup>33</sup> Sāmarrā must have continued for at least another century, but probably for a much longer period after its political decline, to be a flourishing center of trade and commerce and with it of craftsmanship and artistry. The fragment from the vessel decorated with a brush drawing of a lion may therefore very well have been executed in the late 11th or early 12th century; it may also have been imported from Egypt.

An early 12th-century date and Egyptian provenance seems, in view of the material presented from this period, the most appropriate for the page from Ka'b al-Aḥbār's *Book on the speech of wild animals*.

<sup>33</sup> George C. Miles, *The Sāmarrā mint*, *Ars Orientalis*, vol. 1, 1954, pp. 187-190.

<sup>30</sup> Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, pl. LXXV, bottom, and p. 93.

<sup>31</sup> Museum of Islamic Art, Acc. No. 14932.

<sup>32</sup> Ugo Monneret de Villard, *Le pitture musulmane al soffitto della Capella Palatina in Palermo*, Roma, 1950, fig. 150.







FIG. 1.—New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Acc. No. 54.108.1. Fragment of miniature.





FIG. 2.—Rome, Cemeterio di Pretestato. (Photo: Alinari 41665.)



FIG. 3.—Qusayr 'Amrah. Detail of wall painting (after Jaussen and Savignac).



FIG. 4.—Qusayr 'Amrah. Detail of wall painting (after Jaussen and Savignac).

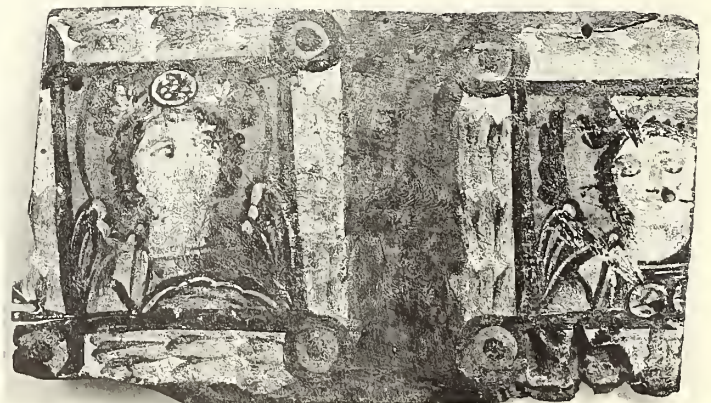


FIG. 5 a-b.—New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Acc. No. 39.158.1-2. Two Coptic panel paintings.





FIG. 7.—New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Acc. No. 54.108.3.  
Page from a manuscript.



FIG. 6.—Fragment of wall painting from Sāmarrā (after Herzfeld).





FIG. 8.—New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Acc. No. 54.108.3. Page from a manuscript.





FIG. 9.—New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.  
Acc. No. 90.5.514.  
Coptic tapestry weaving.



FIG. 10.—New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Acc. No. 89.18.298.  
Coptic tapestry weaving.

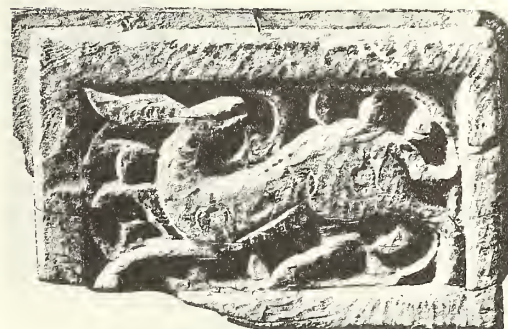


FIG. 11 a, b, c. Cairo, Museum of Islamic Art. Acc. Nos. 6341/2-3; 3468.  
Carved wooden panels (after Pauty).



FIG. 12.—Hermitage. Ivory carving.



FIG. 13.—New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.  
Fragment of a wall painting from Nishapur.





FIG. 14.—Cairo, Museum of Islamic Art. Acc. No. 75781.  
Luster painted bowl.



FIG. 15.—Berlin, Ehemals Staatliche Museen. Fragment of earthenware jar (after Herzfeld).



FIG. 16.—Cairo, Museum of Islamic Art. Acc. No. 14932.  
Luster painted bowl.



FIG. 17.—Palermo, Capella Palatina. Detail of painting from ceiling (after Monneret de Villard).



# A NEWLY DISCOVERED ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPT OF THE *MAQĀMĀT* OF ḤARĪRĪ

BY OLEG GRABAR

IT HAS BEEN KNOWN FOR SEVERAL DECADES now that one of the Arabic books to have been frequently illustrated in the 13th and 14th centuries was the *Maqāmāt* of Ḥarīrī. Ten manuscripts of this work with illustrations have been known for some time, though only one of them has ever been published in almost its entirety.<sup>1</sup> In the fall of 1960, Dr. Richard Ettinghausen was fortunate in discovering in Istanbul a 13th-century manuscript of the *Maqāmāt* with an extensive cycle of illustrations and, with rare generosity, has provided me with his photographs and with the authorization to publish them, even though many of the remarks found below are based on his observations and careful notations made on the spot and elaborated in later correspondence. A complete publication with an exhaustive analysis of all the problems raised by this manuscript can be made only within the framework of the publication of all known manuscripts of Ḥarīrī's best-seller. For such a work the documentation has been gathered at the University of Michigan and it is my hope that it will soon be possible to present it in a completed form. It was felt that, in the meantime, it would be essential to present to the interested public this new document and to raise a

few of the problems it poses. In the framework of a periodical it is not possible to illustrate all the comparative material to which allusion will be made, but by giving precise folio or page references it is hoped that our comparisons will be of some value.

The manuscript is found in the Süleymaniye library, Esad Efendi 2916. Its beginning and end are recent and a few new pages are found in the middle. The headings are in rather coarse black *thulth* on a ground decorated with red rinceaux and with a white border separating the writing from the background; they are framed in gold. The pages are 301 mm. in height and 223 in width. As it is now, the manuscript was illustrated with 56 miniatures. All of them were at one time severely damaged and it is only in a very few instances, for example, that faces of personages have been preserved. Fourteen images were either so damaged that it was not possible to reproduce them or were common repetitions of standard scenes, and it is therefore only 42 miniatures which are here presented. In spite of their poor condition, their importance is great for an understanding of the other illustrated manuscripts of the same work as well as for the general history of the art of the time.

<sup>1</sup> K. Holter, *Die Galen-Handschrift und die Makāmen des Ḥarīrī*, Jahrb. der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien, n. F., vol. 11, 1937. There is no point in giving here once more the list of all known illustrated manuscripts of the *Maqāmāt*; cf. the latest list given by D. S. Rice, *The oldest illustrated Arabic manuscript*, BSOAS, vol. 22, 1959; the two to which we are going to refer most frequently are Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, arabe 5847 (Schefer), and Leningrad, Academy of Sciences, MS. S. 23.

1. Fol. 14v contains an illustration of the fifth *maqāmāh*. It occurs at the beginning of the story, when the narrator, al-Ḥarīth, describes a group of friends gathered in a house as they hear a knock at the door. With its sliding roof, lamp on a tall stand, heatable brick bench, and elaborate knocker, this miniature is a faithful reproduction of a contempo-

rary house. No other manuscript has exactly the same subject illustrated, most of them concentrating on depicting scenes from the story told by Abu Zayd, the hero of the *Maqāmāt*, rather than on the place where he told the story. The one exception is the Leningrad manuscript, in which an elaborate house is depicted twice (pp. 27 and 29).<sup>2</sup>

2. The image on fol. 18 depicts the *dīwān al-naẓar* in Maraghah (sixth *maqāmah*) in which a group of scholars discuss a point of eloquence. This image occurs at the beginning of the *maqāmah* and belongs to a group, standard in all manuscripts, which consists of an assembly in front of a prince or a judge. In some manuscripts, such as the Schefer in Paris, a careful distinction is made between the generally non-Arab princes and the usually Arab *qāḍīs*. The differentiation is usually achieved through varying clothes and facial features as well as through certain symbols of authority. While facial features cannot be examined in this manuscript, the long robe, the simple footwear, and the ink pot are more characteristic of judges than of princes. Only the knotted tails give the personage a more official character. The other manuscripts which possess illustrations of this *maqāmah*, when, as here, they illustrate the setting of the story rather than a later episode, do not seem to identify precisely any one of the personages as a *qāḍī*. There are two exceptions: the Leningrad manuscript which has on page 35 a brilliant scene showing an enthroned judge; and British Museum or. 1200, fol. 16, in whose quite heavily redone images the judge is also identifiable.

3. Fol. 27v illustrates the ninth *maqāmah*, more precisely the moment at the beginning of the story when Abu Zayd's wife describes her life to the judge. The four personages inside

the room are the judge in a magnificent long robe and on a high wooden bench, al-Ḥārith, Abu Zayd, and his wife. But the most curious feature of this particular image is the section of the entrance shown to the right with its projecting screened window, its curtain, and a personage seated on a bench, who will later be involved in the action. The curious emphasis on the physical setting in the illustration of this story differentiates it quite clearly from all other illustrations of the ninth *maqāmah* except two. Most of them are quite simple and direct illustrations of the text, even if, as in the Schefer manuscript, the result is quite spectacular. The two exceptions are the Leningrad manuscript, pages 52 and 57, with two extraordinary tribunal scenes, and B. M. add. 22114, fol. 15, in which a curiously complicated physical structure appears. In details, however, these two images are quite different from ours.

4. Fol. 34 contains the celebrated eleventh *maqāmah* whose illustrations have recently been analyzed by D. S. Rice.<sup>3</sup> This unfortunately terribly damaged miniature with its numerous tombs, with its trees, its crowds of mourners, and its precise and detailed depiction of a burial, clearly belongs to the same category as the corresponding images in the Leningrad and Schefer manuscripts. The main iconographic difference between them consists of the fact that the Istanbul miniature probably showed Abu Zayd to the upper left, whereas the other two images do not have the hero of the story clearly identified. It

<sup>2</sup> The Leningrad manuscript is paginated throughout.

<sup>3</sup> D. S. Rice, *op. cit.*, p. 203ff. I may use this opportunity to make a small addition to Professor Rice's otherwise complete article. With respect to Bibliothèque Nationale, arabe 3929, there are two more illustrations of the 11th *maqāmah*: fol. 30 showing Abu Zayd "coming down from the hillock" (tr. of the *Maqāmāt* by Th. Chenery and F. Steingass, London, 1867 and 1898, vol. 1, p. 167), and fol. 30v describing al-Ḥārith upbraiding the crook.



should also be noted that several tombs were provided with what appears to have been actual inscriptions—not imitations—but these have been so damaged as to defy complete reading.

5. Fol. 41 contains an illustration of the beginning of the thirteenth *maqāmah* and presumably showed Abu Zayd disguised as a woman and preceded by small children, arriving in the presence of a group of “some *shaykhs* of the poets,” sitting by the bank of the Zowrah. It is not much different from the usual “assembly-with-stranger” images found quite often in most manuscripts. Curiously, only one of them (B. M. 1200, fol. 35v) also emphasizes the fact that the scene takes place by a body of water.

6. On fol. 44, we see the arrival of Abu Zayd and of his son in a tent on the way to Mekkah, as related in the fourteenth *maqāmah*. The personages are so damaged that it is difficult to determine the exact arrangement of the figures, although it would seem likely, from other parallels, that Abu Zayd and his son are the men standing at the left. The two major iconographic peculiarities of this illustration when it is compared to those found in other manuscripts are that all the personages are included inside the tent—which, to my knowledge, occurs only on B. M. add. 7293, fol. 76—and that the ground is represented on two separate levels, one with the tent, the other with plants, a bird, and an animal(?). This device, common enough in the thirteenth century for the representation of spatial depth, has been used with particular effectiveness in many images of the Leningrad manuscript, and in particular in the first image illustrating the fourteenth *maqāmah* (p. 85). The major difference between the two miniatures is that the Leningrad one has the two planes entirely separate, whereas the Istanbul one unites them by vertical lines of grass at either end.

7. Fol. 47 shows al-Ḥārith in his house

inquiring about the “how and when” of Abu Zayd who has just come in (fifteenth *maqāmah*). The major characteristic of this image is its magnificent rendering of a house, with its door, its stairs, and its movable roof. While most of it is on a flat two-dimensional plane, the door and the staircase introduce an interesting attempt at depth. A similarly elaborate setting occurs in B. M. add. 7293, fol. 80, and especially in the Leningrad manuscript, page 90, where, in particular, the stairs, the jar under the stairs, and the respective size of the architectural parts are similar to ours.

8. On fol. 48v there is another illustration of the same *maqāmah* which refers to the moment<sup>4</sup> when the unknown *shaykh* presents Abu Zayd with a riddle written on a piece of paper. To the left, on a curious sort of shelf, are three glasses of milk and dates, together with a vendor. These items of food have their importance in the story, but are not supposed to be present at the time of the meeting of the two men. Although their meeting has been illustrated many times, the specific features of the background are here unique.

9. Fol. 55v illustrates the beginning of the seventeenth *maqāmah*, in which Abu Zayd, in the midst of a crowd of learned men, is ready to show his linguistic tricks. Whereas the grouping of personages around trees is common enough, the peculiarity of this image consists of the addition of a body of water, of which no mention is made in the text.

10. The image on fol. 64 illustrates the moment, in the nineteenth *maqāmah*, when the friends of the sick Abu Zayd are gathered around him. Set as it is on two planes related to each other by the standing personages to the left and right, this scene recalls in composition the illustration of the same story in the Schefer manuscript (fol. 53) and differs from the Leningrad image (p. 118) which is,

<sup>4</sup> Vol. I, p. 189.

as usually, set in an elaborate interior. Dr. Ettinghausen has noted that the personage on the right, in the common pose of one leg up, has left his shoe on the ground, as though trying to scratch his foot.

11. Fol. 67, at the beginning of the twentieth *maqāmah*, shows Abu Zayd appearing to a group of weary travelers who had settled down to rest. This rather simple image is merely another variation on the theme of the group, the more restful poses seen here being required by the text. Like all illustrations of the same scene, it has no external additions, except for the two birds, used here to indicate the outdoors, a fairly common decorative motif in thirteenth-century miniatures and in Persian ceramics, but rare in illustrated manuscripts of the *Maqāmāt*. The major peculiarity of the Istanbul image is that it avoids the obscenity found in many other images from the twentieth *maqāmah*, since the main subject of Abu Zayd's statements in the story is scabrous indeed.

12. Fol. 70 has an illustration placed in the middle of a sermon preached by Abu Zayd in the mosque of Rayy, as described in the twenty-first *maqāmah*. The sermon is attended by the local ruler together with a large crowd of people. It is not exactly certain whether the ruler was seated in the middle or above, as on the corresponding and extremely complex image of the Schefer manuscript (fols. 58v and 59 forming really one single image),<sup>5</sup> but the former seems more likely, because, in spite of the damaged faces, it seems that only women were seated on the balconies above. There are several resemblances of detail between the Paris manuscript and the Istanbul one (such as certain groupings and the decoration of the *minbar*), but whereas the Schefer illustration,

<sup>5</sup> This extension of a single image over two pages facing each other is a characteristic of the Schefer manuscript and a rarity in most other versions.

spread over two pages with a minimum of architectural background, has a widely conceived composition, everything is compressed in the Istanbul one with its complete architecture and its crowds of people. In that sense it comes much closer to certain images in the Leningrad manuscript, even though this particular scene is not illustrated there. Two more points may be made about this image. First, it shows a comparatively rare feature in 13th-century miniatures, the framing of parts of the text with an architectural element from the illustration. Second, parts of a Koranic inscription are visible on the upper right; the specific passage beginning with *wa qālū* cannot be identified precisely.

13. Fol. 73v shows the well-known boat mentioned in the twenty-second *maqāmah*. The shape of the boat and the rather lively composition of figures, as well as the addition of low flying birds, make this image come much closer to the two in Leningrad (pp. 135 and 139) than to any other illustration of the same story in other manuscripts, although the Leningrad images have an additional pavilion on the boat which is missing here.

14. Fol. 77 illustrates the moment, at the beginning of the twenty-third *maqāmah*, when Abu Zayd complains about his son. The scene is set in a tribunal with an "Arab" type of judge seated on a high platform. The particular interest of the illustration consists in the fact that, whereas the text is unclear as to whether this scene takes place in front of a *wali* or of a *qādī*, our illustrator has opted for the latter, while every single other illustration of the *maqāmah* represents a prince. One may note also the rather stiff curtain which characterizes many interior scenes in the Leningrad manuscript.

15. Fol. 82v shows a garden party at which Abu Zayd proffers grammatical riddles (twenty-fourth *maqāmah*). The assembly is



one of merry-makers and so they are depicted with wine and musical instruments. The peculiarity of our manuscript is in the treatment of the landscape. Its size and the feature of three separate pools of water with fishes and birds are unique. It is this landscape which differentiates this miniature from other illustrations of the same text. The Schefer manuscript, of course, does have an elaborate development of the scene (fol. 69v) with its well-known garden party around an artificial pool and fountain, but in conception and organization it shows considerable variance from our manuscript.

16. Fol. 89 illustrates the sudden appearance of "an old man, bare of skin, showing his nakedness, . . . turbaned with a kerchief and breeched with a napkin. And around him was a crowd."<sup>6</sup> The most interesting features of our miniature are the addition of two horsemen to the "crowd," and the fact that the old man appears at the gate of a crenellated tower, although neither element is required by the text. The first feature is unique in the precise manner in which it was executed, although the Schefer manuscript does have (fol. 74v) al-Ḥārith on a mule; the second feature occurs only in the Schefer manuscript (fol. 75) and is, curiously enough, missing from the Leningrad one. What is the point of such an imagery? Several explanations may be suggested. But the most plausible one may be that it expresses best the suddenness of the appearance of Abu Zayd to al-Ḥārith, *fa-idha shaykh 'āri al-jildah*. . . . Most of the other manuscripts show Abu Zayd on a rock and surrounded by people, an iconographic motif of old standing and relatable to the Christian imagery of Job, as was shown by Buchthal two decades ago.<sup>7</sup> But it is obvious enough

that this motif did not really illustrate the text, whereas the innovation introduced by the Schefer and Istanbul manuscripts creates or utilizes iconographic formulas better adapted to what was here needed.

17. The image on fol. 92 depicts al-Ḥārith's arrival at Abu Zayd's tent, as described at the beginning of the twenty-sixth *maqāmāh*. The image develops on two levels, one showing Abu Zayd in his tent and al-Ḥārith entering it, the other showing a fire being kindled and a horse being groomed. The technique of setting above each other two iconographic units which must be understood as being either in front of or alongside each other is a rather common one since late antiquity and occurs often in other illustrations of the *Maqāmāt*, particularly in the Leningrad manuscript. More interesting, however, are the omissions and additions to the text which occur here. The setting, as suggested by the story itself, is quite limited: ". . . there came to my sight a pitched tent and a kindled fire . . . I saw some fair boy-servants, and furniture which thou wouldest gaze at."<sup>8</sup> First, a fettered horse was added with a groom.<sup>9</sup> Then, instead of "fair boy-servants," we have a representative each of the *ahl al-qalam* and the *ahl al-sayf*, the civil and military authorities characteristic of a prince, which our rogue, Abu Zayd, has suddenly become, although there is no forewarning in the text. Other instances of such transformations occur elsewhere in illustrated manuscripts of the 13th century and they illustrate a very important step in the formation of contemporary miniatures.<sup>10</sup> In order to indicate success and power,

<sup>8</sup> Vol. 1, p. 259.

<sup>9</sup> On this theme as applied mostly to princely scenes see R. Ettinghausen, *On some Mongol miniatures*, *Kunst des Orients*, vol. 3, 1959.

<sup>10</sup> Another instance of this occurs in the Schefer manuscript, fol. 33, a miniature which has recently

<sup>6</sup> Vol. 1, p. 254.

<sup>7</sup> H. Buchthal, "Hellenistic" miniatures in early Islamic manuscripts, *Ars Islamica*, vol. 7, 1940, p. 126.

the painter—but not the writer—uses elements from a standardized princely iconography. This standardization contrasts with the freedom and inventiveness of so many other innovations introduced by the painter over and above the indications of the text and shows that a princely repertory of themes preceded the type of imagery developed in the *Maqāmāt* and in other similar works of the 12th and 13th centuries. A corollary to these remarks is that, whenever possible, the artist of the *Maqāmāt* did indeed look for iconographic models adaptable to his needs, but such models existed in only a limited number of instances.<sup>11</sup>

18. Fol. 96v contains the poem in which, in the twenty-seventh *maqāmah*, Abu Zayd describes to al-Ḥārith his way of life. Iconographically the scene is not much different from others illustrating the same subject.

19. The image on fol. 98 illustrates a passage which occurs a little farther on in the same story. In showing Abu Zayd on horseback charging against the thief of al-Ḥārith's camel, it actually illustrates a moment in the story which occurs somewhat beyond the specific text which is found around it. Like the preceding image, this one does not differ in any major way from similar illustrations in other manuscripts, except the Leningrad one (p. 177) in which the thief is shown coming down from his beast.

20. Fol. 104 shows the mosque of Samarkand during Abu Zayd's sermon as told in the twenty-eighth *maqāmah*. The depiction of the mosque with its characteristic elements—arcades, *miḥrāb*, *minbar*, a *dikkaḥ*, lamps, minaret—is remarkable for the completeness of its components and the peculiar oblique way in

which the courses of stone are set on the minaret, the latter feature being used in a few other instances in the manuscript, perhaps with the intention of suggesting curved wall surfaces. It is also more appropriately scaled to the personages than, for instance, the corresponding image in the Schefer manuscript (fol. 84v).

21. On fol. 110 we see an illustration of the key moment of the twenty-ninth *maqāmah*, in which al-Ḥārith notices that the guests he and Abu Zayd have entertained have actually been doped, while Abu Zayd and his son are proceeding to rob them. The image with the *khān* as an architectural background for the activities of our heroes is very closely related to the corresponding images in the Schefer manuscript (fol. 89) and in the Leningrad one (pp. 194, 196), without being exactly similar to either one.

22. Fol. 117v contains part of the sermon delivered by Abu Zayd to the pilgrims on the road to Mekkah (thirty-first *Maqāmah*). Its illustration is curious in several ways. First of all, it does not illustrate the text in the midst of which it is set; Abu Zayd is not prominently apparent, insofar as the rather damaged character of the image permits one to judge. Rather it is a picture of a *hajj* caravan about to alight. Second, the artist has introduced a curiously idyllic element in his picture by showing a small camel being fed by his mother which is still carrying a basketful of travelers; this feature suggests a pictorial reminiscence with no textual backing of a type found in Byzantine manuscripts with classical backgrounds<sup>12</sup> although it occurs also on Islamic ceramics. Finally, as in several other instances in this manuscript, the scene comprises two separate planes artificially united by rocks to the left and right; in addition, the

been studied from a different point of view by D. S. Rice, *Deacon or drink*, Arabica, vol. 5, 1958.

<sup>11</sup> H. Buchthal, in the previously quoted article, has indicated some of the Christian sources for Arabic 13th-century illustrations.

<sup>12</sup> K. Weitzmann, *Greek mythology in Byzantine art*, Princeton, 1951, pl. XXXVI et seq.



rocks to the left which extend into the margin above the text are an unusual feature in pre-Mongol miniatures and more characteristic of Persian than of Arab painting.

23. Fol. 131v has an illustration which once more represents a mosque, this time in Tiflis (thirty-third *maqāmah*). After prayer, Abu Zayd appears as a cripple and makes a moving plea for help. The main interest of this scene, otherwise poorly illustrated except in the Leningrad manuscript, lies in its composition. Two points should be brought out. The first one is the division of personages into three groups separated by elements of a single architectural unit; this technique of composition is not the most common one in 13th-century illustrations of secular works, in which architecture is generally used as a background, rarely interwoven with the action (with certain major exceptions in the Leningrad manuscript), although it is common enough in Byzantine painting and in early Ilkhānid miniatures as well. The second point is the existence of two half-hearted attempts at giving illusions of depth; one consists in reproducing an inscription on the back wall of the mosque; the other one involves the almost triangular shape of the balustrades on the left and right, unless these should be considered as some kind of seat. Finally, a negative point may be worth bringing out, i.e., that the mosque here is quite different from most other mosques in this manuscript as well as in the related Schefer and Leningrad ones. There are no minarets, *mihrabs*, or *minbars*. The lamps, the colonnade, and the unusually set inscription are the only features which may be definitely related to mosque architecture. This simplified mosque architecture is more closely tied to the bare minimum of an architectural frame in the simpler illustrations of such manuscripts as Paris 3929 and 6094, but, as Dr. Ettinghausen suggests, it could very well be

the depiction of a side *riwāq* rather than of a sanctuary.

24. Fol. 134 contains an illustration of the celebrated story in which al-Ḥārith buys a slave, who turns out to be Abu Zayd's son (thirty-fourth *maqāmah*). The importance of this image lies in the fact that its double-deck organization, showing below the three protagonists of the story as they meet, and above the sale being transacted, is very closely related to the arrangement of the Schefer (fol. 105) and Leningrad (p. 231) manuscripts, and quite different from what is found in all other manuscripts where the two scenes are separated. The major difference between our image and those from other manuscripts is that the latter have integrated the two separate iconographic units within the single structure of a slave market, whereas the Istanbul manuscript merely has an artificial frame. But the comparison would lead one to explain the group at the upper right of our miniature as the slaves shown so prominently in the Paris and Leningrad manuscripts.

25. On fol. 136v we find another *qāḍī* scene from the same *maqāmah*, in which the judge points out to al-Ḥārith that he has been swindled. Although details vary, the scene is closely related to other similar scenes in the manuscript, and in particular, the entrance seen in profile recalls the image of folio 27v. The depiction of one personage partly in and partly out of the room is an important and, at that time, rare device for indicating depth.

26. Fol. 138v contains an illustration of the thirty-fifth *maqāmah* and does not differ significantly from other similar scenes.

27. The image on folio 141 appears at first glance to illustrate a similar scene from the thirty-sixth *maqāmah*, but in fact it differs from all other such images in two major ways. The first one is that Abu Zayd, shown here arriving from the left, is completely outside

the picture and on a different scale from that of the main group of personages. The only possible textual justification for this anomalous relation is that the gathering took place on a hillock. The second peculiarity of this image is its landscape. At first glance it is nothing more than the previously noted system of two planes united on the sides by a vertical line of grass. Its novelty is that the lower part of the landscape is itself subdivided into three separate elements set one behind the other like a stage decoration. In addition, two of these elements are marked out by two animals, a gazelle or an antelope coming to drink water and a leopard or cheetah. Both the organization of landscape through flat spaces set behind each other and the use of animals to identify them are typical of certain Persian miniatures of the early 14th century,<sup>13</sup> even though the first of the two features at least is not unknown in Arabic painting as well. A last point may be made with respect to this image. It is curious to note that the very mutilated manuscript of the *Maqāmāt* in the British Museum, or. 1200, dated 1256, illustrates the same scene (fol. 116) with the same two peculiarities of Abu Zayd outside the main plane of action and of a high landscape, although the latter is not as elaborate as in the Istanbul version. This point would confirm an impression based on a number of such instances, i.e., that the rather rustic British Museum manuscript actually used as a model one of the more luxurious illustrated manuscripts of Ḥariri's work.

28. On folio 150v we see an illustration of the scene in which Abu Zayd makes a speech in front of the governor of Merv (thirty-eighth *maqāmāh*). The most remarkable feature of this image is the throne of the *wali*. First of all, it combines in a unique fashion

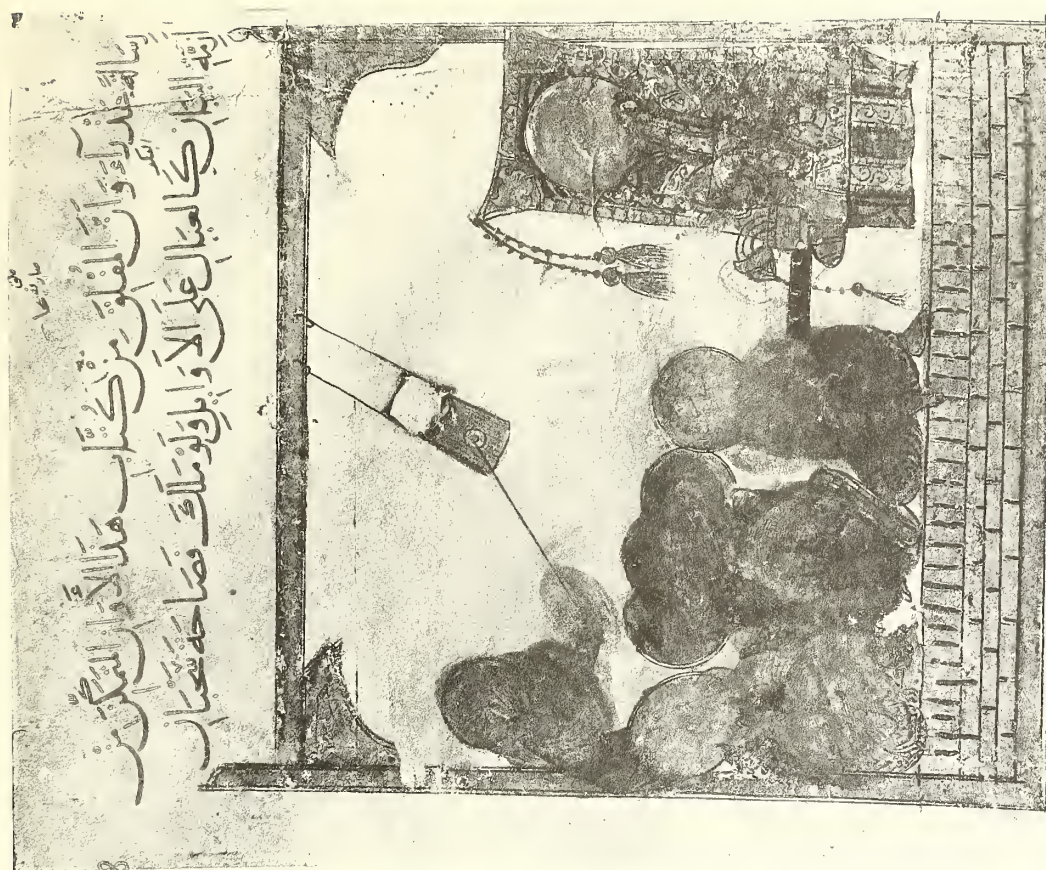
two types of thrones. The first one, common enough in all Arabic manuscripts of the time and used for *qādīs* as well as for princes, has as its most notable feature a high and rigid bolster behind the honored personage; its lower part may consist of a few steps leading to a flat bench or of a mere pillow on a rug. The second type of throne is a polygonal wooden construction with side railings; it may be of considerable size and, while it is not absent from early Arab miniatures (cf. below, fol. 192), it is more characteristic of later Persian ones. It is probably the anomaly of the combination which explains the awkwardness of the final result. A second point to be emphasized about this miniature is the quality of the designs of the textiles spread over the throne, in particular the adossed birds rather rarely found on early miniatures.

29. Fol. 153 illustrates the well-known boat on the Indian Ocean on which al-Ḥārith and Abu Zayd leave for a mysterious island. Here again it is the illustrations of the same scene in the Schefer (fol. 122v) and Leningrad manuscripts (p. 260) which come closest to ours with their emphasis on the boat rather than on the personages. The Istanbul miniature, like the Leningrad one, differs from the Paris one in that it actually does show Abu Zayd asking to be taken aboard.

30. On fol. 154v we find another illustration of the same *maqāmāh*. It is the scene of the arrival of our two heroes at the gate of a palace, where slaves are seen crying. The only element of a comparison we have is fol. 120v of the Schefer manuscript which illustrates exactly the same scene. Although there are points of resemblance between the details of the two images (the central gate, the overhanging balconies, the arches of the windows), the Istanbul miniature is original in showing within outer walls elements of a sizeable garden around a central pavilion and in using a

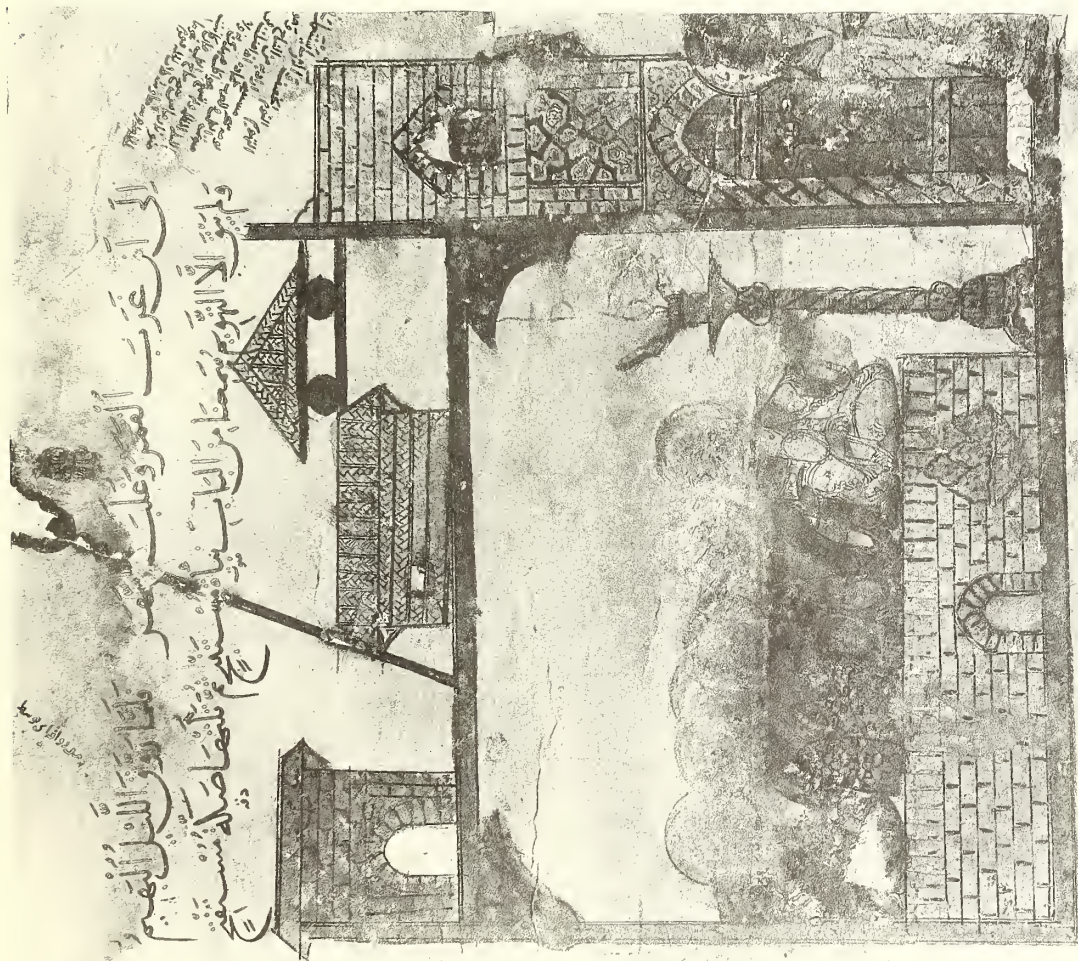
<sup>13</sup> D. Brian, *A reconstruction of the miniature cycle*, *Ars Islamica*, vol. 6, 1939, fig. 17.





وَالْيَكْرَانِ بِالْحَسَنِ كَهْلٍ خَالٍ فِي الْحَاشِيَةِ وَعِنْدَهُ أَيْفٍ  
لِلْحَاشِيَةِ نَكَرَانِ لِمَا شَاطَتْ الْقَوْمُ فِي سَوَاطِيمِ وَشَرِّ الْعَجْوَةِ

FIG. 2.—FOL. 18.



فَقُلْنَا مِنَ الْأَمْرِ فِي الدَّلِيلِ الدَّلِيلُ فَقَالَ  
تَأْمَنَّا أَلَا نَعْنَاهُ وَنَحْنُ سَمَرٌ وَلَا نَقِيمُ مَا يَنْقِمُ ضُرًّا

FIG. 1.—FOL. 14v.





FIG. 4.—Fol. 34.

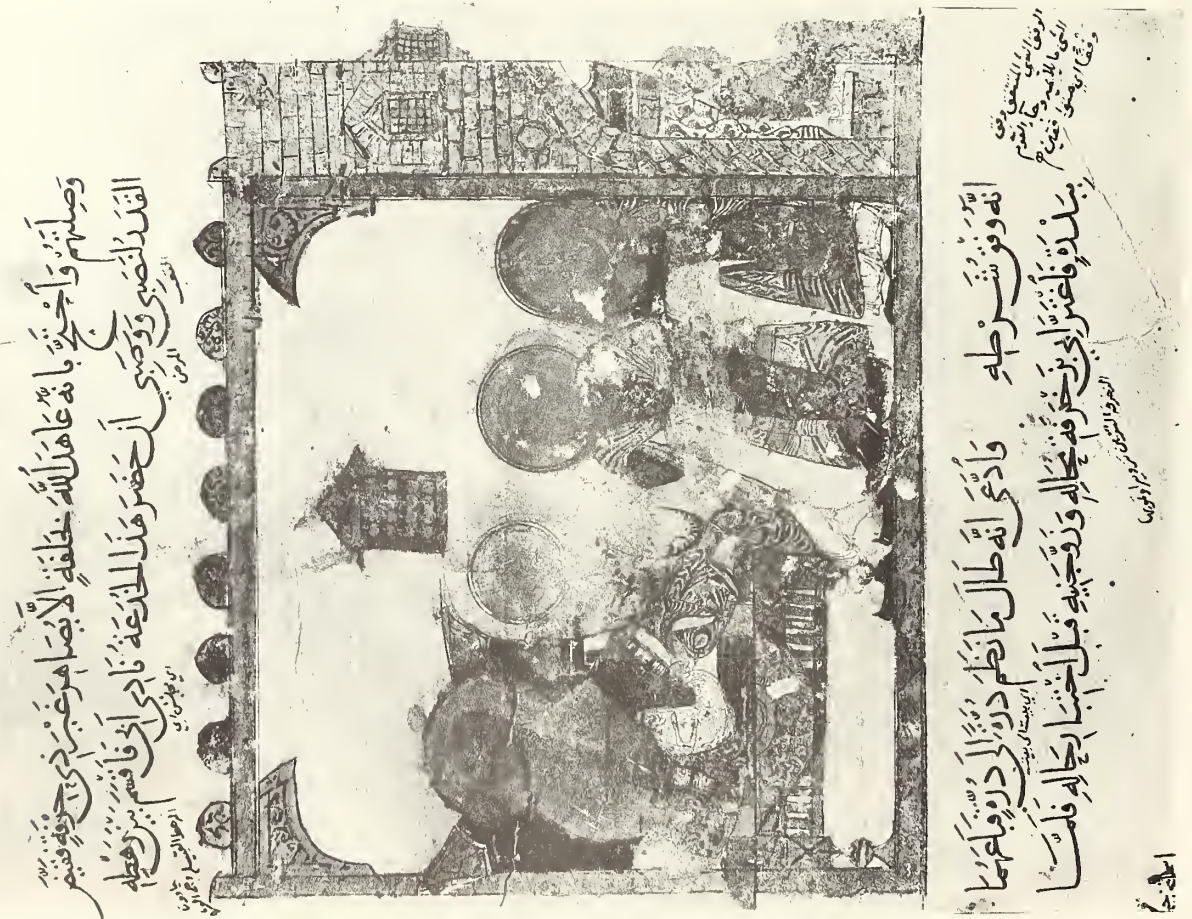


FIG. 3.—Fol. 27v.



قِيلَ لَهَا  
قَالَ فَقَالَ إِنَّمَا أَنَا خَائِفٌ وَطَالِبُ اسْعَافٍ  
وَقُلْنَا لَهُ مَا أَتَيْتَ وَلَيْفَ وَجِلْتِ وَمَا

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وَسِرِّصِي غَيْرِ خَائِفٍ وَالنَّظْرَانِي شَفِيعٌ كَلِّفَ وَأَمَّا  
الْأَسْيَابُ الَّتِي عَلَتْ بِهَا الْأَرْضُ تَبَابٌ فَهِيَ هَوُوعُ بَعْدَ بَعْدٍ

FIG. 6.—FOL. 44.

إِلَى الْأَوَّلِ كَمَا لَمْ يَخْلَعْ عَجْرًا تَقْبِيلُ مِنَ الْبَعْدِ وَخَضِرٌ أَحْضَرُ الْجَزْرِ  
وَقُلْتُ سَلْتُ صَبِيَّةَ الْخَفِّ مِنَ الْمَغَارِبِ وَأَضْعَفَ مِنْ

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لِجَوَارِبِ فَالْذَّبِ إِذَا رَأَيْتَ أَنْ عَرِشًا حَتَّى إِذَا مَا خَضِرْنَا  
قَالَتْ حَيَّا اللَّهُ الْمَغَارِبِ وَأَزْوَاجُ مَعَارِفِ أَعْلَمُوا بِمَا مَالِ

FIG. 5.—FOL. 41.



حَتَّى هَاجَبَ الْكَلَّاسُ عَلَى قَنْدَرٍ سَلَفَ فَأَبْرَزَتْهُ مِنْ  
كَيْدِهِ وَأَقْسَمَ بِأَبِيهِ وَأُمِّهِ لَقَدْ نَزَّلَنَا بِالْخَلَامِ الْمَدَارِسُ فَإِنَّ تَارَ وَأَعَزَّ

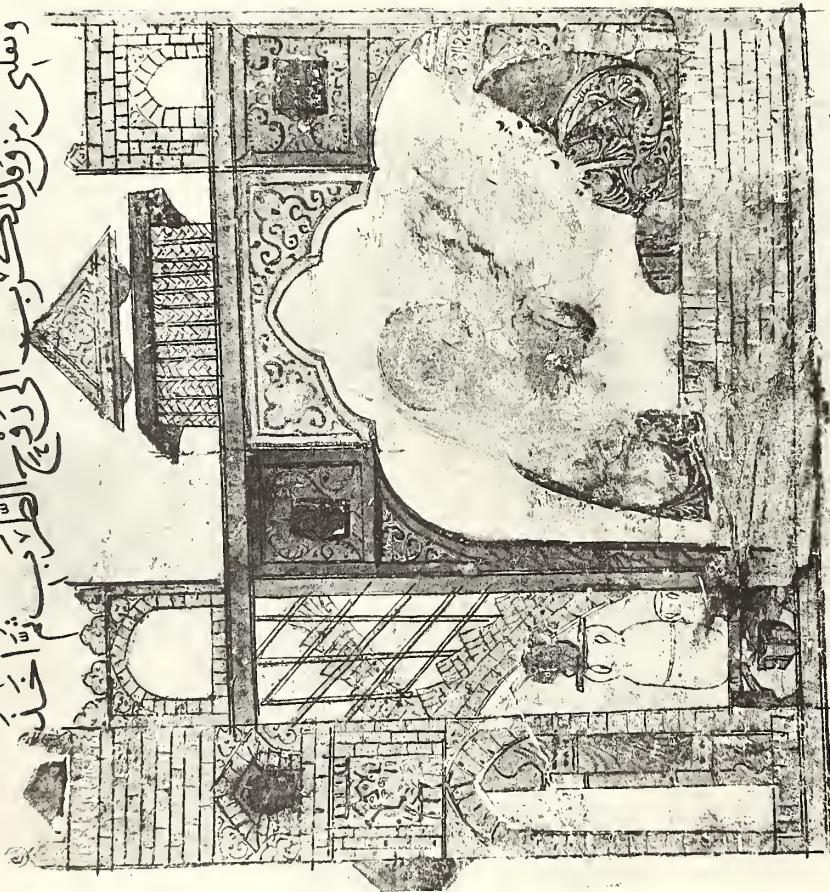


الْأَخْلَامِ الدَّوَارِسُ وَاسْتَنْطَقَ لَهَا حِجَارَ الْحِجَابِ فَرَسُوا وَأَخْرَجُوا سَكَّارَ  
الْمَقَابِرِ قَتَلْتُ إِيَّيْهَا فَأَعْلَى أَخِي فِيهَا فَقَالَ مَا أَبْعَدَتْ فِي الْمَرَامِ

فَت

FIG. 8.—Fol. 48v.

وَلَا رَجْمَ غَيْبٍ فَأَخْلَنَهُ حِجَالٌ مِنْ أَظْفَرِيَّةٍ يَقْضَى الْطَلَبُ  
وَنَقْلِي مِنْ وَقْدِ الْحَرْبِ إِلَى رَوْحِ الظَّالِمِ ثُمَّ أَخَذَ



يَسْكُو الْأَمِيرَ وَأَخَذَتْ فِي كَيْفِ وَأَبْرَ فَقَالَ الْبَلْعِي وَيَقِي  
فَقَدْ أَخْبَرَنِي طَرِيقَ فَظَنَنْتُهُ مَسْتَبْطَنًا حِمَا السَّعْبِ مِنْ كَلَامِ

FIG. 7.—Fol. 47.





FIG. 10.—Fol. 64.



FIG. 9.—Fol. 55v.





بِقَبْلِ الرُّشَا وَمُعْبِرِينَ إِلَى سَبِيلِ الرَّشَا كَلَّا  
وَاللَّهِ لَيَنْفَعَنَّ النُّورَ مَا كَلَّا بَنُورَ  
وَلَا يَنْفَعُ أَهْلَ الْفُورِ

FIG. 12.—Fol. 70.

عَنِ الْفِهِ وَجَارِهِ فَلَمَّا اخْتَابَ مَطَايَا السَّيْرِ وَانْتَقَلْنَا  
عَنِ الْأَكَا إِلَى الْأَوَاكَارِ تَوَاصَيْنَا بِنَدَاكَ الرَّحْمَةِ وَتَنَا هَمِينَا  
عَنِ التَّقَاطُعِ فِي الْعُرْبَةِ وَأَخَذْنَا نَادِيًا لَعَنَ مَرُوءَةً طَرَفِي النَّظَارِ وَهَمَانِي



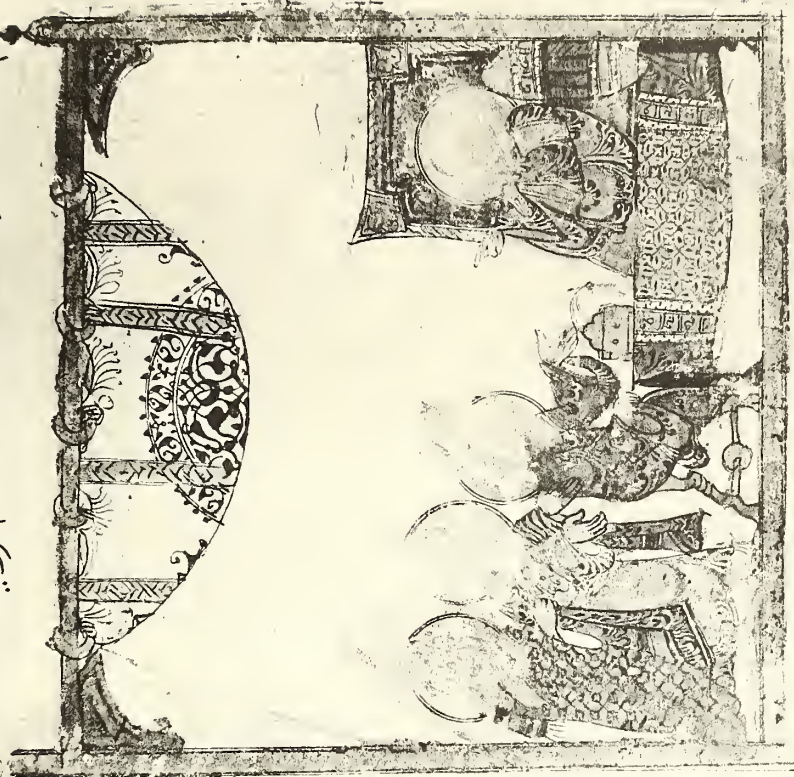
فِيهِ طَرَفُ الْأَخْبَارِ قَبِينَا خُزْنِيهِ فِي بَعْضِ الْأَيَّامِ وَقَدْ لَنَظُنَّا  
فِي سَبِيلِكِ الْإِيمَانِ وَقَفَّ عَلَيْنَا دُونُ مَقُولِ حَكِيمٍ وَجَرِيرٍ

FIG. 11.—Fol. 67.



رَبِّهِ الْخَرَى مِنْ رَبِّكَ وَهَلْ حَبِيبَ الْفُشْ مِنْ عَيْنِكَ  
وَقَدْ حَبِيبَتْ بِخَيْرٍ وَأَسْتَظَنُّهُ وَأَنْتَ كَيْ شَعْرِي وَأَسْتَرْقِيهِ

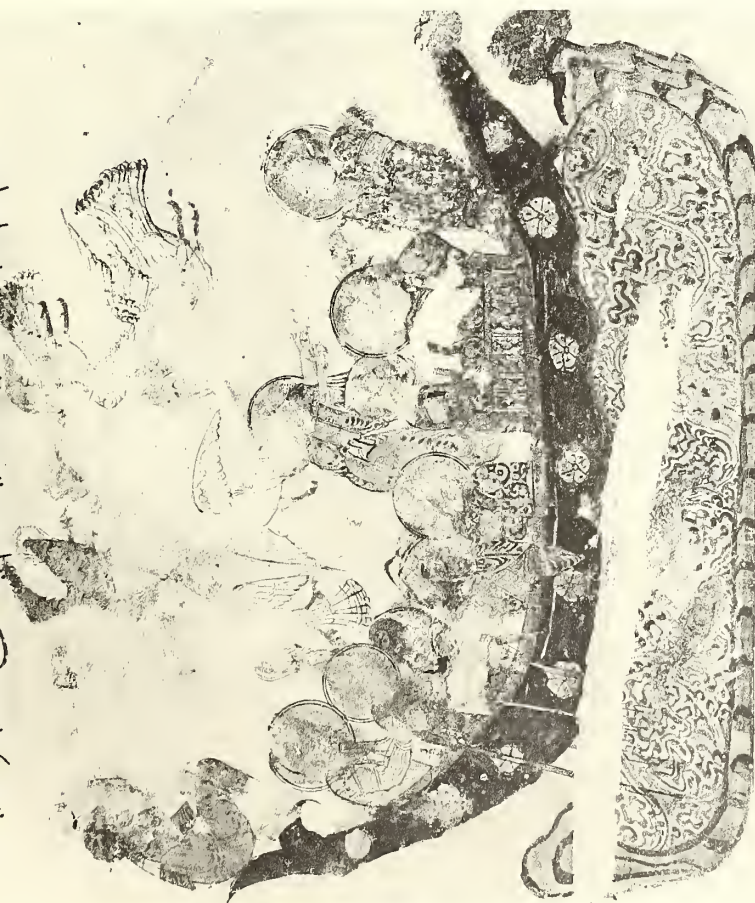
٧٧



وَأَسْتَرْقِي الشَّعْرَ عِنْدَ الشَّعْرَاءِ أَفْظَمُ مِنْ سِرِّهِ الْبَيْضَاءُ وَالضَّفَاءُ  
وَيَقْرَأُ عَلَى بَنَاتِ الْأَفْكَارِ كَعَمْرِ قَهْرِي الْبَنَاتِ الْإِبْرَارِ

FIG. 14.—Fol. 77.

دَعَوْنِي إِلَى الْمَوَاقِفَةِ وَأَسْتَدْعُونِي إِلَى الْمَرْقِفَةِ فَأَمَّا تَوَلَّيْتُ عَلَى  
الْطَّبَةِ الدَّهْمَاءِ وَتَبَطُّوا الْوَلِيَّةَ الْمَاشِيَةَ عَلَى الْمَاءِ الْقَيْمَاءِ بِهَا شَيْخًا



عَلَيْهِ سَخَّرَ رِيَالِي سَبَبَ بَابِ قَعَاوَنَ لِلْجَاغَةِ مُحَضَّرَةً وَعَنْفِيَةً  
مِنْ أَخْضَرَةٍ وَهَمَّتْ بِأَنْزَارِهِ مِنَ الشَّعْبَةِ لَوْلَا تَابَ إِلَهَانَا السَّكِينَةَ

FIG. 13.—Fol. 73v.





FIG. 16.—Fol. 89.



FIG. 15.—Fol. 82v.





FIG. 18.—Fol. 96v.



FIG. 17.—Fol. 92.





FIG. 20.—FOL. 104.



FIG. 19.—FOL. 98.



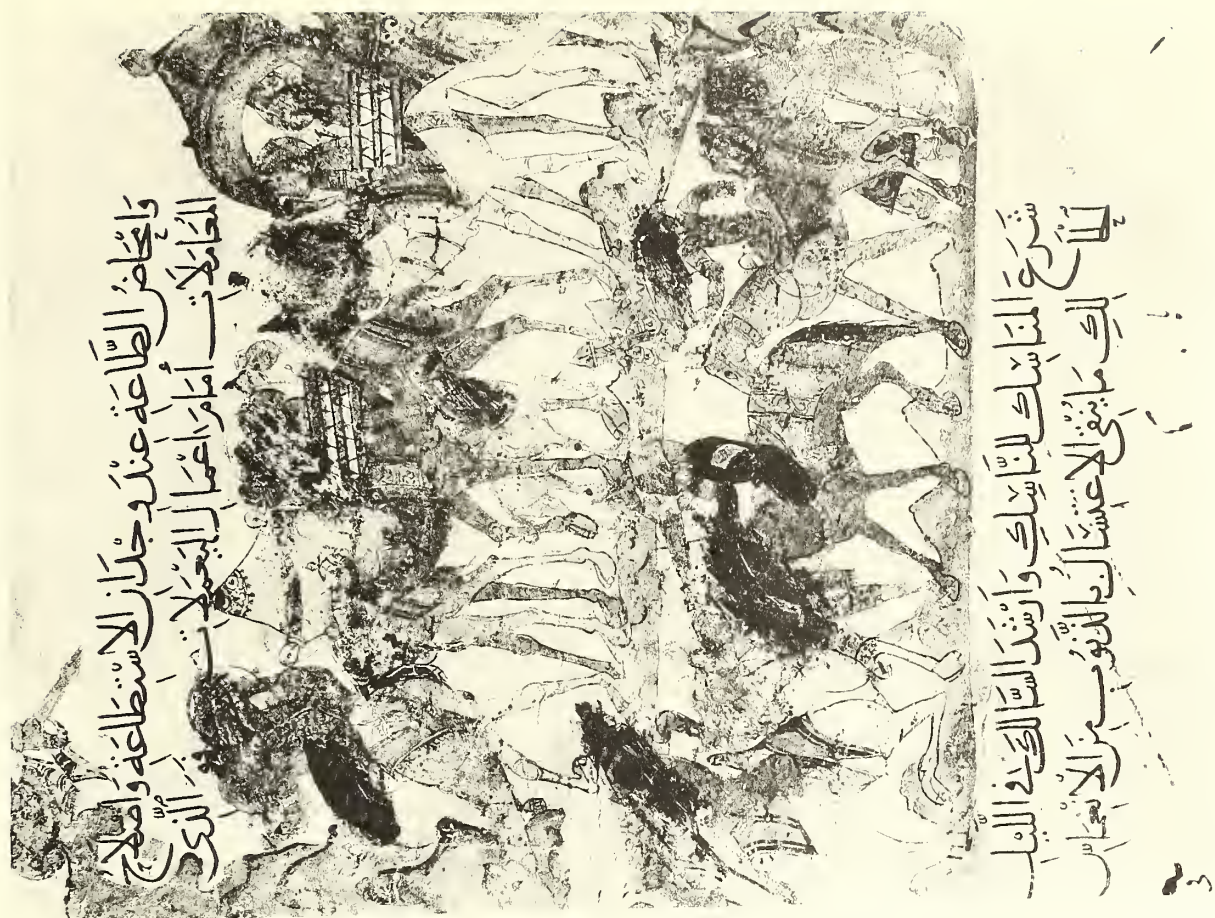


FIG. 22.—FOL. 117v.

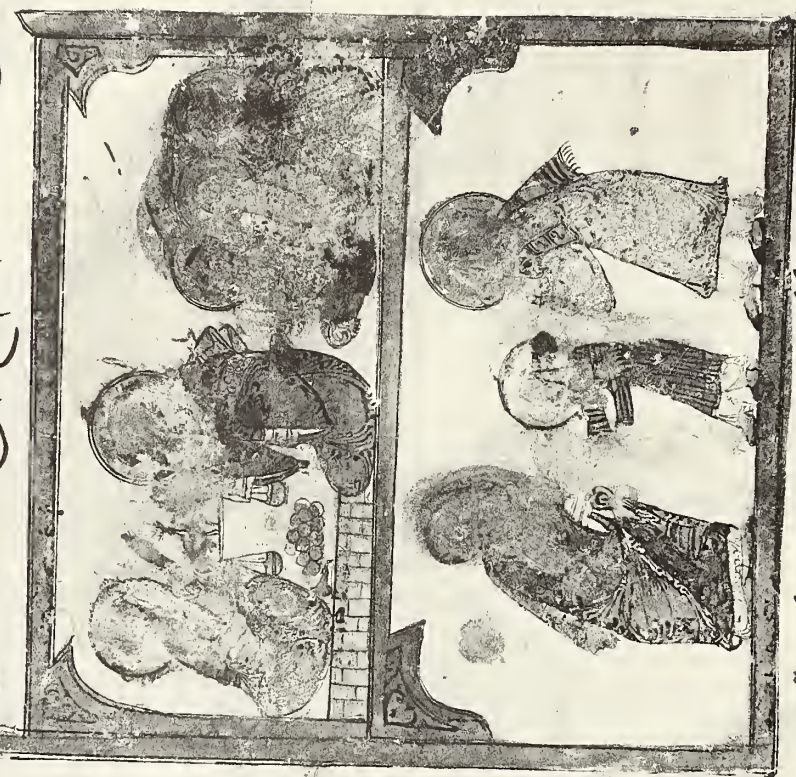


FIG. 21.—FOL. 110.



134

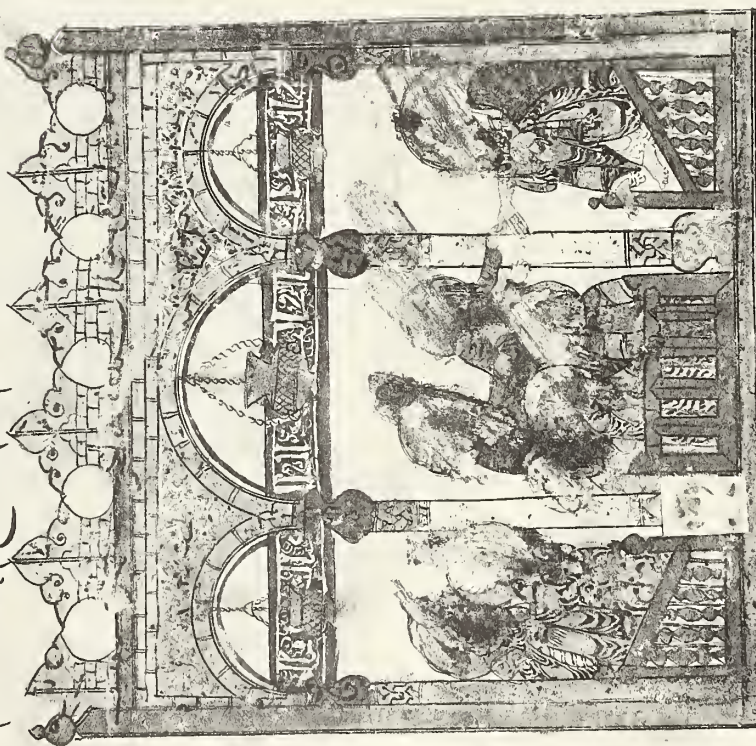
لِيَسْكُنَ وَشَقَّ فَاغَارَ فِي الضَّحَاكِ وَالْجَدَّةِ أَنْفَعَرَ رَأْسَهُ  
 إِلَى وَأَنْشَدَ  
 يَا مَرْيَمُ خَبِّطِي إِذْ لَمْ يَخْرُجْ بِاسْمِي لَهُ مَا هَكَذَا مِنْ بَيْتِي



إِنْ كَانِ لَا يُرْضِيكَ إِلَّا لَشَقَّةٍ فَأَخْزِلْهُ أَنَا أَبُو سَعْدٍ أَنَا أَبُو سَعْدٍ

FIG. 24.—Fol. 134.

وَلَقَدْ كُنْتُ فِي اللَّهِ مِنْ مَلَائِكَةٍ وَمَا لِي وَآلٍ وَلَا فَلَ  
 وَقَالَ وَوَصَّيْنَاكَ قُلْتُ نَزَلَ الْجَوَارِحُ شَيْخٌ وَالنَّوَابِ



تَحْتِ حَتَّى لِيُصْغِرُوا لَمْ يَفْضَرُوا الشَّعْرَ اضْرِبُوا الْحَيْشَ  
 مَرُّوا الصَّبِيَّةِ بِنَصَاعَتِهِ مِنَ الطَّوْلِ وَيَمُوتُ مَصَا صَةِ النَّوَى

FIG. 23.—Fol. 131v.



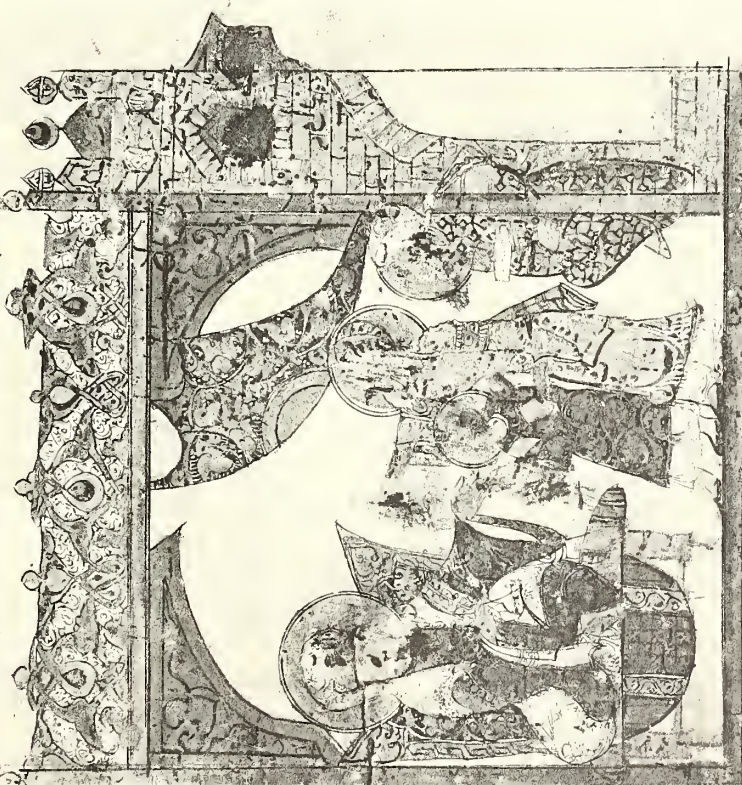
قَدْ كَادَ بِنَاهُ الْعُرَيْنِ فَيَمَّا بِلَسَانِ طَبِيقٍ وَأَمَّا زَانَةٌ مِنْطَبِيقٍ  
تَشَأُ حَبَابَ حَبُوبَةِ الْمُنْتَدِينَ وَقَالَ الْجَحَلُ الْهَمُومُ مِنَ الْمُحْتَدِينَ



فَأَزْدَاهُ الْقَوْمُ لَطْمِيهِ وَلَسُوا أَنْ الْحَرَمَ بِأَصْغَرِيهِ وَأَخَذُوا  
بِتَلْعُورٍ قَصْرٍ لِحَطَابٍ وَيَعْنَدُونَ عَوْدَهُ مِنَ الْإِحْطَابِ

FIG. 26.—Fol. 138v.

الْغَلَاءَ مَرَّ قَدْ بَنَمَكَ فَمَا أَرَعَوَيْتَ وَضَرَّ لَكَ فَمَا وَجَيْتَ  
فَأَشْرَكَ أُمَّ بِلَهْمَكَ وَأَكْنَمَهُ وَلَوْ تَفْسِكَ وَلَا تَلَمَّ



وَجَلَّ مِنْ عَيْتَلَيْهِ وَالطَّسْمُ فِي أَسْتَرْ قَالَهُ فَانْهَ جِرَ الْأَدِيمِ  
غَيْرُ مَعْرُوضٍ لِلتَّقْوِيرِ وَقَدْ كَلَّ أَبُوهُ أَحْضَرَهُ أَمْسَ فَيُفِيلُ

FIG. 25.—Fol. 136v.



141

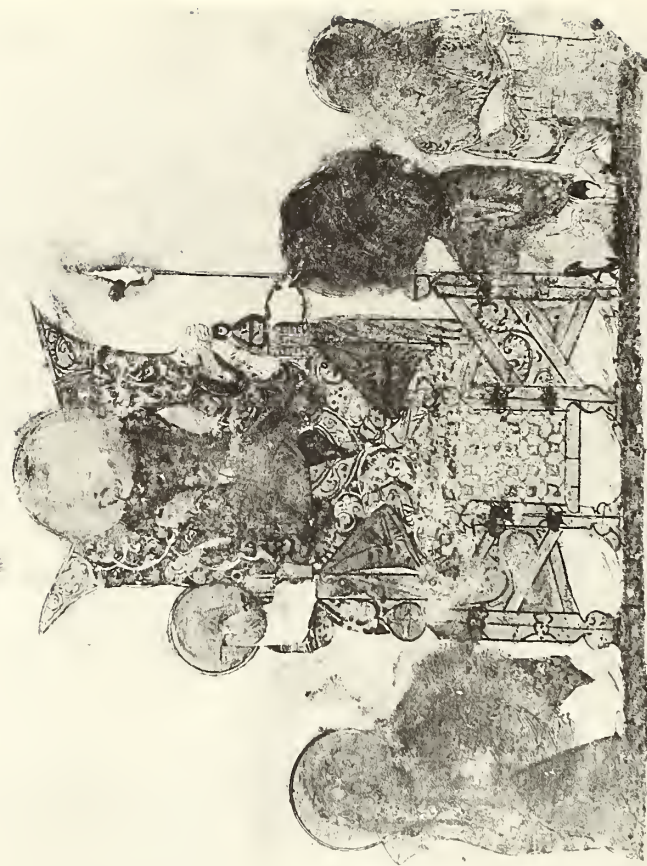
أَوْ شَجُورُ النَّارِ وَصَدَّ إِلَى النَّجَاحِ بِالْمَقَاصَةِ لَقَوْلِ أَذْأَعْبَيْتَ  
بِهِ الْكَلِمَاتِ مَا مِثْلُ النَّوْمِ فَإِنَّهُ نَأْخِذُ السُّهْمَ وَالْقَمَرُ  
وَنَجْنِي الشُّوْكَ وَالْقَمَرُ وَيَبْنِي أَخْرَجْنَا نَشْرُ الْقَيْسِ وَالْقَمَرُ



وَنَشْلُ السُّهْمِ وَالْقَمَرُ طَلَعَ عَلَيْنَا شَيْخٌ قَدْ هَبَّ جَبْرُ

FIG. 27.—FOL. 141.

لِسَاحَتِكَ وَتُسْتَنْزِلُ الرَّاحَةَ مِنْ رَاحَتِكَ وَكَانَ قَضَاكَ  
اللَّهُ عَلَيْكَ عَظِيمًا تَوَاضَعْتُ لِقُدْرَتِكَ بِعَالِ الْأَنْبَارِ



وَعَلِمَ الْأَمْعَشَاتُ بِجَبْرِ شَرَابِ قَضَاكَ مِنْ حَيْثُ لَدَى  
حَالَةٍ رَاحَةٍ أَمْ لَمْ تَخْرُجْ لَكَ دُفْعَةٌ مِنْ جَاهِلِكَ  
رَفْعَةٌ

FIG. 28.—FOL. 150v.



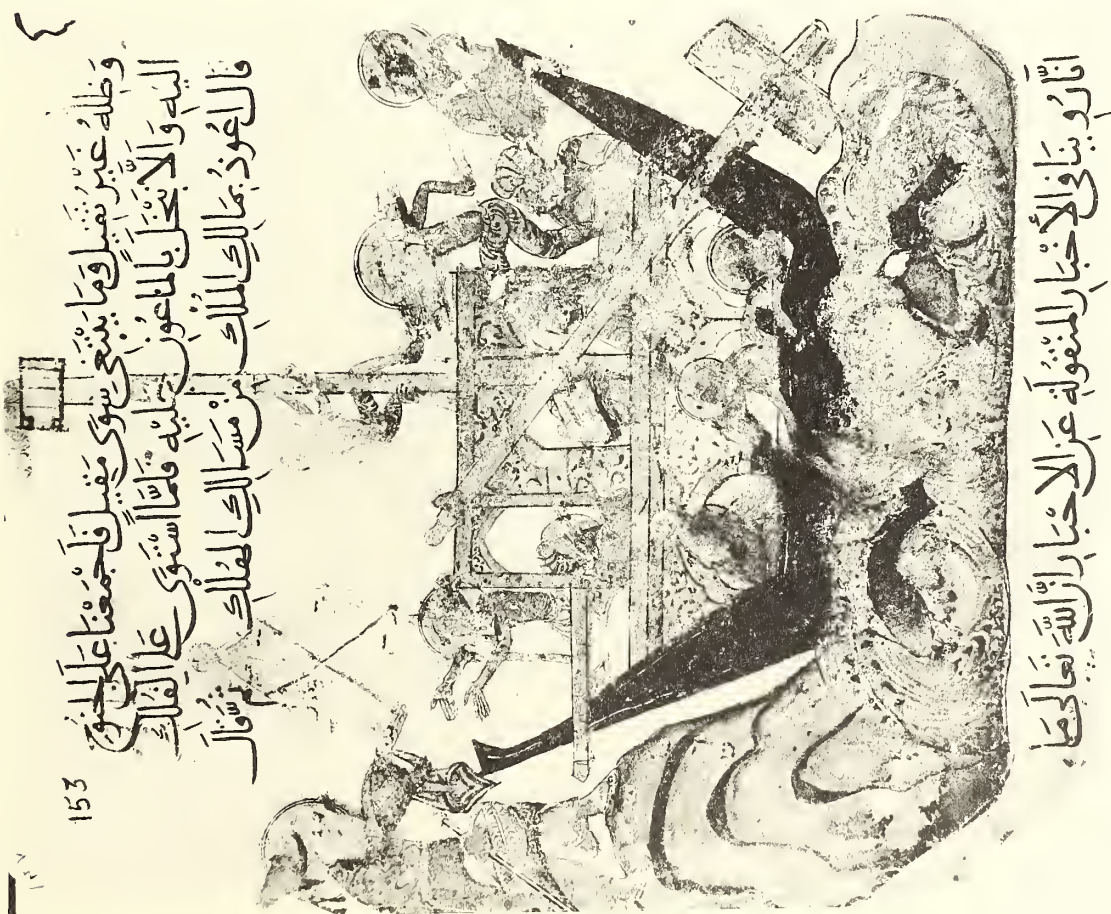
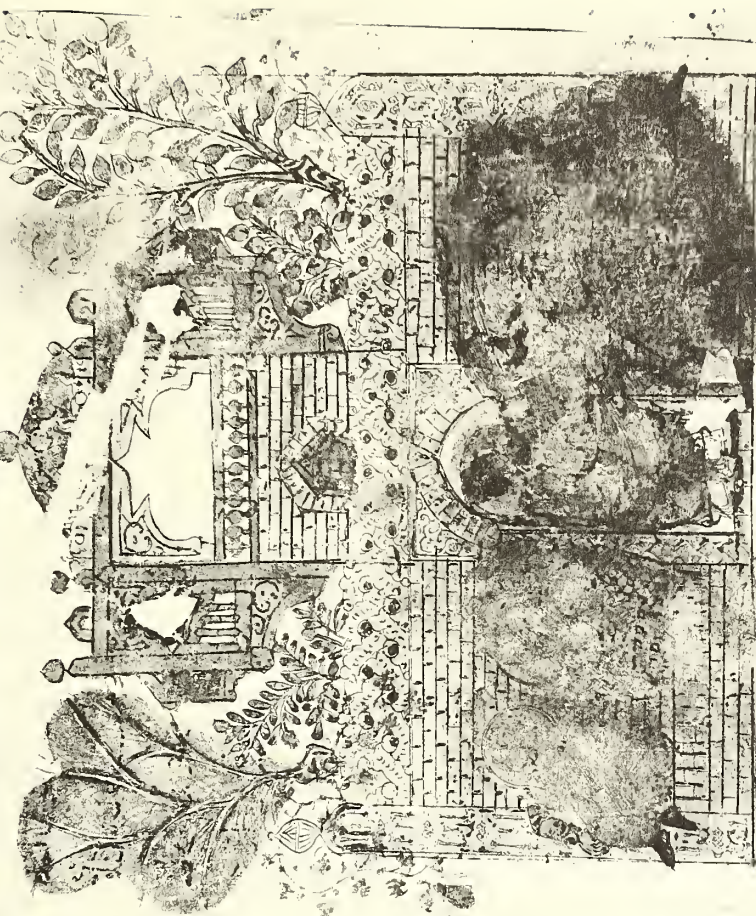


FIG. 29.—Fol. 153.

وص لا يملك قتيلا ولا يمتدك فيها سبيلا فاقبله  
لجوس لها وتنقيا لاهل اقصينا الى قصر مشبك



له باب من جدي ودونه رسة من عجل فاسسناهم  
لنقلهم سلم الى الارقاء وارشيعة للاستنقاء فالقينا كلا

FIG. 30.—Fol. 154v.





FIG. 32.—Fol. 171v.



FIG. 31.—Fol. 167v.





FIG. 34.—Fol. 177v.

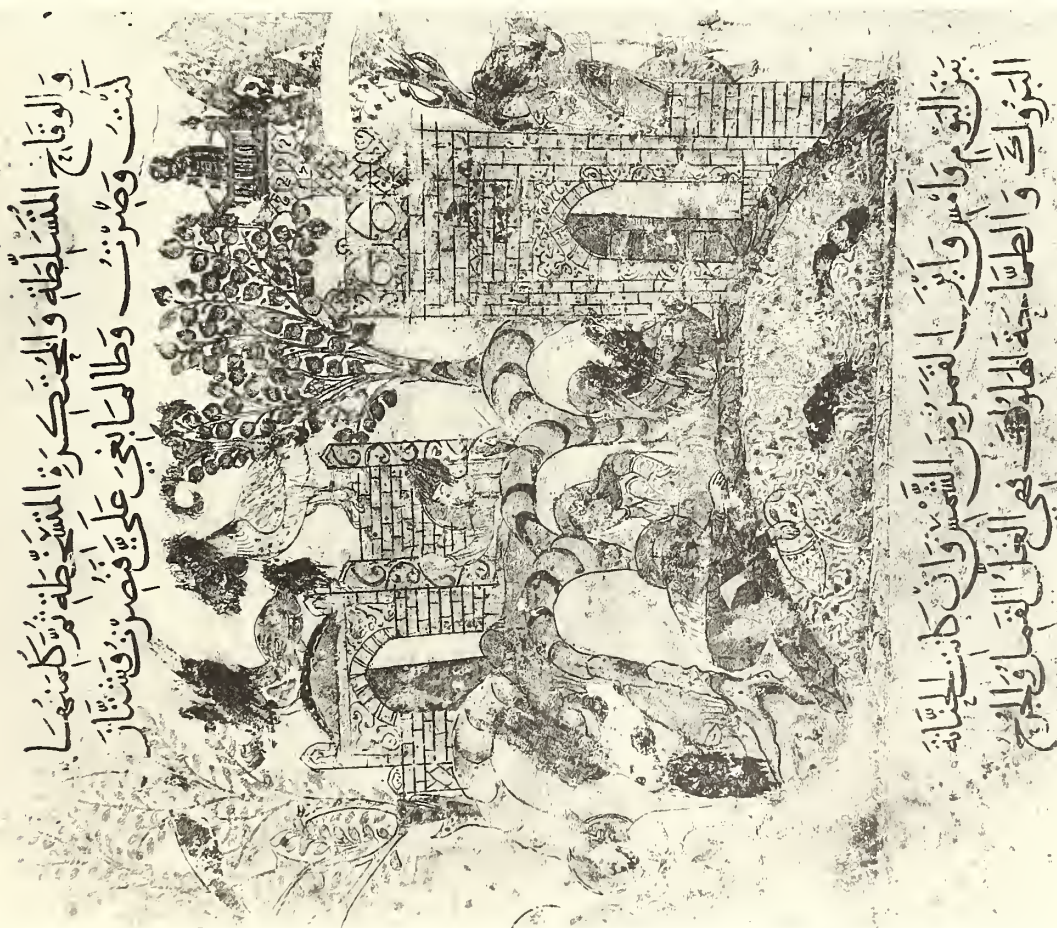


FIG. 33.—Fol. 176





FIG. 35.—FOL. 180.

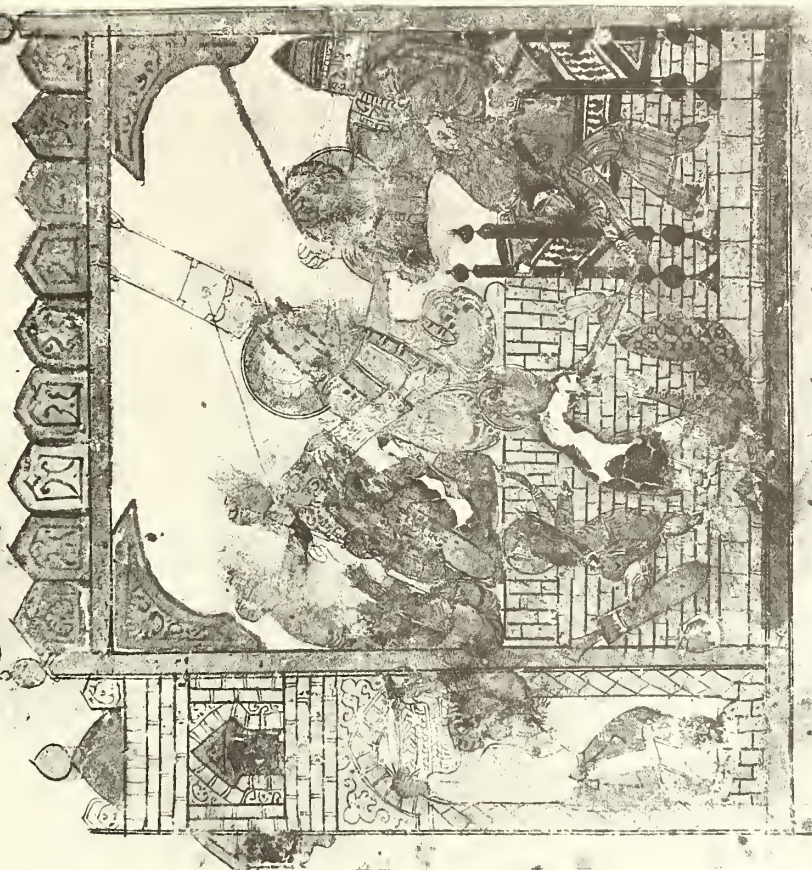


FIG. 36.—FOL. 184v.



192

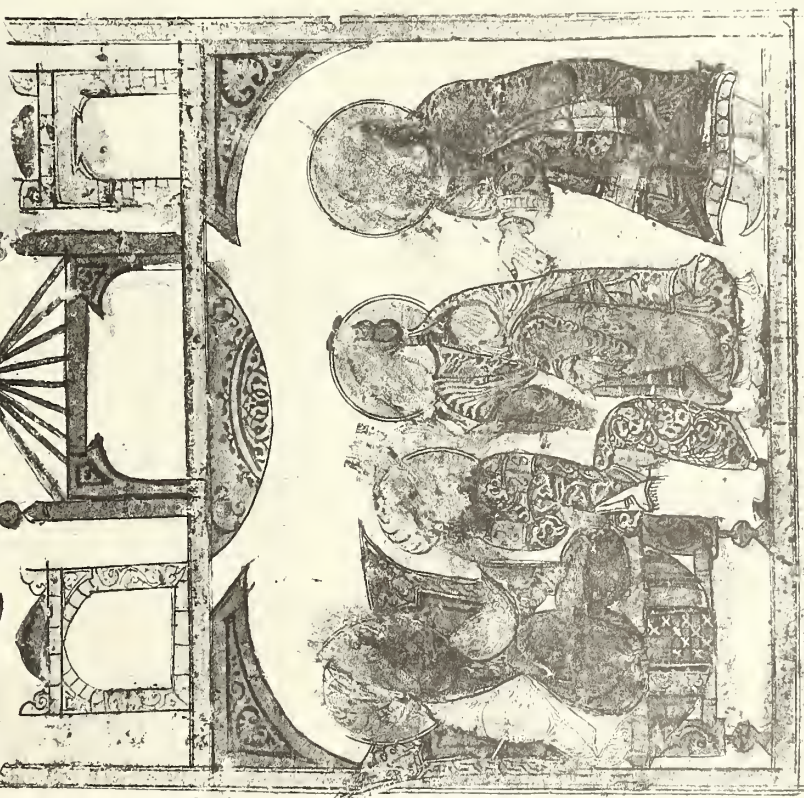
وَأَهْلُ صَلَافٍ وَأَسْعَى وَهَمَّهُ مَا سَرَّ هَلِ الصَّلَاةُ  
مُؤَدَّاهُ كُلُّهُ لِسُوءِ إِلَهٍ وَمَا لَمْ يَسْأَلْهُ مُطْطَبًا



مَا أَتَمَّعَ الْأَمَلُ رَدَّ أَوْلَا مَا ظَلَمَ وَالْمُطَّلُ لَوْ مُصْرَاحُ  
وَلَا أَطْلَعَ الْهُوَ تَأْخُذًا وَلَا كَسَا رَجَاهُ كَغَاثَةٍ رَا حُجَّ

FIG. 38.—FOL. 192.

تَرَفَعَ إِلَهُ تَالِيهِ بِمَا لَقِيَ أَنْتَ حَتَّى الْفَيْسَانِ فِيهِمْ الشَّيْخُ بِالْإِلَامِ  
وَتَبَيَّنَ الرِّسَالَةُ فَدَحْنَتُهُ الْقَتَاةُ مِنَ الْإِفْصَاحِ وَخَمْسًا تَهْ



عَبْرَ الشَّجَاعِ

تَوَصَّصَتْ عَنْهَا فَضْلَةً لِبُوشَا حُجَّ وَأَشْدَقَتْ  
بِلِسَانِ الشَّيْخِ الْوَاقِعِ

يَا قَا حُجَّ

FIG. 37.—FOL. 188v.



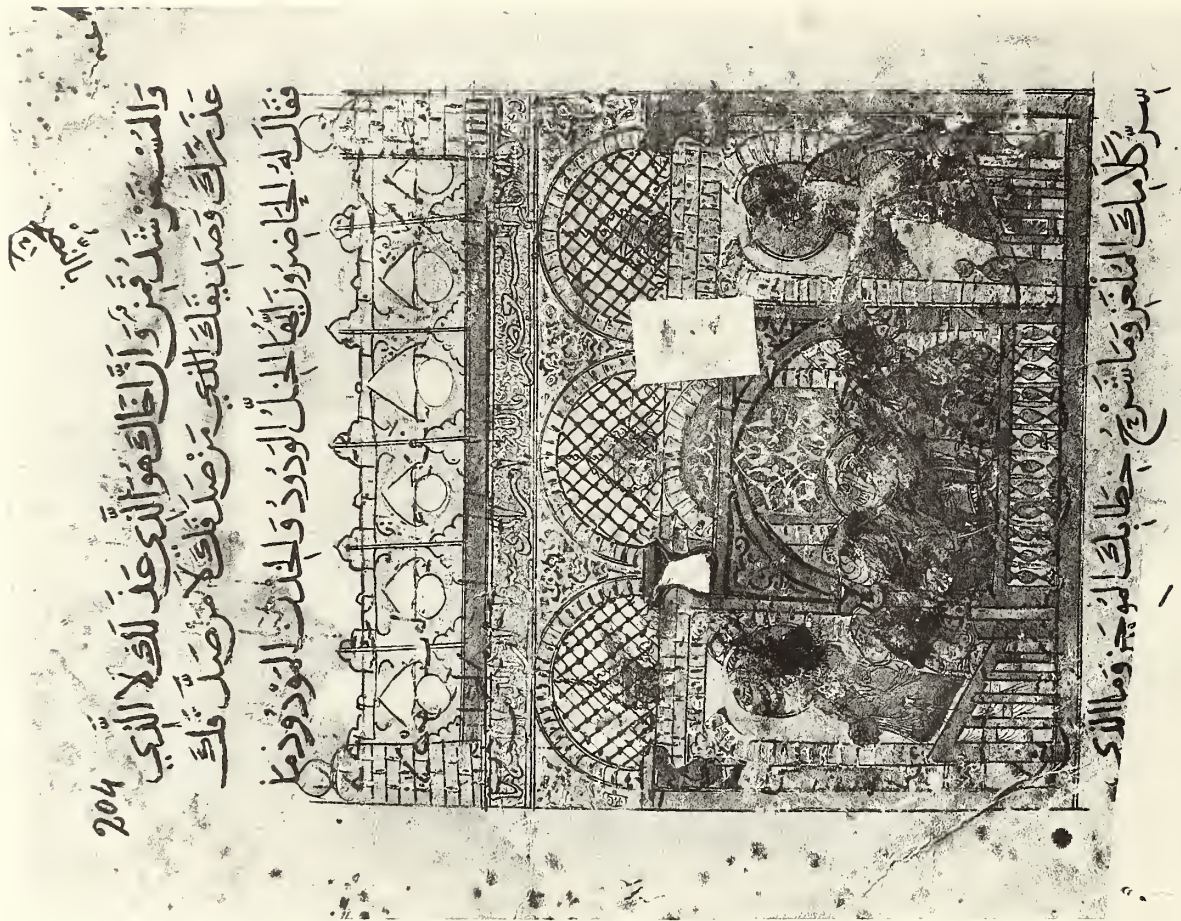


FIG. 40.—FOL. 204.



FIG. 39.—FOL. 198.



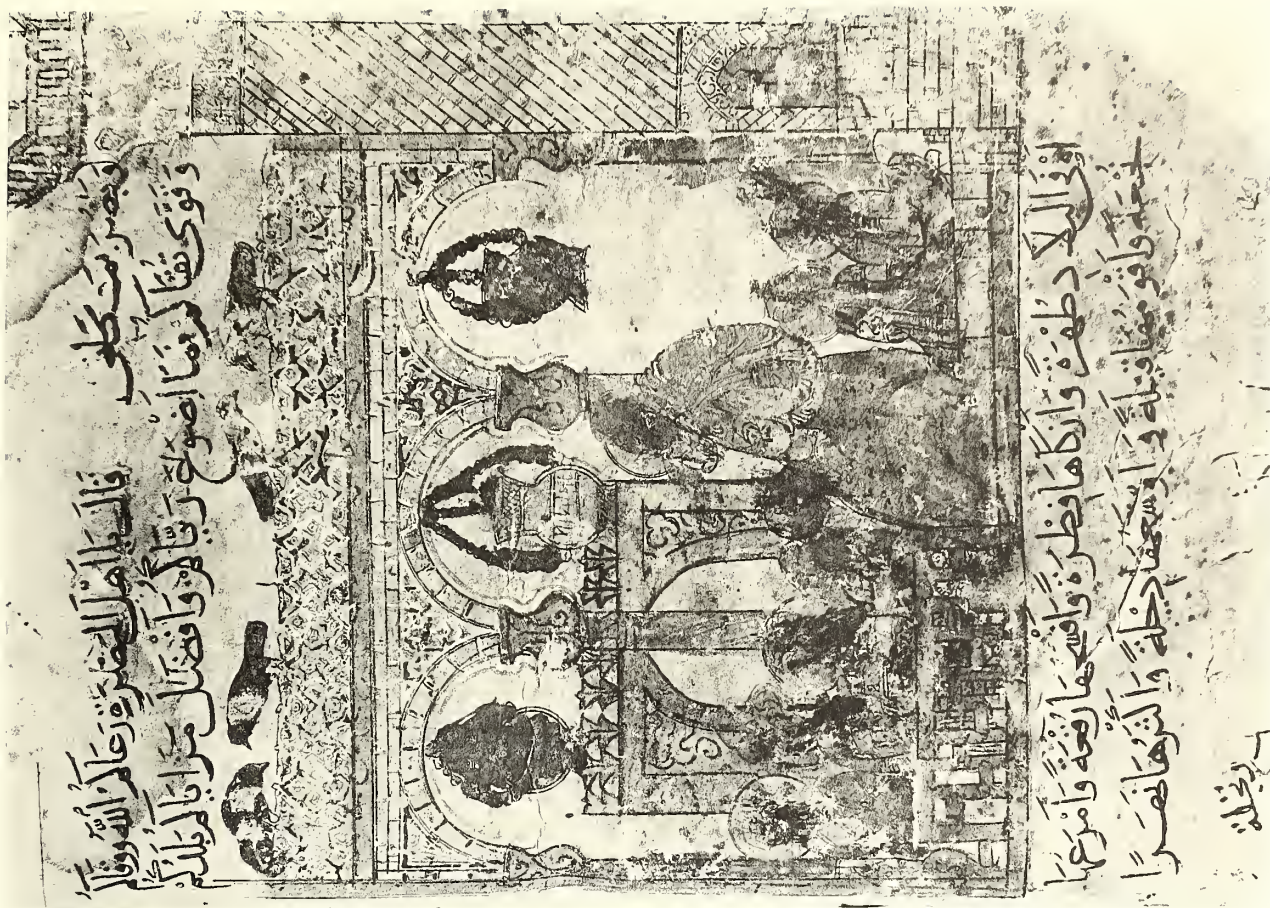


FIG. 42.—Fol. 211v.



FIG. 41.—Fol. 207v.







different and interesting decorative design on the façade of the building. A study of these architectural façades has not yet been made, even though it would probably lead to interesting results for the little-known secular architecture of the Near East in the 12th and 13th centuries.<sup>14</sup> It would therefore be premature to indulge now in speculations about the possible origins of this type of architecture, so completely different from all other architectural types known in *Maqāmāt* manuscripts, but not unlike those of certain contemporary Persian ceramics.<sup>15</sup>

31. The image on folio 167v uses the forty-second *maqāmāh* for another variation on the theme of the group of people arguing with Abu Zayd. Its uniqueness consists in that it is particularly lively and that one of the personages is set in a tree. While there are iconographic parallels to the latter in Christian imagery, its occurrence here may perhaps be explained by the statement in the text that this particular assembly was "thronged and densely crowded."<sup>16</sup>

32. Fol. 171v contains an often illustrated scene from the forty-third *maqāmāh* in which Abu Zayd and al-Ḥārith are seen resting after a night of camel riding. Practically all manuscripts show one of the heroes lying and the other one standing, and the variations in them concern the nature of the landscape. Here, as could now be expected, the rocky landscape is particularly developed and, once more, seems to include features belonging to different traditions. The two trees are typical of other contemporary Arabic manuscripts, but the hills with their wavelike knolls are much closer to

some early and still insufficiently explained Persian landscapes,<sup>17</sup> although the Leningrad image illustrating the same subject (p. 285) has a related type of hill.

33. Fol. 176 has an illustration of the same *maqāmāh*, which, once again, relates our manuscript to the Leningrad and Schefer manuscripts. The most passing reference in the text<sup>18</sup> to the arrival of Abu Zayd and al-Ḥārith in a village is used in these three manuscripts for an extraordinary representation of village life, with its mosque, its houses, its animals, and its manifold activities. The three images vary and yet possess peculiarly similar details (such as the spinner to the right of our picture who is found in almost the same position in the Schefer manuscript), which argue for some common source of inspiration. As far as the Istanbul page is concerned, it is worth pointing out once again that the artist has used the rocks to the left of his image as a device for giving a sense of depth to the whole scene by separating the two major architectural elements and by introducing a man with a cow between the rocks. A last point to be made about this image is that it is inserted in a part of the text which takes place long before the arrival of the heroes in the village (cf. the commentary to the following image).

34. Fol. 177v contains in reality an illustration of the same subject, from the same *maqāmāh*, but this time at its correct place in the text. The first difference between this and the preceding image is that here the protagonists of the story, al-Ḥārith, Abu Zayd, and a local "lad," are more prominent. The second difference lies in the primitive and simplified character of the village shown here; its houses look like caves. The existence of two illustrations of exactly the same subject is

<sup>14</sup> One of the few studies is that of K. Erdmann, *Seraybauten*, *Ars Orientalis*, vol. 3, 1959, which deals only with Anatolia.

<sup>15</sup> One may compare our building with A. U. Pope, *A survey of Persian art*, London, 1939, vol. 5, pl. 675.

<sup>16</sup> Vol. 2, p. 114.

<sup>17</sup> For instance, the plate referred to in note 15.

<sup>18</sup> Vol. 2, p. 130.

quite important for an understanding of the manuscript. It is typical of the Leningrad manuscript, where, quite consistently throughout the book, we meet with such duplications generally with only minor changes from one image to the other. In the case of the Istanbul manuscript the difference in character between the two images suggests that the illustrator had several models to work from and that these models varied in type and quality. But, if so, why is there really only one pair of images in which this presumed reliance on two different models is so apparent? To this question as well as to an explanation of the peculiarities of the Leningrad image one will be able to answer only after a more thorough study has been made of the exact manner of working of a 13th-century illustrator. Or we may adopt an alternate explanation proposed by Dr. Ettinghausen: fol. 177v is a sort of closeup of fol. 176, in which only the pond and dwellings in the foreground center of fol. 176 are depicted.

35. Fol. 180 illustrates a "tent-party" described in the forty-fourth *maqāmah*. Here again the image uses the typical formula of two planes set above each other and united at the side. In its depiction of the killing of a camel—not mentioned in the text—it follows an iconographic pattern already established in the Schefer manuscript (fol. 140), where the scene is illustrated on two pages facing each other in the manner common to that manuscript.<sup>19</sup>

36. Fol. 184v illustrates the end of the same *maqāmah*, when Abu Zayd addresses a poem to his camel. The scene has often been illustrated and the only point worth noting here again is the peculiar nature of the landscape.

37. Fol. 188v illustrates another scene in front of a judge, as described in the forty-fifth

*maqāmah*. The image is quite characteristic of a number of interior scenes of the same type in other manuscripts, but is curious here in that it is much simpler than previous images of similar subjects.

38. Fol. 192 contains the representation of a school, in which Abu Zayd appears as the teacher (forty-sixth *maqāmah*). We are back here to an architecture which includes an entrance with a personage. It also has some uncommon details, such as the bastinado applied to some unfortunate pupil.

39. Fol. 198 has an image of the barber-shop around which the story of the forty-seventh *maqāmah* takes place. With its elaborate shop and the throng of people around it, the image is quite similar to the ones found in the Schefer and Leningrad manuscripts. It differs from these in having divided the on-lookers into two groups instead of putting them in a circle and in the curiously vivid detail of two mongrels fighting in front of the shop.

40. The image of fol. 204 illustrates a speech in a mosque, as described in the forty-eighth *maqāmah*. The mosque as such is similar to other mosques in this and other manuscripts. The most important point about this miniature, however, is that its mosque contains an inscription mentioning the caliph al-Musta'şim:

... ومولانا الامام المعتصم بالله امير المؤمنين ادام  
الله ايامه ...

"... and our lord the *imām* al-Musta'şim billāh, Commander of the Faithful, may God prolong his days." Two points are important about this inscription. First it must obviously be related to the celebrated inscription on fol. 164v of the Schefer manuscript with its mention of al-Musta'şim's father, the caliph al-Mustanşir, which occurs on an illustration of the fiftieth *maqāmah*. Second, this inscription provides us with the date of the manuscript.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. note 5 above.



Since it assumes that the caliph was still alive, the manuscript must have been made between the end of 1242 (Jumāda II 640) and 1258 (656), when al-Musta'ṣim was killed by the Mongols. A small digression may be made here. The inscription in the Schefer manuscript has often been used to imply that the mosque on which it was set was in fact the celebrated Mustanṣiriyyah in Baghdad and this has been used as an argument to attribute the manuscript to the 'Abbāsid capital. Aside from the facts that the Schefer miniature in no way reflects what is known of the architecture of the Mustanṣiriyyah and that the story of the fiftieth *maqāmāh* does not take place in Baghdad, the present inscription proves conclusively that the Schefer one did not refer to a specific building, but was simply a reference to the caliph ruling at the time of the composition of the manuscript. For there is no mosque of al-Musta'ṣim which would have acquired the prestige and reputation of his father's construction in Baghdad. Hence, also, the inscriptions cannot be used to support a Baghdadi origin for the manuscripts. This is not to say, of course, that the manuscripts were not made in Baghdad, but simply that their localization in that particular city must be based on other arguments.

41. Fol. 207v shows Abu Zayd making his farewell speech to his son (forty-ninth *maqāmāh*); there is nothing unusual in this image.

42. On fol. 211v we find another mosque scene illustrating this time the fiftieth *maqāmāh*. The mosque itself is not much different from other mosques and the main interest of the image lies in the curious group of two birds set on the roof of the building.

Before concluding with a few general remarks on the manuscript, it may be worthwhile to list the miniatures which have not been illustrated. The number of the illustrated *maqāmāh* is given in parenthesis: 12(4); 24v

(8); 31(10); 36v(12); 39(12); 52(16); 58v(18); 108v(29); 113(30); 116v(31); 121(32); 146v(37); 157v(40); 165(41). The statistical results of these lists are that 46 *maqāmāt* are illustrated (the missing ones are 1, 2, 3, and 7), 8 have two illustrations, and 1 (43) has three.

From this brief description of the 42 sufficiently well-preserved miniatures in the Istanbul manuscript and from the comparisons to which they have led, a certain number of conclusions and problems emerge.

We are dealing with a manuscript written and illustrated between 1242 and 1258, possibly in Baghdad. All of its illustrations belong to what may be called "expanded" images, i.e., images which are not simple running illustrations of the actions of the text (as are, in most instances, those of a manuscript like Paris, ar. 3929), but which are conscious attempts at compositions inspired by the text and often intermingled with various aspects of contemporary life. The nature of the text led, of course, to repetitions within these images: groups in nature, in mosques, and so forth, but exact repetitions are somewhat rarer here than in other manuscripts. These characteristics closely relate the Istanbul manuscript to two other illustrated versions of the *Maqāmāt*, the Paris Schefer manuscript and the Leningrad one. Of the two, it is the Leningrad manuscript which is most closely allied to ours, as we have seen in a number of details. Furthermore, the Paris manuscript is less consistently involved in "expanded" images and has certain peculiarities of composition which need not concern us here, but which are quite different from what is found in the Istanbul and Leningrad versions. This is not to say, however, that the Istanbul manuscript derives from the same iconographic source as the Leningrad manuscript. There is almost no instance where their images are

exactly alike, although it can be shown that there were models available to the artist of the Istanbul manuscript. It would be more appropriate to say that all three manuscripts are the product of the same "mood" of the time, a mood which contrived to have the artists use the story of the *Maqāmāt* for the depiction of their surroundings. How this came about and especially why it is the *Maqāmāt* that were chosen for these purposes—a work which was appreciated for its verbal qualities and not for the incidents of its stories—is a subject which is beyond my task of presenting a new manuscript, but one to which I hope to return in the near future.<sup>20</sup> The point of significance, however, is that, in addition to their artistic merit, unfortunately much tarnished by the greatly damaged state of most manuscripts, the illustrated *Maqāmāt*, and especially the three manuscripts with "expanded" images, are major documents for the social and cultural history of the Arab world just before the Mongol conquest and must be studied iconographically, something which has been done only too rarely so far.<sup>21</sup>

Our remarks on the individual images also brought out some significant conclusions with respect to the style of the manuscript. In certain aspects it is obviously quite closely related to the style of other 13th-century *Maqāmāt* illustrations. Personages with large heads, vivid facial features, and simplified bodies at times shown in action by violent, if puppet-like, movements of arms; heavily patterned costume and squatted poses; artificial treelike floral combinations; architectural compositions of large rectangular frames with a few precise additions such as rolling roofs, balconies, and

doorways; the grouping of personages in rows or in masses; a tendency to divide a scene into two planes one above the other as a formula for spatial representation; all these features are characteristic of most *Maqāmāt* manuscripts, and especially of the three with expanded imagery. But there are two areas in which the Istanbul images introduce a more original style. First, in a number of scenes there are attempts at more complex means of representing depth of field. In purely architectural scenes, the position of the personages, the shape of certain parts (railings, friezes with inscription, stairs) introduce a sense of spatial depth in a building which is practically unknown in the Schefer manuscript, although not uncommon and often quite artful in the Leningrad one. In other places, such as on fol. 176, elements of landscape and architecture are consciously set on separate planes each of which is like a two-dimensional theatrical flat but whose combination is expected to give a sense of receding planes. The same technique is used in pure landscapes, such as on fol. 141. It is quite true that both the Schefer and the Leningrad manuscripts have used various devices to bring out this sense of depth, and, especially in the latter, some extraordinary compositions were thereby achieved. But it is almost never that we can find this particular technique which was destined to a great future in later Near Eastern painting. Second, landscape almost for its own sake and without any particular reference to textual needs appears here more often than in the other manuscripts. Also the character of this landscape differs from what we find in other manuscripts. The technique of painting hillocks (as on fols. 153, 171v, 184) in thick dark wavelike strokes almost parallel to each other is comparatively rare in *Maqāmāt* manuscripts, although it does occur on certain Dioscorides. Nor do we find commonly the addition of animals to the landscape.

<sup>20</sup> The author gave a preliminary paper on this subject at the twenty-fifth Congress of Orientalists in Moscow in August 1960. A summary will be published in the proceedings of the Congress.

<sup>21</sup> The two exceptions are the two articles by D. S. Rice mentioned above.



The importance of these peculiarities in the Istanbul manuscript is that many among them are characteristic of the first century of Persian painting which flourished after the Mongol invasion and which is represented at different levels of quality by the Rashīd al-Dīn manuscripts, the Demotte *Shāh-nāmeh*, and especially some of the so-called small *Shāh-nāmehs*.<sup>22</sup> The implication is, therefore, either that our artist was influenced by certain existing Iranian artistic traditions of the 13th century other than the pitifully few known today,<sup>23</sup> or that it is the style expressed in this particular group of Arab paintings which was later taken over and developed by the Persian painters.

<sup>22</sup> L. Binyon, J. V. S. Wilkinson, B. Gray, *Persian miniature painting*, London, 1933, pls. XVI, XXIII, XXIV; B. Gray, *Persian painting*, Geneva, 1961, p. 59.

<sup>23</sup> The latest discovery is that of the *Warqah and Gulshāh* manuscript also in Istanbul, A. Ateş, *Ars Orientalis*, vol. 4, 1961; and one should also study ceramic iconography for evidence of influence from miniatures.

This is not to say, of course, that these themes are predominant. In general the style of the Istanbul manuscript corresponds to that of the other known versions of the same text. Yet its specific peculiarities are worth noting, for they provide it with its most original features and permit us to broaden our view of the various styles which were at work in the main centers of the Arabic-speaking world before the Mongol conquest.

These considerations make one all the more regretful that the manuscript has not been preserved in better condition. In this preliminary report only some of its iconographic and stylistic characteristics have been brought out. Their elaboration can be made only in the framework of a more complete study of the style and iconography of all *Maqāmāt* manuscripts, which we hope to have completed in the near future. In the meantime, the manuscript discovered by Dr. Ettinghausen must take its place among the more important works of the 13th century.





# LES BOIS DE L'ANCIEN MAUSOLÉE DE KHĀLID IBN AL-WALĪD A ĦIMS

PAR ABU-L-FARADJ AL-'USH

## L'ANCIENNE MOSQUÉE DE KHĀLID IBN AL-WALĪD ET SON TOMBEAU

L'ancienne mosquée attribuée à Khālid ibn al-Walīd était située dans un village à un *mil* de la vieille ville,<sup>1</sup> mais maintenant, par suite de l'agrandissement de la ville, le village et son sanctuaire font partie de Ħimş même. Il semble qu'il s'agissait d'une simple mosquée de village, comme le suggèrent deux sources anciennes.<sup>2</sup> Près de la mosquée, ou dans une de ses parties, se trouvait un tombeau que tous les historiens et géographes sauf un croyaient être celui de Khālid b. al-Walid. L'exception est Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umari, qui assure dans son ouvrage<sup>3</sup> que le tombeau n'est pas celui de Khālid ibn al-Walid, mais celui de Khālid ibn Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah, et insiste là-dessus d'une manière fort positive.

À l'époque du sultan al-Malik al-Zāhir Baybars al-Bunduqdāri (658-676 H./ A.D. 1260-77), en 664/1265-66, un mausolée fut bâti à Khālid ibn al-Walid. Le sultan y installa une importante clôture en bois (*siyāj khashabi*)<sup>4</sup> autour de son tombeau, à la suite de la victoire qu'il remporta sur les Arméniens à Sis.

<sup>1</sup> Al-Qurṭubī al-Mālikī (m. 463/1070-71), *al-Istī'āb fī 'asmā' al-aṣḥāb*; l'auteur y émet des doutes sur l'endroit de la mort et de l'ensevelissement de Khālid ibn al-Walid. Le passage est publié en marge de Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Iṣābah fī tamīz al-ṣaḥābah*, p. 408.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Kathīr (m. 774/1372-73), *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihayah*, vol. 8, p. 115, qui lui aussi émet des doutes semblables.

<sup>3</sup> Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umari (700-748/1301-49), *Masālik al-'Abṣār*, Cairo, 1924, p. 221.

<sup>4</sup> Il serait plus correct d'employer le mot *siyāj*, pour dire *clôture*, mais le mot n'est pas très courant.

Des boiseries restant de ce mausolée citons deux planches (Pl. I, figs. 1 and 2) portant des inscriptions que nous mentionnerons en détail, par la suite. Ces inscriptions indiquent que "al-Malik al-Zāhir ordonna la construction de ce mausolée . . . lors de son passage à Ħimş pour (accueillir) les guerriers (revenant) de Sis, au mois de *dhū al-Ḥijjah* de l'année 664." Si nous revenons aux sources contemporaines qui traitent le sujet, nous en trouvons deux beaucoup plus précises que les autres<sup>5</sup> sur les relations d'al-Malik al-Zāhir et des Francs à Ṣafad puis des Arméniens à Sis.

Suivons les chroniques depuis 661 H./ 1262-63 ap. J.-C. jusqu'à 664 H./1266; nous analyserons, par la suite, le contenu de ces deux textes.

En 661/1262-63, le Gouverneur de Sis, le Takfūr<sup>6</sup> Hitūm<sup>7</sup> b. Constantin b. Bassāk<sup>8</sup> assaillit la Syrie du Nord et s'appropriâ les villes de al-'Amq, al-Ma'arraḥ Sarmin et al-Fū'ah où il sema le désordre. Sis,<sup>9</sup> centre d'un

<sup>5</sup> Abū al-Fidā', *Al Mukhtaṣar fī Akhbār al-Bashar*, Constantinople, 1286 H.; Al-Maqrizī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, Cairo, 1936.

<sup>6</sup> Le titre de "Roi des Arméniens" veut dire celui qui possède une couronne royale "*Tak-Tāj*=couronne."

<sup>7</sup> Hitūm (avec un *tā'*) mentionné par al-Maqrizī, vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 551; cf. Abū al-Fidā' qui l'a mentionné avec *thā'*, vol. 4, p. 3.

<sup>8</sup> al-Maqrizī; quant à Abū al-Fidā', il lui donna le nom de son grand père (Basile) mais les chroniqueurs arméniens écrivirent *vassag*.

<sup>9</sup> Yāqūt (décédé en 626/1228-29) dans son livre *Mu'jam al-Buldān sub Sīsiyah*: ". . . tous ses habitants l'appellent Sis . . ." Yāqūt rapporte, d'après al-Wāqidī (décédé en 238/852) que "les habitants de Sis, les Arméniens, émigrèrent de cette ville lors de la conquête arabe de 93 ou 94/711-713 et s'instal-

royaume arménien fondé en Cilicie, située au Nord de la région d'Alexandrette, devint à nouveau, un centre de Croisades.

Cette agression eut lieu lorsque l'état arabe était préoccupé au Sud par un combat avec les Croisés occidentaux.

C'est au mois de *shawwāl* de l'année 664/ Juillet 1266 que le sultan al-Zāhir Baybars conquiert Şafad. Lors de la distribution des butins, il attribua comme "Waḳf"—legs pieux—un des villages de Şafad au mausolée de Khālid b. al-Walid à Ḥimş.<sup>10</sup>

Après la conquête de Şafad, l'armée arabe se dirigea vers Damas et descendit à Jassūrah dans les environs de cette ville; (le site est inconnu aujourd'hui et Yāqūt ne l'a pas mentionné). Le Sultan al-Zāhir donna l'ordre qu'aucun soldat n'entre Damas, mais que l'armée reste<sup>11</sup> sur place jusqu'au jour de son déplacement vers Sis.

Le Gouverneur de Ḥamā, al-Malik al-Manşūr, prit la tête de l'armée qu'il dirigea vers Sis le 5 *dhū al-Qa'dah* (Août 1266).

Le Takfūr Hitūm entreprit d'importantes fortifications, construisit des tours aux sommets des montagnes<sup>12</sup> et fortifia les routes à l'aide de chasseurs et de balistes. Il emmena son armée et ses deux fils par ces routes<sup>13</sup> mais l'armée arabe<sup>14</sup> traversa ces fortifications et

lèrent dans les hautes régions d'Asie Mineure les plus éloignées."

<sup>10</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 548.

<sup>11</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *ibid.*, vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 549. L'intention du Sultan al-Zāhir était que les musulmans poursuivent leur chemin à fin de continuer leur combat contre les agresseurs. Le Sultan punit les soldats qui osèrent négliger son ordre.

<sup>12</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 551.

<sup>13</sup> Abu al-Fida', vol. 4, p. 3, suppose que ce sont les routes conduisant à Sis. Je suppose qu'il s'agit des vallées conduisant à la ville.

<sup>14</sup> La conquête eut lieu au mois de *dhū al-Qa'dah*/Août, date confirmée par les chroniques arméniennes. Ceci m'a été affirmé par mon ami M. Serge Karabétian qui étudie méticuleusement les relations arabo-

remporta une victoire retentissante sur l'ennemi. L'un des deux fils de Hitūm (nommé Tourūs) mourut; son frère Livon (Léon) fut capturé avec un grand nombre de guerriers.

Le chroniqueur arménien Sempad mentionna que Hitūm était absent quand les Arabes envahirent Sis; il était allé demander l'aide des chefs des Mongols.

L'armée arabe s'en retourna et le Sultan al-Zāhir Baybars, apprenant la glorieuse victoire, partit de Damas le 13 *dhū al-Ḥijjah*<sup>15</sup> 664/Août 1266, passa par Qāra<sup>16</sup> (village situé entre Damas et Ḥimş à 93 km de Damas), résolut une affaire qu'on lui avait soumise, puis continua son chemin—d'après le récit d'Abū al-Fidā'—vers Ḥimş, Ḥamā, et Apamée<sup>17</sup> où il rencontra l'armée victorieuse.

Al-Maqrīzī ne parle pas de son passage à Ḥimş et à Ḥamā ni de son arrivée à Apamée, mais il évoque, tout de suite après, l'affaire de Qāra, sa rencontre avec l'armée victorieuse et son retour à Damas le 14 *dhū al-Ḥijjah*.

Si l'on croyait le récit d'al-Maqrīzī, on en concluerait que le Sultan al-Zāhir ne traversa pas Ḥimş, comme il a été dit dans les inscriptions des deux planches en bois, car il est impossible qu'il soit arrivé à Ḥimş (distante de Damas d'environ 162 km) et retourné à Damas en une journée. Nous repoussons donc l'hypothèse des textes, étant donné que son passage à Ḥimş a été cité par les deux inscriptions; il est certain que ce passage créa un grand bruit dans la ville, dont se souvint le responsable de

arméniennes; il m'a affirmé que la bataille eut lieu exactement le 24 Août 1266. Je suis heureux de dire ici que M. Karabétian m'a donné quelques intéressants renseignements provenant des chroniqueurs arméniens; comme Sempad qu'il veuille bien trouver mes meilleurs remerciements.

<sup>15</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 55.

<sup>16</sup> Cité par les géographes et les chroniqueurs arabes (Qāra avec un *alif* final) alors que nous l'écrivons aujourd'hui avec un *tā marbūṭah*.

<sup>17</sup> D'après Abū al-Fidā' *Fāmiah* même à l'origine.



la construction du mausolée ou le calligraphe qui écrivit les inscriptions sur les planches, même après un long laps de temps.

Le Sultan al-Zāhir, voulant immortaliser cette glorieuse victoire, ordonna la construction de l'important mausolée (*turbah*) du héros Khālīd b. al-Walīd comme nous l'avons mentionné, et lui attribua comme *Waqf* un des villages de Ṣafad pour pourvoir à son entretien.

Enfin, après avoir suivi les événements historiques qui concernent la construction du mausolée, nous aimerions rappeler que le texte<sup>18</sup> relatif à la construction est incompréhensible. On peut y relever des fautes de langue très importantes, attestant la faiblesse du niveau de la langue arabe à cette époque et une équivoque mystérieuse :

1. Il est dit dans le texte : *'ubūrih 'ala Ĥimṣ* (son passage à Ĥimṣ) ; on dit en arabe *'abara al-madīnah*, non pas *'ala al-madīnah*.

2. *arba'ah*, quatre, est faux ; *arba'* est exact.

3. *māyah*, cent, est connu à cette époque, alors que *mi'ah* est exact ; on ajoutait le *alif* après le *mīm* pour distinguer entre deux mots, par exemple *mi'ah* et *minhu* et c'était un temps où les écrivains se souciaient peu des signes diacritiques des lettres, alors que ces signes furent utilisés au temps d'al-Ḥajjāj, à l'époque omeyyade, mais ces derniers ne les employaient que lorsqu'ils les jugeaient utiles par crainte d'équivoque.

L'emploi de l'*alif* dans *mi'ah* persiste de l'époque omeyyade jusqu'à nos jours ; mais changer le *ḥamzah* en *ya'* est faux et force une prononciation fautive.

4. Il n'existe pas de liaison entre *son passage à Ĥimṣ* et les *ghuzāt* ; il faudrait ajouter un mot pour éclaircir la situation. S'agissait-il de l'adieu ou de la réception faite "aux guerriers" ? Il est probable que ce fut à l'occasion de cette dernière, du moins après les chro-

niques. Il serait donc nécessaire de dire : "lors de son passage à Ĥimṣ pour recevoir les conquérants." C'est cette difficulté qui nous a amené à étudier les événements dans le détail. Le traducteur français du *Répertoire* traduisit laconiquement le texte sans comprendre la vraie occasion pour laquelle ce mausolée a été construit ; il écrivit : ". . . pour la guerre au pays de Sis." Le Professeur Wiet donne dans un article<sup>19</sup> une traduction plus précise.

5. Le travail artistique de la boiserie du mausolée par les artistes prouve la longueur du temps mis à la réalisation de cette entreprise.

Serait-il possible de douter de la véracité du texte inscrit sur les deux planches ? Et le passage du Sultan par Ĥimṣ fut-il pas entrepris à l'occasion de l'adieu aux conquérants et non de leur réception ?

En fait, si Abū al-Fidā' n'avait pas parlé du passage du Sultan al-Zāhir par Ĥimṣ et Ḥamā, et de son arrivée à Apamée où il rencontra l'armée victorieuse, il nous aurait été difficile de croire les dires du texte, car le Sultan al-Zāhir fut intéressé par la construction du mausolée de Khālīd b. al-Walīd dès sa victoire remportée à Ṣafad. Nous supposons que la date du commencement de la fondation du mausolée remonte même avant la victoire, car le roi, à notre avis, voulut avoir la bénédiction de l'âme du grand héros et elle serait plus symbolique avant qu'après la victoire.

Ce qui m'obligea à m'intéresser à ce point c'est que le roi al-Ashraf Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl b. Qalā'ūn nous laissa un texte dans le mausolée même de Khālīd b. al-Walīd, sur une planche immortalisant le renouvellement de la fenêtre du mausolée. Sur cette planche, l'occasion précédant la conquête a été précisément citée ("lorsqu'il se dirigea pour la conquête de Qal'at al-Rūm"). Al-Ashraf Khalīl, en pro-

<sup>18</sup> *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe*, vol. 12, pp. 104-105 Nos. 4556 et 4557.

<sup>19</sup> G. Wiet, *Inscriptions de la citadelle de Damas*, Syria, vol. 7, 1926, p. 55.

duisant ce travail, a certainement voulu imiter l'exemple du Sultan al-Zāhir célèbre par de telles entreprises.

Notre but, en rappelant ce point, est d'attirer l'attention sur le fait que l'on doit lire avec circonspection les textes, car leur contenu n'est pas souvent exact.

#### DESCRIPTION DES PLANCHES INSCRITES TROUVÉES DANS LE MAUSOLÉE

Commençons, tout d'abord, par les deux planches inscrites, trouvées dans le mausolée de Khālid b. al-Walīd qui ont immortalisé, à elles seules, l'entreprise du Sultan al-Zāhir Baybars; sans elles, nous aurions ignoré la fondation du cénotaphe et du mausolée.

Ce sont deux planches en bois sur lesquelles sont écrits deux textes semblables ne différant que par la définition de chaque planche et à quelle partie du mausolée elle appartient :

I. Le texte <sup>20</sup> inscrit sur la planche fixée sur la porte du mausolée comprend cinq lignes séparées par d'étroites bandes en relief :

- ١ - بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم أمر بانشائه على حرم  
تربة سيف الله و صاحب رسول الله خالد بن الوليد  
رضي الله
- ٢ - عنه مولانا السلطان الظاهر ركن الدنيا و الدين  
سلطان الاسلام والمسلمين قاتل الكفرة و المشركين  
قاهر الخوارج
- ٣ - و المتمردين [م] حيي العدل في العالمين ملك  
البحرين صاحب القبلتين خا [د] م الحرمين  
الشريفين وارث الملك سلطان العرب و [ال] هجم  
والترك
- ٤ - اسكندر الزمان صاحب القرآن يببرس الصالحي  
قسيم امير المؤمنين أعز الله سلطانه عند عبوره على
- ٥ - [حم] ص للغزاة بلاد سيس وذلك في شهر ذي  
الحجة سنة اربعة [sic] وستين وستماية.

La plaque est rectangulaire. Sa face supérieure est recourbée. Ses dimensions sont 130 cms de

longueur, 73 cms de la base au sommet de l'arc, et 43 cms de côté (*pl. 1, fig. 1*).

II. Le texte <sup>21</sup> inscrit sur la planche fixée près du cénotaphe se compose aussi de cinq lignes séparées par des bandes en relief. La plaque est rectangulaire, 130 cms par 72 cms (*pl. 1, fig. 2*).

- ١ - بسم [ا] الله الرحمن الرحيم أمر بانشائه على  
ضريح سيف الله و صاحب رسول الله صلى الله  
عليه وسلم خالد بن الوليد
- ٢ - رضي الله عنه مولانا السلطان الملك الظاهر  
ركن الدنيا و الدين سلطان الاسلام والمسلمين  
قاتل الكفرة
- ٣ - و [ال] مشر [كي] ن] قاهر الخوارج  
و المة [مر] دين محيي [العدل] في العالمين  
[م] لك <sup>22</sup> البحرين صاحب القبلتين [تين] خادم  
الحر [مين] الشريفين وارث
- ٤ - الملك سلطان العرب والعجم والترك اسكندر  
الزمان صاحب القرآن يببرس الصالحي قسيم امير  
المؤمنين أعز
- ٥ - الله سلطانه عند عبوره على حمص للغزاة بلاد  
سيس وذلك في شهر ذي الحجة سنة اربعة [sic]  
وستين [ن] وستماية.

Les inscriptions sont gravées en *thuluth* <sup>23</sup> et la calligraphie est de qualité pour ce siècle; en fait on peut considérer ces inscriptions parmi les plus belles inscriptions contemporaines. Les lettres et les traits qui séparent les lignes ont été sculptés en relief (*champ-levés*). Les extrémités des lettres sont lisses et s'entremêlent de telle sorte que la partie écrite nous paraît fluctuante (*munsāb*), tandis que les rebords sont bombés (*muḥaddab*).

Il est à remarquer que sur les deux planches les mots pénètrent les uns dans les autres parce que l'artiste a voulu couvrir autant qu'il était

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 4557.

<sup>22</sup> Le texte dit bien *malik* et non pas *mālik* comme dans le *Répertoire*.

<sup>23</sup> Nous reviendrons plus bas sur le sujet du *thuluth* et du *naskhi*.

<sup>20</sup> E. Combe, J. Sauvaget, G. Wiet, *Répertoire d'épigraphie arabe*, Le Caire, 1931 et suiv., No. 4556.



possible l'espace qui était à sa disposition. Cependant il n'a pas pu éviter certains vides entre les mots; ceux-ci ont été remplis par des motifs végétaux en relief, par exemple, une feuille de vigne sur la planche 1, fig. 2.

Les deux planches sont en bois dur coupé en tranches, vraisemblablement du noyer. Elles étaient peintes, mais les couleurs ont en majorité disparu et il ne reste que des traces dont voici la liste pour la première plaque: 1, le cadre est peint en vert; 2, le fond est jaunefoin; 3, sur la première ligne les lettres sont peintes en rouge et la bande en relief qui est en-dessous en vert; 4, les lettres de la deuxième ligne sont en bleu foncé et la bande en relief en rouge; 5, les lettres de la troisième ligne sont vertes et la bande bleue; 6, sur la quatrième ligne les lettres sont rouges et la bande verte; 7, sur la dernière ligne les lettres sont noires ou bleu très foncé. Quant au deuxième panneau, les couleurs suivantes y restent: 1, le cadre et les bandes qui séparent les lignes d'écriture ont entièrement perdu leurs couleurs; 2, le fond est bleu; 3, les lettres de la première ligne étaient peintes en rouge, puis les sommets des lettres sont peints en bleu, de sorte que les extrémités des lettres laissent encore pointer la couleur première; 4, les couleurs de la deuxième ligne sont exactement l'inverse, rouge sur bleu; 5, sur la troisième ligne les lettres ont été recouvertes d'une couleur dorée; 6, les lettres de la quatrième ligne sont semblables à celles de la seconde, bleues recouvertes de rouge; 7, les lettres de la septième ligne ont été recouvertes d'or. On peut conclure de cette liste non seulement que l'époque des Mamlûks aimait colorier les panneaux de bois mais aussi que les couleurs étaient fort variées.

Ces deux panneaux sont importants parce qu'ils immortalisent<sup>24</sup> l'oeuvre de Baybars

<sup>24</sup> Al-Malik al-Zāhir Rukn al-Dīn Baybars fut un des princes les plus heureux et les plus populaires du monde musulman. Il peut être considéré comme un

ainsi que ses combats contre les agresseurs du monde arabe. Et sans eux nous aurions ignoré le nom du fondateur de ce précieux mausolée, car, malheureusement, le cénotaphe tel qu'on le voit maintenant est incomplet et on n'y trouve ni date ni nom d'artiste ou de patron. Nos deux panneaux sont nos seuls guides.

Quelques années plus tard al-Malik al-Ashraf Ṣalāḥ al-dīn Khalīl, fils d'al-Malik al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn (689-693/1290-93) ordonna de refaire la fenêtre de la mausolée et commémora son oeuvre par un troisième panneau en bois de huit lignes séparées par des bandes en relief. En voici le texte<sup>25</sup>:

- ١ - بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ جدد هذا الشباك المبارك  
في هذا المشهد الخالدي
- ٢ - رضي الله عنه في أيام مولانا السلطان الأعظم  
الملك الأشرف العالم العادل المجاهد
- ٣ - المرابط المثاعر المظفر المنصور الهمام ملك<sup>26</sup>  
الأنام صلاح الدنيا والدين سلطان
- ٤ - [س]لام والمسلمين ناصر الملة المحمدية محيي  
الدولة العباسية ملك البحرين صاحب القبلة [ين]
- ٥ - وارث الملك سلطان العرب والعجم والترك مالك  
رقاب الامم جامع فضيلتي<sup>27</sup> السيف
- ٦ - و القلم ابي الفتح خليل خلد الله سلطانه  
و أفاض على الرعايا كافة عدله واحسانه
- ٧ - ابن مولانا الشهيد الملك المنصور سيف الدنيا  
والدين قلاوون قدس الله روحه
- ٨ - و نور ضريحه و ذلك عند توجهه الى فتح قلعة  
الروم بتاريخ سنة احدى و تسعين وستمائة.

des premiers à avoir voulu immortaliser ses victoires et ses créations importantes par des monuments historiques. Maqrīzī, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 446, écrit qu'il fit bâtir un monument en l'honneur de sa victoire (*mashhad al-naṣr*) sur les Mongols à 'Ayn Jālūt en 659/1260-61, une idée qui n'a pas d'antécédent en Islam. Et l'ouvrage qui est le sujet de notre travail, en étant probablement bâti avant le début du combat, montre la confiance que le prince avait en lui-même et en ses armées et pouvait rehausser le moral des soldats.

<sup>25</sup> Répertoire, No. 4956, vol. 13, pp. 105-106.

<sup>26</sup> *Malik* au lieu de *mālik* comme dans le *Répertoire*.

<sup>27</sup> Dans *faḍilatay* le *ḍād* n'a pas de dent.

Le panneau est rectangulaire (114,5 par 90 cms.). L'inscription est aussi en *thuluth* mais de qualité moins raffinée que sur les panneaux précédents. Les lettres sont moins harmonieuses et la surface en relief des lettres tend à être plate plutôt que bombée. Ce panneau aussi est coloré. Le cadre et les bandes en relief sont roses. Les lettres étaient dorées, mais la couleur en a disparu depuis près de deux cents ans. Plus tard les lettres furent repeintes en jaune, mais cette couleur aussi a presque entièrement disparu.

L'oeuvre d'al-Ashraf Khalil imitait ce qu'avait fait Baybars pour immortaliser ses conquêtes; mais al-Ashraf ordonna le renouvellement de la fenêtre avant la conquête; c'est pour avoir la bénédiction de Khālid ibn al-Walid. Ceci ressort du texte du troisième panneau, car la nouvelle de la restauration ne se retrouve pas dans les livres d'histoire (ce devait être considéré comme un événement mineur). Mais la nouvelle de la conquête du *qal'ah al-Rūm*<sup>28</sup> en 691/1291, y est mentionnée. Yāqūt<sup>29</sup> auparavant avait précisé la situation de ce fort à l'ouest de l'Euphrate en face d'al-Birah,<sup>30</sup> entre cette dernière et Sumaysāṭ. Après avoir été pris la citadelle fut renommée "Qal'at al-Muslimin."

Quelques années plus tard al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. al-Malik al-Manṣūr<sup>31</sup> Qalāwūn entreprit quelques restaurations du mausolée<sup>32</sup> mais la seule trace que nous en avons comprend un panneau de bois rectangulaire (215 par 15 cms) ayant à chaque bout une entaille à mi-bois de 11,2 cms. Nous en déduisons que cette planche faisait partie de

la clôture extérieure du mausolée même, d'une barrière ou d'une *maqṣūrah* à l'intérieur de la mosquée. On y trouve sur une seule ligne et en caractères *thuluth* le texte suivant:

...السلطان الملك الناصر ناصر الدنيا والدين محمد  
بن السلطان الملك المنصور سيف الدين قلاوون  
خ[د الله ملكه]<sup>33</sup>.

L'écriture de cette planche est encore moins perfectionnée que celle des panneaux précédents. La technique en est la même; elle consiste à mettre les lettres en relief en évidant le bois autour des lettres (champlevé). Les lettres se terminent brusquement et leur surface est plane. Ce panneau fut peint après qu'on ait recouvert sa surface avec une pâte de matière blanche (vraisemblablement de l'oxyde de zinc) et avec une huile spéciale. Le fond est coloré en bleu, les lettres sont dorées et leurs extrémités sont rouges. On y trouve aussi un fin trait rouge le long de la base des lettres (*pl. 2, fig. 4*).

Ce dernier panneau fut trouvé avec plusieurs autres couverts d'inscriptions et de décorations. Tous proviennent du mausolée de Khālid ibn al-Walid. Leur condition est fort mauvaise; on y trouve des traces de feu; leurs extrémités sont usées et leurs motifs décoratifs souvent cassés. Ces panneaux avaient été gardés dans un réduit de la mosquée de Khālid ibn al-Walid sans recevoir aucun soin, quoique rongés par les vers, couverts de poussière et gâtés par l'humidité. Parmi eux se trouvaient des fragments d'un *minbar* de bois fait en 1197 H./1782-83, au nom du défunt bienfaiteur al-Sayyid Isma'il al-Sabā'i. Deux attachés techniques à la Direction Générale des Antiquités et des Musées, Messrs. Ra'if al-Ḥāfiẓ et Shafiq al-Imām visitèrent l'endroit et inspectèrent les boiseries. Ils présentèrent un rapport daté du 5 Février 1952 dans lequel ils

<sup>28</sup> Maqrizi, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pt. 3, p. 778.

<sup>29</sup> Yāqūt, *sub qal'ah al-Rūm*.

<sup>30</sup> A présent Birecik est en Turquie.

<sup>31</sup> Ce prince gouverna trois fois (693-94/1293-94; 698-708/1299-1309; 709-741/1310-41).

<sup>32</sup> Plusieurs mots arbes peuvent être utilisés! pour mausolée: *mashhad*, *maqām*, *madfan*, *turbah* etc., quoiqu'il y ait des nuances entre les mots.

<sup>33</sup> Ce mot pourrait être remplacé par un autre avec le même sens.



montrèrent la nécessité de faire des réparations dans le bâtiment et d'entreprendre sa restauration ainsi que de conserver les boiseries.

La Direction Générale chargea M. Ra'if al-Ḥāfiẓ d'entreprendre les travaux de restauration et de reconstruire le *minbar*, ce qui fut achevé le 25 Février 1953.

Avant d'en finir avec ces boiseries nous aimerions décrire un fragment de bois peint qui était fixé sur le *miḥrāb* de l'ancienne mosquée de Ḥimṣ (*pl. 2, fig. 5*). A une certaine époque ce fragment fut déplacé et gardé avec les autres boiseries pendant la construction d'une nouvelle mosquée de Khālīd ibn al-Walīd.

C'est un fragment rectangulaire (129 par 40 cms) sur lequel le texte suivant est inscrit en caractères *thuluth* sur trois lignes :

١- انه من سليمان و انه  
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم  
٢- كلما دخل عليها زكريا المحراب  
وجد عندها رزقا قال يا مريم انني لك  
٣- هذا قالت هو من عند الله ان  
الله يرزق من يشاء بغير حساب

(Coran, III, 36.)

La boiserie est peinte. Sur fond bleu on aperçoit les fines tiges d'un motif végétal. Deux bandes de perles en relief séparent les lignes d'écriture les unes des autres et divisent le panneau en deux parties reliées l'une à l'autre par deux espèces de losanges et deux demi-lozenges. Ces derniers sont décorés par une fleur à six pétales en relief qui se prolonge vers les quatres coins par un motif en forme de calice. Aux deux extrémités du panneau on peut apercevoir des demi-lozenges semblables à ceux du centre du panneau; c'est de ces motifs que dérivent les bandes qui séparent les cartouches les unes des autres. Les fleurs, les menues lignes, et les lettres avaient été peintes en vert. Mais la peinture a disparu et c'est la couche blanche qui était dessous qui donne aux motifs une apparence de relief.

Nous pouvons dater ce panneau du douzième/dix-huitième siècle, c'est-à-dire de la même époque que le *minbar* mentionné plus haut. Il ne présente pas un très grand intérêt, mais montre que l'ancienne mosquée était assez simple et que ses boiseries étaient peintes selon les mêmes principes que les panneaux de bois et les plafonds qui décorent encore certaines anciennes maisons de Damas. Des formes et des compositions semblables se retrouvent sur des boiseries de l'époque Mamlūk, tel un fragment du Musée d'Art Musulman au Caire,<sup>34</sup> dont les bandes sont arrangées comme sur notre fragment.

Nous pensons que ces boiseries sont une petite partie des boiseries qui décoraient le cénotaphe et le mausolée. La plupart furent brûlées ou volées. Ceux qui nous intéressent surtout parmi ces fragments ce sont ceux qui effectivement faisaient partie du cénotaphe de Khālīd ibn al-Walīd. Mais avant d'en parler plus en détail, il serait utile de nous renseigner sur la mosquée actuelle et de connaître l'endroit de la mort de Khālīd ibn al-Walīd.

#### LA NOUVELLE MOSQUÉE DE KHĀLID IBN AL-WALĪD

Nous avons mentionné auparavant le fait que l'ancienne mosquée de Khālīd ibn al-Walīd devait être une simple mosquée de village. Il semblerait que l'apparence de la mosquée à la fin du siècle dernier et au début de ce siècle ne faisait pas honneur au nom du fameux héros dont elle porte le nom. Aussi le sultan Ottoman 'Abd al-Ḥamīd II (1293-1327/1876-1909) ordonna la démolition de l'ancienne mosquée et son remplacement sur le même endroit par un nouveau sanctuaire. Ce travail fut achevé au début du siècle. Ensuite le mausolée aussi fut reconstruit à nouveau. Les anciennes boiseries furent enlevées et remplacées par du

<sup>34</sup> J. David-Weill, *Les bois à épigraphe*, Le Caire, 1936, p. XXXIX, No. 2479.

marbre en l'honneur du grand conquérant. De l'ancien mausolée il ne reste que les quelques fragments de bois qui furent longtemps gardés sans aucun soin.

### LA LOCALISATION DE L'ENDROIT DE LA MORT DE KHĀLID IBN AL-WALĪD

Plusieurs versions existent au sujet de l'endroit où Khālid ibn al-Walid est mort et fut enterré.

Ṭabari (m. 310/922) écrit: "D'après al-Wāqidi, en cette année (21 H.) mourut Khālid ibn al-Walid à Ḥimṣ. . . ."

Al-Qurṭubī (m. 463/1070-71): ". . . Khālid ibn al-Walid mourut à Ḥimṣ et l'on dit qu'il y mourut en l'an 21; on ajoute en effet qu'il est mort à Ḥimṣ et qu'il fut enterré dans un village à un *mīl* de la ville en l'an 21 ou en l'an 22 pendant le règne du calife 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb." Dans un deuxième passage il écrivit: "on rapporta à 'Umar que des femmes de la tribu al-Mughīrah se réunirent dans une maison pour pleurer Khālid ibn al-Walid. Et 'Umar dit: 'Qu'elles pleurent Abu Sulaymān, mais qu'il n'y ait ni poussière<sup>35</sup> ni cris'.<sup>36</sup> Finalement dans un troisième passage il rapporte, d'après Muḥammad ibn Sallām que "toutes les femmes de la tribu al-Mughīrah mirent leurs cheveux<sup>37</sup> sur le tombeau de Khālid ibn al-Walid."<sup>38</sup>

Ibn al-Athīr (m. 630/1232-33) dit dans son *al-Kāmil*: "pendant cette année (21 H.) mourut Khālid ibn al-Walid; il légua (ses

biens) à 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb. On a dit qu'il mourut en 23 et à Médine, mais la première opinion est la plus juste."

Yāqūt (m. 626/1228-9) rapporte dans son encyclopédie géographique (*sub Ḥimṣ*): "à Ḥimṣ se trouve la maison de Khālid ibn al-Walid ainsi que son tombeau, d'après ce que l'on dit. D'autres disent qu'il est mort à Médine où il fut enseveli, et ceci est plus juste. . . . Et près de la tombe de Khālid ibn al-Walid se trouve la tombe de 'Iyād ibn Ghanm al-Qurashi—que Dieu l'approuve—le conquérant de la Jazīrah. On y trouve aussi la tombe de la femme de Khālid ibn al-Walid ainsi que celle de son fils, 'Abd al-Raḥmān."

Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umari (m. 717/1317) écrit dans son *Masālik al-Abṣār*, vol. 1, p. 221: "On dit qu'il mourut non loin de Ḥimṣ; ce n'est pas vrai; il s'agit là *sans aucun doute* de Khālid ibn Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah, car 'Umar avait démis Khālid de ses fonctions à Ḥimṣ et l'avait fait venir à Médine; il y mourut et 'Umar fut attristé de sa mort."

Ibn Kathīr (m. 774/1372-73), dans son ouvrage *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, VII, pp. 114-118, bien qu'il fût l'un de ceux qui fit le plus de recherches sur la mort de Khālid ibn al-Walid et sur l'endroit où il fut enseveli, nous rapporte plusieurs versions contradictoires qui n'ajoutent rien à celles que nous avons déjà mentionnées.

Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalāni (m. 852/1448) écrit dans son livre *al-Iṣābah fī tamīz al-Ṣaḥābah*, I, p. 415: ". . . Khālid ibn al-Walid est mort dans la ville de Ḥimṣ dans l'an 21, mais on dit aussi qu'il mourut dans la ville du Prophète . . ." (puis ibn Ḥajar nous rapporte plusieurs autres versions de la mort de Khālid ibn al-Walid à Médine ainsi que le deuil des femmes et l'autorisation que donna 'Umar de le pleurer; et il ajoute): "ceci prouve qu'il est mort à Médine et on en trouvera la confirmation dans la biographie de sa

<sup>35</sup> *Al-naq'*, c'est-à-dire "poussière et sable", se qui signifie qu' 'Umar leur permit de pleurer, mais n'a pas voulu qu'elles exagèrent en versant du sable sur leurs cheveux à la manière de la *jāhiliyah*.

<sup>36</sup> *Al-Laqlaqah*, "les cris et les pleurs."

<sup>37</sup> *Al-Limmah*, "l'ensemble des cheveux coupés."

<sup>38</sup> Il s'agit là d'une coutume pré-islamique et nous ne croyons pas qu'elle ait pu être permise par 'Umar qui était connu pour sa piété et ses prohibitions des coutumes anciennes.



mère, Lubābah al-Sughrā bint al-Ḥārith; mais la majorité pense qu'il mourut à Ḥimṣ et Dieu seul le sait."

Nous pouvons conclure de ces extraits que les auteurs anciens n'étaient pas sûrs de l'endroit de la mort de Khālīd ibn al-Walīd. En dehors d'al-'Umari qui rapporte que le tombeau de Ḥimṣ est celui de Khālīd ibn Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah et que la mort de Khālīd ibn al-Walīd eut lieu à Médine, Yāqūt a définitivement favorisé la notion de la mort du héros à Médine. Nous partageons cette vue en nous basant sur la logique interne des événements de l'époque. Et si la mort de Khālīd ibn al-Walīd est vraiment arrivée à Médine, le tombeau de Ḥimṣ aurait appartenu à quelqu'autre Khālīd, comme le suggère al-'Umari. Le fait que le nom de Khālīd ibn al-Walīd impressionnait beaucoup de gens expliquerait pourquoi il remplaça le vrai propriétaire du tombeau, d'autant plus que les habitants de Ḥimṣ ont toujours rattaché leur ville au grand héros Khālīd ibn al-Walīd et ont constamment chanté ses prouesses.

#### LA CONSTRUCTION DU MAUSOLÉE DE KHĀLID IBN AL-WALĪD

On peut déduire de l'inscription du sultan Baybars que le tombeau de Khālīd ibn al-Walīd était, à l'origine, simple et sans constructions spéciales. En effet les tombeaux des Compagnons du Prophète étaient extrêmement simples en accord avec la Tradition du Prophète. Pendant le règne des Fāṭimides on commença à honorer les morts en édifiant de grands et luxueux cénotaphes surtout pour les parents et descendants du Prophète. C'est à leur époque que le shi'isme s'introduit en Égypte et en Syrie, où les tombeaux des descendants des Prophètes étaient particulièrement nombreux. Lorsque les Fāṭimides cédèrent la place aux Atabeks et aux Ayyubides, ces derniers, à fin de poursuivre leur but de

reconversion au sunnisme, utilisèrent comme moyen de persuasion de ne pas se limiter aux tombes des descendants du Prophète, mais de construire des mausolées aussi sur les tombes des Compagnons et de saints hommes.<sup>39</sup> Les Mamlūks continuèrent dans cette voie. Quoique l'identification de l'endroit où mourut Khālīd ibn al-Walīd ne fut pas certaine et que la tombe puisse être soit celle d'un Compagnon du Prophète comme 'Iyād ibn Ghanm, d'après Yāqūt,<sup>40</sup> ou celle de Khālīd ibn Yazīd, d'après al-'Umari,<sup>41</sup> il s'agissait de glorifier un héros en perpétuant sa mémoire, et quelle ville ne serait pas honorée d'être patronnée par un homme aussi célèbre que Khālīd ibn al-Walīd?

#### DESCRIPTION GÉNÉRALE DU CÉNOTAPHE DE KHĀLID IBN AL-WALĪD

Ce cénotaphe est en bois de santal,<sup>42</sup> bois des Indes d'une couleur marron rougeâtre; lorsqu'on le coupe on en aperçoit aisément la structure interne; il est facile à travailler et friable; et sa couleur naturelle rend tout vernissage ou peinture inutiles.

La forme et les dimensions générales du cénotaphe sont d'un type commun à tous les pays musulmans depuis l'époque des Fāṭimides jusqu'à nos jours. C'est un parallélépipède. Sa partie supérieure, à 14,5 cms du haut, s'élargit un peu et forme un bandeau sur laquelle se

<sup>39</sup> M. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Rihāwī, Inspecteur des Antiquités, en a fait une bonne étude qu'il a publiée dans la *Revue de l'Académie Arabe*, vol. 34, 1959.

<sup>40</sup> Yāqūt, *loc. cit.*

<sup>41</sup> Voir plus haut.

<sup>42</sup> Nous avons consulté beaucoup d'experts des bois et finalement nous avons adopté l'opinion du grand artiste Mr. Muhammad 'Ali al-Khayyāt connu sous le nom de Abu Sulaymān. Nous sommes désolé d'annoncer sa mort récente (Avril 1961). Vers la fin de ses jours il travaillait comme expert à la Direction Générale des Antiquités et Musées pour superviser la reconstitution de la salle offerte par feu Jamil Mardum Bek, ancien Premier Ministre syrien, au Musée National de Damas.

trouve une inscription en *thuluth* (nous y reviendrons). Au-dessus de ce bandeau se trouve un cadre étroit (3,5 cms) qui fait que la longueur de la partie supérieure du cénotaphe est de 5,5 cms plus grande que la longueur du cénotaphe même.

Les dimensions principales du cénotaphe sont les suivantes (*fig. A*) : longueur (y compris le cadre) : 221,5 cms; largeur : 121,5 cms; hauteur : 134 cms. Pour la hauteur il s'agit de celle de la face principale sans aucune addition. En travaillant à la restauration du cénotaphe et après de nombreuses comparaisons avec d'autres cénotaphes connus, nous lui avons ajouté au bas une première base temporaire dont la hauteur est de 10 cms et qui débordait de 3,8 cms sur les côtés. Nous comptons remplacer cette base par une autre semblable de forme au bandeau inscrit sur la partie supérieure et nous élèverons le cénotaphe sur une autre base qui n'aura aucun rapport avec l'original, mais qui rendra le cénotaphe plus stable et qui élèvera son niveau pour que les visiteurs ne voient pas sa face supérieure. Nous pensons, en effet, que le cénotaphe avait une base semblable à celle que nous concevons.

Il ne nous reste aucune trace de la face supérieure.<sup>43</sup> Il est possible qu'il n'y en ait pas un ou peut-être le cénotaphe était-il couvert d'une simple planche de bois. Sur les coins on voit les extrémités des poutres qui étaient placées aux angles du cénotaphe. Ces extrémités ont la forme d'un parallélogramme de 11,8 cms de longueur, 8 cms de largeur, et 7 cms de hauteur. Au-dessus apparaissent des bois arrondis, façonnés au tour, de 17,5 cms de diamètre. Ces pommeaux de bois se composent de plusieurs parties : six disques superposés aux bords convexes, un élément conoïde en forme de poire (6 cms de hauteur et 8 cms de diamètre, le diamètre s'amincissant vers la

partie supérieure jusqu'à 4,8 cms), de nouveau trois disques de 2 cms d'épaisseur, et enfin une sphère aplatie de 6 cms de diamètre et de 4,5 cms de hauteur.

Par ailleurs la marqueterie du cénotaphe est composée dans sa partie supérieure d'un cadre et d'une bande rectangulaire qui entoure le cénotaphe tout entier; plus bas se trouve la décoration principale qui recouvrait en entier les quatre côtés; six panneaux avec un arc trilobé occupent le milieu des deux longues façades; sur un des petits côtés on trouve trois panneaux semblables; sur l'autre on trouve un seul grand panneau avec un arc en plein cintre et, au centre, le verset du Trône. Nous pouvons passer maintenant à une description détaillée de chaque partie en commençant par le haut (*fig. A et pl. 3*).

Le cadre a 3,5 cms d'épaisseur et est de 5,5 cms plus long que le cénotaphe même. Sa décoration consiste en trois fils en relief s'entrelaçant et formant des demi-cercles. Le fond est peint en bleu; l'entrelacs a perdu sa couleur, mais on peut supposer qu'il était doré.

La frise supérieure est large de 14,5 cms;<sup>44</sup> elle est recouverte d'une inscription en *thuluth* en relief (épaisseur de l'écriture 0,4–0,5 cms) qui fut réalisée en évidant le fond; en haut, l'inscription est limitée par le cadre, en bas par un trait en relief dont l'épaisseur varie entre 1,2 et 1,5 cms. Nous n'avons retrouvé de cette bande supérieure que les deux parties qui recouvraient les deux faces longues du cénotaphe. Sur la face principale on lit :

[ك]ل نفس ذائقة الموت و انما يوفون<sup>45</sup> [sic]  
أجوركم يوم القيامة فمن زحزح عن النار و أدخل  
الجنة فقد ف...<sup>46</sup>

(Coran, III, 185.) (*Pl. 4, fig. 11.*)

<sup>44</sup> Nous reviendrons à ses éléments décoratifs plus loin.

<sup>45</sup> Ainsi sur l'inscription; *tuwaffwna* est correct.

<sup>46</sup> L'inscription se termine par la lettre *fā'* de *faz*, car il n'y avait pas assez de place pour le mot tout entier.

<sup>43</sup> Un certain nombre de cénotaphes ont un couvercle supérieur en forme de pyramide.



Sur l'autre face on lit :

... [رب] كم واخشوا يوما لا يجزي والد عن ولده  
ولا مولود هو جاز عن والده شيئا ان وعد الله حق  
فلا تنه [ز]<sup>47</sup>

(Coran, XXXI, 33.)<sup>48</sup>

Cette frise était peinte<sup>49</sup> mais on ne trouve que quelques traces de ces couleurs qui servent simplement à prouver leur existence. Il est heureux que l'on n'ait jamais repeint ces boiseries, car cela a permis à nos techniciens de nettoyer avec soin les deux fragments qui restent et par conséquent on peut clairement distinguer les couleurs.

Avec l'aide du Directeur de l'Atelier Technique, M. Ra'if al-Ĥāfīz et de l'assistant technique, M. Muhammad Wafā al-Dajāni, nous avons pu remarquer que l'artisan avait mis une première couche de couleur blanche pour couvrir toute la boiserie; c'était vraisemblablement de l'oxyde de zinc mélangé avec des huiles connues à l'époque. Puis l'artisan peint le fond en bleu sombre,<sup>50</sup> et les extrémités des lettres en rouge vif. Finalement il mélangea de la poudre d'or avec de la gomme arabique et peint ainsi les lettres, tout en laissant sur chaque lettre une marge étroite en rouge. Une

mince ligne rouge fut tracée sur le fond le long de la base des lettres; cette ligne apparaît comme une ombre et fait ressortir les lettres, ce qui donne à l'ensemble une dernière touche de raffinement.

Nous voulons ajouter que cette façon de colorer les bois était répandue en Syrie. L'exemple le plus frappant est celui du cénotaphe de la reine Seljūqide Bakhthi Khātūn, daté en 648/1250-51, et préservé au Musée National de Damas.<sup>51</sup> Ce tombeau fut trouvé au mausolée al-Khātūniyah à Damas.

Au-dessous de cette bande se trouve une *deuxième bordure* qui entoure le cénotaphe. Elle a 16,5 cms de largeur et est limitée des deux côtés par une ligne en relief de 1,2 cms de large. Cette bordure est décorée avec une inscription coufique entrelacée, fortement en relief (0,9 cms), et sur fond décoré<sup>52</sup> de motifs végétaux de peu de relief (0,4 cms). La technique de gravure consiste, comme avant, à éviter le fond. Les extrémités des lettres et des tiges sont inclinées et entremêlées; leurs faces sont convexes, leurs angles arrondis, et leurs extrémités façonnées de manière à s'harmoniser.

Les versets coraniques suivants sont inscrits sur cette bordure, en commençant par le côté où l'on trouve le verset du Trône :

petit côté :

[قل] هو الله أحد الله الصمد لم [يلد ولم يولد]

(Coran, CXII.) (Pl. 4, fig. 8; fig. B.)

grand côté qui suit :

[ول]م يكن له كفوا أحد يبشرهم ربهم برحمة منه  
ورضوان وجنات لهم فيها نعيم مقيم

(Coran, CXII, fin; IX, 21.) (Pl. 4, fig. 9;  
fig. C.)

<sup>51</sup> Al-amīr Ja'far al-Ĥasani, *Dalīl Mukhtaṣar*, p. 104, pl. XI, No. 2; le nom de la reine y est lu Tajanni Khātūn.

<sup>52</sup> Nous en reparlerons en détail plus tard.

<sup>47</sup> Du mot *taghurrannakum* il n'ya de place que pour le *rā'* et le mot précédent manque, ce qui montre que le début de la *sūrah* était sur la plaque perdue.

<sup>48</sup> Nous utilisons le Coran officiel de l'époque ottomane, nouvelle édition, Damas, 1377/1958.

<sup>49</sup> Avec les panneaux que nous avons décrits cette plaque était la seule à avoir été peinte.

<sup>50</sup> On sait que les anciennes couleurs arabes sont d'origine végétale. Elles ne brillent pas, mais s'attachent fortement à la matière peinte et ne disparaissent que difficilement avec le temps. Ce morceau de bois en offre une bonne preuve, car, après avoir été négligé pendant longtemps, couvert de poussière et rongé par l'humidité, il n'a fallu que le nettoyer pour apercevoir clairement les couleurs. Nous avons au Musée National de Damas beaucoup d'autres exemples qui prouvent la bonne qualité des anciennes couleurs.

petit côté :

[خالدین] فیها أبدا ان الله عنده أجر عظیم  
وسیق ال...

(Coran, IX, 23 et début de XXXIX, 73.)  
(Pl. 4, fig. 10; fig. D.)

dernier côté :

لذین اتقوا ربهم الی الجنة زمرا حتی اذا جاوها [sic]  
و فتحت ابوابها وقال لهم خزنتها [لام]

(Coran, XXXIX, 73.) (Pl. 4, fig. 11;  
fig. E.)

## CORPS PRINCIPAL DU CÉNOTAPHE

Sa hauteur est de 95,7 cms. C'est dans cette partie que l'on peut voir au mieux l'unique caractère de ce cénotaphe lorsqu'on le compare aux autres cénotaphes connus qui l'ont précédé ou suivi. Ceux-ci étaient communément décorés de dessins géométriques, rectangles, carrés, triangles, étoiles, ou disques étoilés. Mais l'artiste<sup>53</sup> du cénotaphe de Khālid ibn al-Walid a voulu introduire un art nouveau et montrer toutes les possibilités de sa technique. Il a voulu couvrir le corps entier—à l'exception de certaines parties des panneaux centraux—avec une élégante décoration d'éléments géométriques et végétaux entremêlés avec des types différents de fleurs et de feuilles. Je dis bien qu'il a voulu remplir le corps tout entier. En effet la décoration commence dans la partie inférieure de la bordure inscrite en coufique et se répand dans tous les coins et même aux angles.<sup>54</sup> Il a arrangé sa décoration de telle manière qu'elle ait une unité fondamentale

<sup>53</sup> L'artiste qui a fait le plan du cénotaphe et qui est responsable de son exécution fut certainement originaire de Syrie. De nombreuses familles existent à Damas et à Alep qui s'étaient spécialisées dans ce genre de travail depuis l'époque de Saladin. Ces familles se passaient le métier de père en fils et une des plus célèbres étaient celle de Ibn Ma'ālī.

<sup>54</sup> L'artiste a utilisé la ligne de l'angle comme axe pour sa décoration.

sans consister en répétitions du même motif. (Nous reviendrons à la description détaillée de cette décoration) (pl. 3, fig. 7; fig. G). Il y a six panneaux (*hashwah*) sur chacun des longs côtés du cénotaphe et trois sur un des petits côtés, l'autre ayant été décoré avec une transcription du verset du Trône, comme nous l'avons déjà mentionné.

Chaque côté du cénotaphe a été divisé en panneaux en forme de petits *mihrābs*. Chaque *mihrāb* est rectangulaire (59 par 25,5 cms); dans sa partie supérieure il comprend trois motifs trilobés superposés reliés aux pied-droits par deux lignes obliques faisant segment d'arc. Le long du *mihrāb* se trouve une bande étroite (0,6 cms) sans décoration qui est suivie d'une bordure lisse (1,7 cms) entourant le panneau central et de 1,6 cm moins profonde. Cette bordure sert de transition entre les rebords des motifs intermédiaires et le panneau central et ainsi adoucit le passage d'un motif à l'autre. Sur son côté extérieur cette bordure est décorée de deux tiges verticales en relief qui s'entrecroisent en formant des ovales dans chacun desquels se trouve une fleur reliée à l'une des tiges.

La tige fleurie est peinte en rouge et bleu, ainsi que la bordure. Le fond était vraisemblablement doré, car nous en avons découvert de légères traces. On remarque que l'artiste a voulu créer un contraste entre le système de coloration du cadre et de la frise supérieure d'une part et les panneaux centraux de l'autre. Nous y reviendrons plus tard, ainsi que sur les motifs en relief—dorés sur fond bleu—qui décorent les intervalles entre les panneaux centraux (pl. 6, figs. 15-17).

Le grand panneau sur lequel fut taillé le verset du Trône est rectangulaire (71,5 cms de base et 56 cms de hauteur). Au centre, vers le haut, se trouve un arc en plein cintre (19 cms de diamètre). Le fond en est peint en bleu clair et les lettres sont dorées (il ne reste que des traces de couleurs) (pl. 7, fig. 18).



## LA BANDE INFÉRIEURE

Nous n'avons aucune preuve qu'il y ait eu une autre bande décorée au-dessous de la décoration végétale du corps du cénotaphe. C'est pour celà que, dans notre reconstruction, nous avons mis les fragments décrits précédemment sur une base temporaire haute de 10 cms et de 3,8 cms en avant du corps du cénotaphe (voir le dessin de la *fig. A*). Cependant nous avons l'intention éventuellement de reconstruire le cénotaphe avec une bande inférieure semblable à la frise supérieure avec inscriptions, et ceci pour les raisons suivantes :

1. Le tombeau de la Princesse Seljūqide Bakhti Khātūn, daté 648, donc assez rapproché du nôtre, et conservé au Musée National de Damas, est couronné par une frise avec le verset du Trône et, juste au-dessous, se trouve un deuxième bandeau avec le nom du propriétaire du cénotaphe, ses titres, et la date de sa mort. Des exemples du même ordre se trouvent dans d'autres pays musulmans.

2. La hauteur de la grille extérieure n'empêcherait pas l'existence d'un bandeau avec inscriptions au-dessous du corps principal du cénotaphe.

3. Le principe suivant lequel le début et la fin d'une composition décorative se ressemblent demande la présence d'un bandeau dans la partie inférieure du cénotaphe, peut-être du même type que le bandeau supérieur, à fin d'entourer le corps principal d'une ceinture de beauté, et de créer un équilibre entre les parties du cénotaphe.

4. Une œuvre d'art de la qualité artistique du nôtre ne peut manquer d'avoir le nom du personnage pour qui il fut fait, l'année de sa mort, le nom de celui qui ordonna sa manufacture et le nom de l'artiste. A notre avis la seule place qui conviendrait pour une telle inscription serait une frise inférieure, que l'on peut imaginer dans le même style que la bande supérieure.

5. Comme nous sommes obligés d'élever le cénotaphe à fin d'éloigner la décoration du sol, il nous semble particulièrement approprié que la bande inférieure soit semblable à celle qui couronne le cénotaphe. Ceci ne veut pas dire qu'il soit prouvé que telle était la forme originale, mais simplement qu'elle en est vraisemblablement rapprochée (*fig. A*).

## LA BASE PRINCIPALE

Nous ignorons totalement la forme de la base originale du cénotaphe. Mais nous avons vu que lorsqu'on regarde ce dernier sans base, il perd de son effet car on peut apercevoir sa surface supérieure qui n'a pas été travaillée. Nous avons recouvert la face supérieure d'un couvercle en masonite qui empêche la poussière de pénétrer dans le cénotaphe. Et nous allons construire une base de 10 cms de hauteur recouverte d'une couche de formica de couleur noire qui cadre avec le marbre noir des murs de la salle dans laquelle le cénotaphe est exposé.

## DESCRIPTION DES ÉLÉMENTS DE LA DÉCORATION

I. *L'écriture thuluth*.<sup>55</sup> Elle apparut dès le début de l'Islam sous le nom de *al-muqawwar*, mais on ne commença à l'employer sur les bâtiments qu'au début du sixième siècle de l'hégire (douzième siècle de l'ère chrétienne). Comme c'était une écriture commode pour copier rapidement, on l'appelle parfois écriture *naskhi*. Mais cette expression n'est pas apparue pour identifier une calligraphie précise mais plutôt comme nom générique pour toutes les écritures cursives. Ce n'est qu'au sixième

<sup>55</sup> Il serait bon de revoir tous les livres qui ont été consacrés à l'écriture et à la calligraphie arabes. Comme sources nous conseillons au lecteur : la troisième partie du *Ṣubḥ al-'A'sha* de Qalqashandi (m. 821/1418) et Muḥammad Ṭāhir al-Makki al-Khaṭṭāṭ, *Ta'rikh al-Khaṭṭ al-'arabi*, Le Caire, 1939.

siècle que le terme fut utilisé pour un type précis de calligraphie dont les règles avaient été établies dès le quatrième siècle.

Au début les diverses calligraphies ne se distinguaient que par l'épaisseur de la plume. La plume *ṭūmār* avait l'épaisseur de 24 poils de chevaux, la plume *al-thuluthayn* de 16, la plume *al-niṣf* de 12, et la plume *al-thuluth* de 8. Par la suite furent créées des plumes encore plus fines, dont l'une, *ghibār al-ḥiliyah*, était fameuse entre toutes.

Au troisième siècle, plusieurs calligraphies se différencient par la façon d'écrire. L'écriture *thuluth* devint connue par son style et non plus par l'épaisseur de la plume. Des règles furent créées qui déterminaient le caractère de chaque écriture suivant ses proportions par rapport à des points. Le plus célèbre des innovateurs fut Ibn Muqlah, ministre du calife 'Abbāside al-Muqtadir, qui mourut en 328/949-950. A l'époque ottomane les systèmes de calligraphie ont fait beaucoup de progrès, leurs règles ont été raffinées, de nouvelles espèces furent créées, dont l'une s'est officiellement appelée *naskhi*, tandis que le *thuluth* subit des améliorations tout en maintenant certains de ses anciens principes.

Nous avons été obligés de nous étendre sur ce sujet parce que les archéologues arabes ou étrangers utilisent l'expression "écriture *naskhi*" lorsqu'ils parlent de toutes les écritures cursives. En réalité ces anciennes graphies sont des *thuluths* qui ont précédé la formation du *naskhi*.

La graphie cursive a été utilisée dès les temps les plus anciens, mais elle n'apparaît sur les bâtiments, oeuvres d'art, *minbars*, *miḥrabs*, et tombeaux qu'au sixième/douzième siècle, parce que l'écriture dite coufique s'était compliquée au point d'être à peine lisible. Il devint naturel d'utiliser une calligraphie cursive,<sup>56</sup>

<sup>56</sup> Il faudrait reviser ce sujet dans mon ouvrage, *Athārunā fī al-aqālīm al-Sūri*, p. 35.

tout en gardant le coufique comme élément important de la décoration, surtout pour les versets du Coran qui étaient plus faciles à reconnaître une fois qu'on en a lu un ou deux mots.

Il semble que cette innovation dans la manière d'écrire plut aux souverains ayyubides ainsi qu'à leurs artistes, au point où la nouvelle graphie fut utilisée sur la majeure partie des inscriptions identifiantes ou coraniques, remplaçant ainsi l'écriture coufique. Le *thuluth* devint ainsi un signe caractéristique des ouvrages de cette époque.

Les raisons de cette évolution sont à rechercher dans le fait que les pays arabes musulmans étaient à cette époque en guerre contre les Croisés. Leurs affaires avaient été négligées et ils avaient subi beaucoup de pertes. Leurs inscriptions et leurs bâtiments<sup>57</sup> devaient s'accommoder de ces circonstances difficiles.

Au début de la période mamlūke, avec la disparition des dangers croisé et mongol, la sécurité s'était rétablie dans les pays arabomusulmans. La situation économique aussi fut améliorée par suite de la floraison du commerce oriental. Pour ces raisons les artistes voulurent joindre les deux extrêmes et utilisèrent les deux calligraphies, cursive et coufique. En même temps ils reprirent la construction de monuments luxueux. Notre pièce représente le début de cette nouvelle époque.

La calligraphie cursive utilisée sur le cénopape est donc du *thuluth*. Elle recouvre la bande supérieure (*pl. 4, figs. 9 et 10*) et le panneau de côté sur lequel on lit le verset du Trône. Dans ces inscriptions on peut remarquer les caractéristiques suivantes :

1. Le corps des lettres est plus épais que d'habitude.

<sup>57</sup> La solidité et la simplicité sont les deux qualités principales qui dominent le style des bâtiments de cette époque ; ils apparaissent comme des masses cubiques dénuées de toute décoration sauf sur la façade principale ou le portail.



2. Il y a une raideur dans certaines lettres qui n'est pas entièrement courante : *wāw* (dans *ikhshaw*), *dāl* (*wālid*), *jīm* (*jāza*), *nūn* (*inna*), (pl. 4, fig. 9); *tā'* *marbūṭah* (*dhā'igatu*), *lām* (*udkhila*) (pl. 4, fig. 11); *yā'* (*al-ḥayy*), *tā'* *mabsūṭah* (*al-samawāt*), *yā'* (*māfi*), *'ayn* (*yashfa'u*), *dāl* (*'indahu*), *nūn* (*yuḥīṭūna*) (pl. 7, fig. 18).

3. Certaines lettres s'entrecroisent d'une façon peu commune : *wāw* et *alif* (*wālid*), *nūn* et *alif* (*wa udkhila al-jannah*) (pl. 4, fig. 11), *nūn* et *'ayn* (*min 'ilmih*) (pl. 7, fig. 18).

4. On trouve d'élégantes liaisons entre certaines lettres : *zā'* et *yā'* (*lā yajzi*) (pl. 4, fig. 9), *alif* et *nūn* (*wa innamā*) (pl. 4, fig. 11).

5. Dans certain cas l'artiste a essayé d'arranger d'une manière rythmique les mêmes lettres, malgré les difficultés que cela pouvait poser : *mawlūd* (pl. 4, fig. 9), *yuwaffawna*, *zuḥziḥa* (pl. 4, fig. 11).

6. Il y a une faute dans un des versets coraniques (*yuwaffawna* au lieu de *tuwaffawna*), comme nous l'avons dit plus haut.

7. L'épaisseur des lettres en relief est de 4-5 cms.

8. L'artiste a utilisé les signes de vocalisations pour remplir les vides et pour les versets du Coran.

9. Des vides sont aussi décorés avec des branches végétales, ainsi le dessin au-dessus du mot *jāza* (pl. 4, fig. 9) et du *tā'* de *al-qiyāmah* (pl. 4, fig. 11).

II. *L'écriture coufique*. La calligraphie arabe a beaucoup évolué depuis les siècles pré-islamiques. Une graphie basée sur des principes géométriques fut créée dès le début de l'Islam et prit le nom de *coufique*. Cette calligraphie a subi un certain nombre de modifications dont l'évolution peut être décrite à travers les inscriptions des monnaies et certaines inscriptions architecturales. Jusqu'au quatrième/dixième siècle le coufique tendit vers

la simplicité. Mais, à partir du quatrième/dixième siècle il commença à s'embellir, à adopter certaines règles fixes, et à se différencier en de nombreuses variétés. Les extrémités des lettres s'allongent et on leur ajoute des motifs décoratifs de tiges, feuilles, et fleurs. C'est ce qu'on appelle le *coufique fleuri*. Puis des figures géométriques furent conçues à l'intersection des lettres et les vides furent remplis de dessins compliqués souvent originaires des lettres mêmes. On trouve même des cas (sur pierre ou ivoire) où les inscriptions se superposent sur des arabesques végétales qui sont d'un relief moins prononcé que celui des lettres.

L'inscription coufique sur notre cénotaphe peut être considérée comme une des plus compliquées et plus belles inscriptions connues, à cette époque ou à toute autre époque. Nous n'exagérons pas en disant qu'il s'agit d'un exemple unique au monde.

Nous avons groupé les lettres qui se ressemblent dans l'inscription en séparant les lettres isolées, au milieu et à la fin des mots. Ainsi nous nous sommes créés l'alphabet de base qui fut utilisé dans cette inscription. Les remarques suivantes peuvent être faites :

1. Le principe géométrique est respecté dans toutes les lettres. Les lignes sont en général droites, les angles et les lignes inclinées sont calculés.

2. Les lettres qui se ressemblent commencent sur la même ligne et ont des formes semblables, dans la plupart des cas. Mais les différences sont grandes suivant que les lettres sont au début, au milieu ou à la fin des mots, ou bien isolées.

3. La forme d'une même lettre située dans la même position (au début, au milieu ou à la fin) peut varier suivant les mots. Remarquons les variations du *yā'* et de ses semblables, ainsi que des *dāl*, *rā'*, *ṣād*, *hā'*, *kāf*. Ces changements de forme peuvent être expliqués par le désir de l'artiste de changer. Voyez le *dāl* dans le





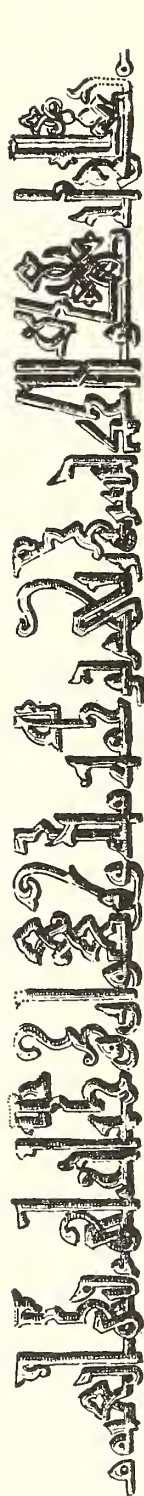


FIG. C.



FIG. D.



FIG. F





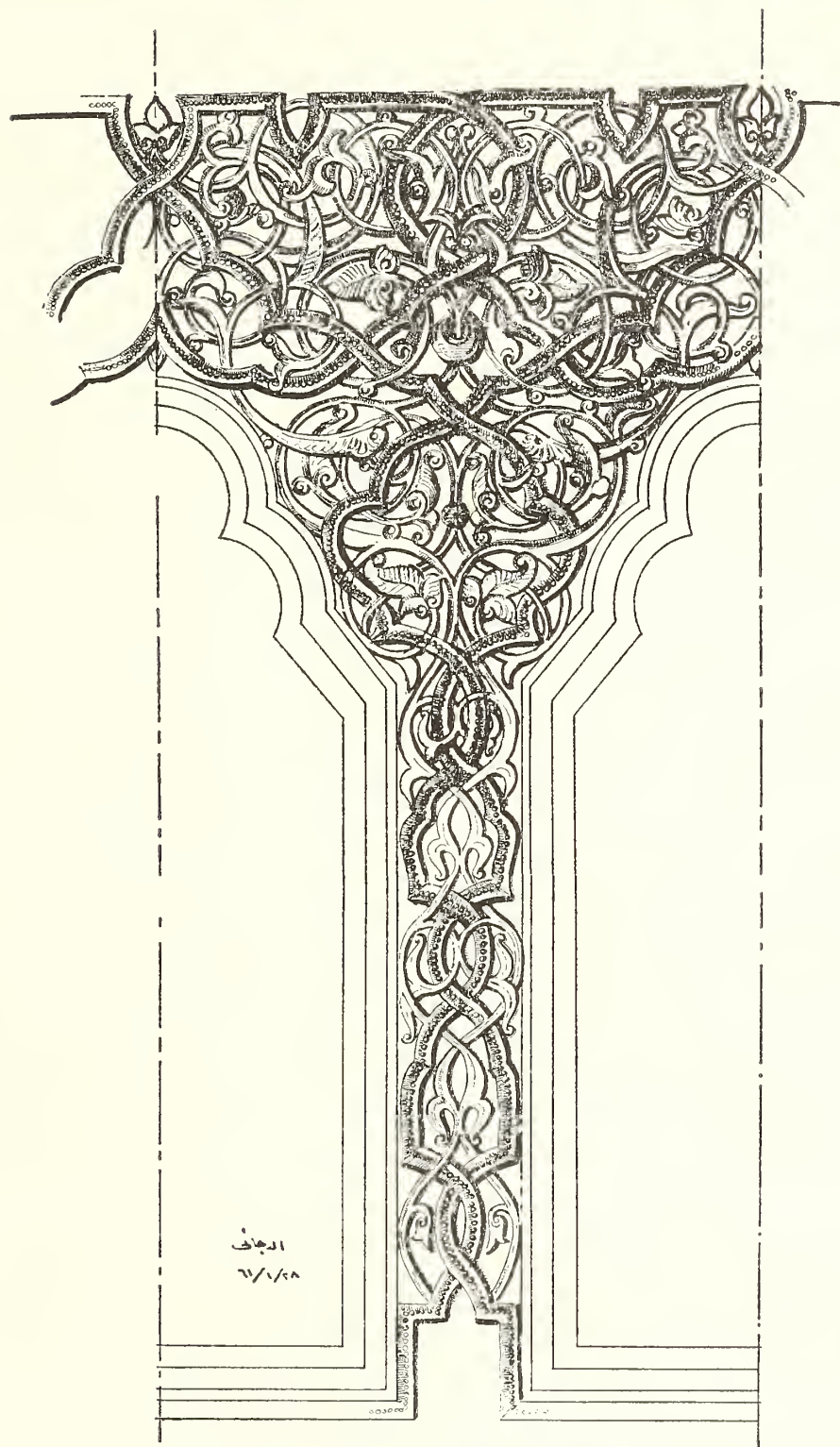


FIG. G.—PRINCIPAUX MOTIFS VÉGÉTAUX.

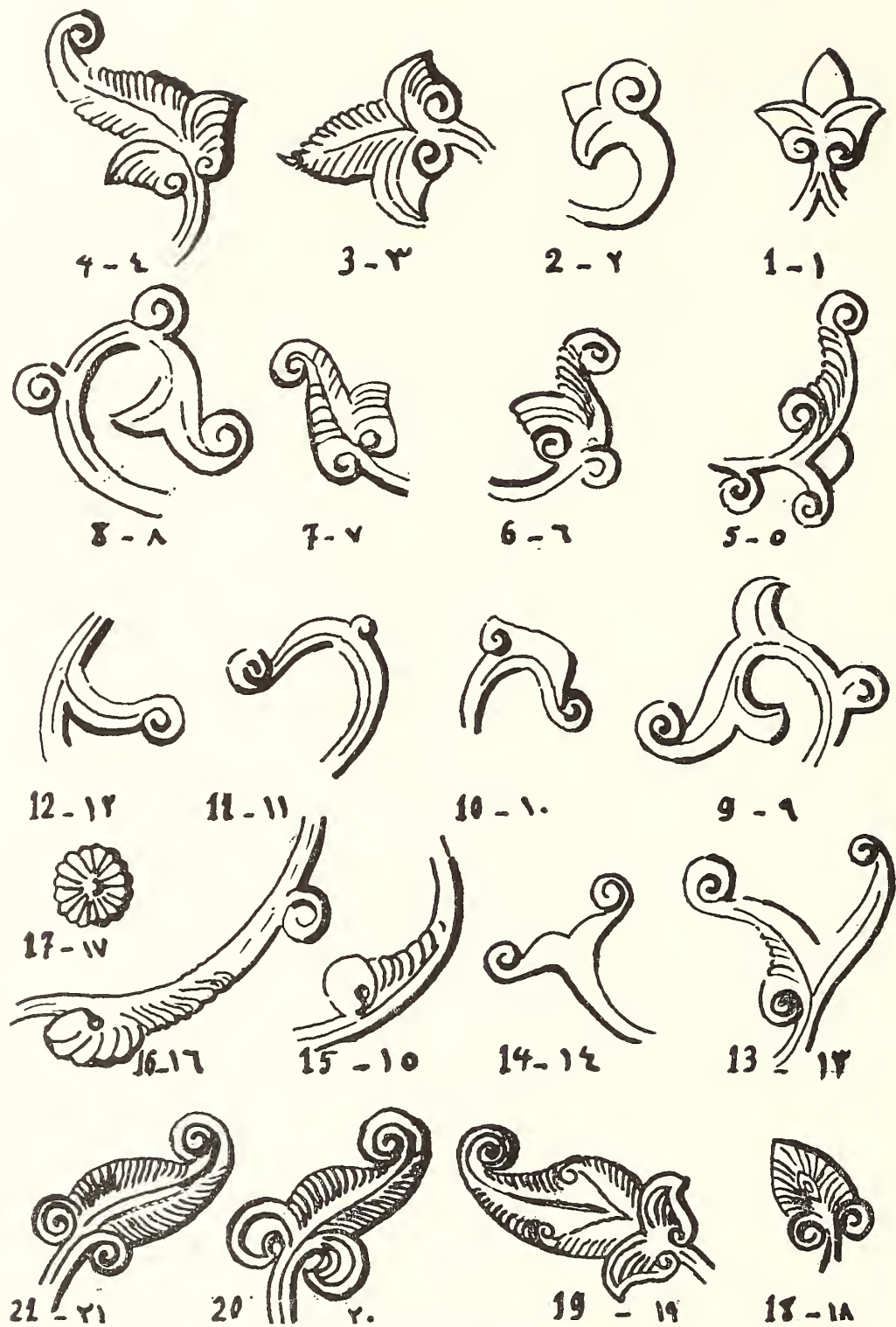


FIG. H.—MOTIFS VÉGÉTAUX (DESSINS).



mot *aḥad* (fig. B), le *dhāl* dans *idhā* (fig. E) et dans *illadhīn* (même planche), le *dāl* dans *'indahū* (fig. D), le *tā'* dans *ittaqū* (fig. E) qui est long comme un *lām*, tandis que les autres *tā'* sont usuels.

4. Il y a une belle jonction entre certaines lettres comme le *kāf* et le *fā'* dans le mot *kufuwan*. Le *kāf* a été replié et a fait ressortir le *fā'* entre les plis du *kāf*. Une belle figure fut ainsi créée. Voyez les lettres séparées sur la fig. F et puis voyez-les réunies (fig. B-E).

5. L'artiste a allongé les lettres et leur a ajouté des motifs décoratifs d'une manière fort habile, mais en le faisant il les a éloignées de leurs origines et de leurs significations et a compliqué leurs formes. Voyez les additions aux *kāfs* (*yakun* et *kufuwan*) et les complications au milieu du mot *Allāh* ainsi que de la lettre *hā'* dans le mot *'indahū* et ses beaux développements dans tous les mots qui la contiennent.

6. Il faut remarquer aussi les demifleurs en forme de calice que l'artiste a mises au début et à la fin des lettres. Cet élément décoratif est connu dans l'écriture coufique dès le quatrième/dixième siècle, s'est répandu pendant les deux siècles suivants et s'est maintenu depuis.

7. Il faut aussi remarquer le motif supplémentaire en forme de *mīm* qui a été introduit entre les lettres *khā'* et *zāy* dans le mot *kha-zanatuhā* (fig. E). Ce motif n'a aucun rôle décoratif et semble avoir été introduit par erreur.

8. Notons aussi la liaison du *alif* et du *lām* par le bas dans le mot *Allāh*; cette liaison se retrouve dans plusieurs endroits et surtout sur la fig. D et n'a aucune justification, ni stylistique ni orthographique.

9. Certaines de ces additions sont dues aux principes d'analogie (*tamāthul*) et de symétrie (*tanāẓur*). Tel est le cas des additions au mot *Allāh* ou au *ṣād* de *ṣamad* (fig. B). D'après

le Dr. Shāfi'i<sup>58</sup> ces additions sont causées par des influences maghrébiennes dans l'art arabe oriental. Notez aussi les débuts et fins des lettres ainsi que les motifs supplémentaires visibles sur la figs. B-E, qui apparaissent déjà dans la décoration en stuc de la *madrasah* al-Kāmilīyah au Caire. On peut les comparer aussi à ce que l'on voit dans les inscriptions coufiques du cénotaphe dans le mausolée al-Ḥusayni,<sup>59</sup> du cénotaphe de l'imām al-Shāfi'i<sup>60</sup> et du *mihrab* de Sayyidah Ruqayyah.<sup>61</sup>

Le principe de symétrie n'a pas toujours été le seul à avoir été suivi dans tous les motifs décoratifs supplémentaires. On peut en définir d'autres :

a. Le principe d'accomodement (*tawfiq*) que l'on remarque dans la décoration au-dessus du *hā'* dans *rabbuhum*, au-dessus du *wāw* qui précède *futiḥat*, au-dessus des *hā's* de *lahum* et de *khazantuhā* (fig. E).

b. Principe d'opposition (*tabāyun*) et de renversement (*ta'ākus*) que l'on peut voir dans l'allongement du *khā'* dans *khazantuhā* entre deux lettres allongées dans le même sens. Il en est de même de l'allongement au-dessus du

<sup>58</sup> Dr. Farid Shāfi'i, *West Islamic influences on architecture in Egypt*, Bull. Fac. of Letters, Cairo University, vol. 16, pt. 2, 1954, p. 26. Les inscriptions étudiées par le Dr. Shāfi'i se retrouvent dans G. Marçais, *Manuel d'art musulman: l'architecture*, Paris, 1926-27, vol. 1, pp. 168, 404, 405.

<sup>59</sup> Tombeau sans date conservé au Musée de l'Art Islamique au Caire; Zaki Moḥammad Ḥassan, *Funūn al-Islām*, Le Caire, p. 464, figs. 383 et 384; *Aṭlās*, Le Caire, 1956, p. 124, fig. 372.

<sup>60</sup> Cénopaphe au Caire, daté en 574/1178, fait par 'Ubayd al-najjār connu sous le nom de Ibn Ma'ālī. Une famille du même nom est connue à Alep. Voir L. Hauteceur et G. Wiet, *Les mosquées du Caire*, Paris, 1932, pl. 51.

<sup>61</sup> L'inscription sur la partie supérieure du *mihrāb* est de l'époque du calife al-Fā'iz et de son ministre al-Ṣaliḥ Ṭalā'i' (549-555/1154-60). J. David Weill, *Les bois à épigraphes jusqu'à l'époque mamlouke*, Le Caire, 1931, pl. XVII.

*rā'* de *zumaran* qui est en opposition aux allongements qui lui sont contigus.

c. Principe de diversification (*tanwī'*) ; l'artiste aurait pu faire tous ses allongements selon les principes précédents, mais il a voulu créer une oeuvre de premier ordre et a introduit une certaine diversité dans l'ornement qui permet d'éviter la monotonie. On peut le voir en comparant l'allongement du *kāf* dans *yakun* avec la complication du motif dans le même mot (*fig. C*).

Tous ces principes réunis créent une harmonie de style dans l'inscription et accomplissent leur but de remplir les vides. Ils donnent à l'objet tout entier un caractère unique. Il faut ajouter que l'inscription est sur un fond de décoration végétale que l'on rencontre dans beaucoup de monuments musulmans et à laquelle nous reviendrons.

### III. *Les éléments quasi-géométriques de la partie centrale du cénotaphe.*<sup>62</sup>

Il est connu que l'introduction d'éléments géométriques dans la décoration date des débuts de l'art musulman. Ces éléments existaient bien aussi dans l'art pré-islamique, mais ils se développèrent surtout aux cinquième-sixième/onzième-douzième siècles et continuèrent aux siècles suivants mélangés à des motifs végétaux. Lorsque les thèmes géométriques ou quasi-géométriques sont mélangés avec des motifs végétaux, ils sont en relief simplement avec des lignes épaisses ou bien avec des lignes sillonnées et granulées. C'est ce que l'on trouve sur notre cénotaphe. Des motifs semblables ont été découverts sur les stucs dès l'époque des Omeyyades et des 'Abbāsides, mais ils diffèrent en bien des points des motifs développés à l'époque Fātimide et qui continuèrent sous les Ayyūbides et sous les Mamlūks.

Ce qui est intéressant sur notre pièce c'est qu'il n'y a pas d'éléments géométriques purs

<sup>62</sup> Revoir ce qui a été écrit plus haut sur la décoration générale du tombeau (p. 122).

mais quatre traits épais (8-10 mms) du type qui vient d'être décrit débouchant des bords de la décoration et formant à leurs intersections des figures quasi-géométriques.

L'unité décorative principale de la décoration (*fig. G*) peut s'établir en tirant une ligne imaginaire de la partie supérieure de l'aire décorée vers les bas et passant par l'axe des panneaux à *mihrābs*. Voici ce que l'on voit entre deux lignes imaginaires :

1. Deux lignes descendent du haut en bas ; elles sont à certains endroits légèrement pointées vers le bas ; elles se coupent deux fois et forment des figures ovales aux extrémités du dessin.

2. En s'entrecoupant aussi avec deux lignes venant des côtés, elles forment une sorte de fleur à quatre pétales.

3. Plus bas ces lignes créent une forme quadrilobée dont la partie supérieure est arrondie tandis que les côtés sont à angles aigus. Puis les lignes se rencontrent et forment les figures suivantes :

4. Une figure ovale comme celle décrite à 1. (Ici nous arrivons entre les panneaux centraux.)

5. Une figure semblable à 3.

6. Une figure semblable à 1.

7. Une figure rapprochée de 3.

8. Une figure semblable à 1.

9. Finalement une niche (*mihrāb*) dont l'angle supérieur est pointu et dont les côtés sont droits. Ces derniers se rattachent aux lignes qui enveloppent les panneaux centraux.

Nous nous arrêtons ici parce que ces lignes principales de la décoration se relient ici aux lignes qui se développent horizontalement sur la partie inférieure du cénotaphe. La liaison entre les lignes des deux unités décoratives ne signifie pas que les unités mêmes sont liées entre elles.

Revenons à la partie supérieure pour suivre les deux lignes qui ont formé la première de



nos figures et la moitié de la seconde. Elles se dirigent vers les côtés et avec leurs équivalents des unités voisines créant les figures suivantes :

1. Un lobe pointu dont la pointe est dirigée vers le bas.

2. Trois lobes dont le plus élevé est pointu tandis que les autres sont circulaires (ces trois lobes se situent entre la tête du *miḥrāb* et la partie supérieure du motif décoratif continu). Ces lobes s'harmonisent avec ceux du *miḥrāb*.

3. Chaque ligne se dirige vers le centre du motif principal où elle se rencontre avec les figures que nous avons décrites plus haut.

Comme nous l'avons déjà mentionné, le même type de ligne dans la partie inférieure du cénotaphe, quoiqu'unie aux lignes des parties centrales et supérieure, crée des figures différentes. On en trouve trois en partant du centre et en allant vers les côtés :

1. Au centre deux lignes s'enlacent et s'entrecoupent pour former une sorte de collier à deux lobes, dont le lobe supérieur est pointu. Le lobe inférieur ne peut pas être reconstitué car il est perdu. La ligne extérieure continue son chemin et, après un angle aigu et prenant une direction oblique vers le bas, rejoint la ligne voisine.

2. Les lignes qui proviennent d'entre les panneaux forment par leur intersection un autre collier à trois lobes; le lobe supérieur est, là aussi, pointu et sa ligne s'incline vers le bas pour rejoindre la ligne précédente.

3. Les deux lignes se coupent et forment une figure ovale dont les côtés inférieur et supérieur sont pointus; cet ovale est suivi de nouveau d'un collier à trois lobes suivant le principe des colliers précédents.

4. Finalement on retrouve une figure semblable à celle du 2 (*pl. 5, fig. 12*).

On trouve des lignes semblables aux nôtres dans les exemples suivants :

1. Le cénotaphe de l'Imām al-Shāfi'ī au

Caire,<sup>63</sup> daté de l'an 574/1178-79 a dans son milieu un grand plat étoilé au centre duquel se trouve une étoile à six côtés composée de lignes "sillonées et granulées" semblables aux nôtres et rattachées à des motifs végétaux.

2. Sur le panneau supérieur du *miḥrāb* de al-Sayyidah Ruqayyah au Caire,<sup>64</sup> daté du sixième/douzième siècle on retrouve aussi deux lignes qui s'entrecroisent<sup>65</sup> et qui forment des carrés dans lesquels s'entremêlent d'autres lignes fines.

3. Sur le *miḥrāb* de Sayyidah Nufaysah<sup>66</sup> daté en 541/1145-46 des lignes semblables forment des hexagones et des étoiles.

#### IV. *Les éléments végétaux dans la partie centrale.*

Après avoir été pris dans la nature aux époques classiques et du début de l'Islam, les éléments végétaux de la décoration, aussi bien dans leur organisation que dans leurs thèmes, ont commencé, à l'époque abbāside, à se transformer en décoration stylisée très loin de la nature, les motifs remplissent toute l'aire décorée, et le fond disparaît, ainsi qu'on peut le voir dans les stucs aussi bien que dans les boiseries. A l'époque Fātimide on revint à des formes composées de branches et de tiges entremêlées et de fleurs et feuilles artificielles clairement détachées sur des fonds définis et variables quant au relief, mais les éléments décoratifs tendirent à être de plus en plus stylisés en gardant les nouveaux principes. Sous les Ayyoubides et les Mamlūks cette nouvelle direction fut maintenue, et notre objet est un

<sup>63</sup> M. Z. Hassan, *Aṭlās*, p. 125, fig. 375. Haute-cœur et Wiet, pls. 51 et 52.

<sup>64</sup> *Aṭlās*, pp. 119, 121; figs. 363 et 367.

<sup>65</sup> K. A. C. Creswell, *Muslim architecture of Egypt*, vol. 1, London, 1952, pl. 25, a, b, c, et d; pl. 26, figs. d et e.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 249, pl. 121a; M. Dimand, *A handbook*, New York, 1944, p. 120 (Ar. tr.).

exemple de la pleine maturité de cette manière de décoration végétale.

A. Les tiges: des tiges centrales forment l'élément essentiel de cette décoration; leur épaisseur varie entre 4 et 6 mms; des feuilles, des fleurs et de volutes y poussent. Si l'on commence par la partie située entre les deux panneaux et remonte graduellement vers le haut en suivant les branches qui s'accrochent aux lignes granulées, on constate que toutes ces tiges prennent leur départ dans la partie inférieure du dessin et s'amenuisent en montant.

1. Deux tiges apparaissent et forment une figure ovale pointue aux deux extrémités inférieure et supérieure autour de la figure ovale que nous avons mentionnée en parlant des lignes granulées. A l'intérieur de cette figure deux petites branches se forment et se terminent par deux feuilles en forme d'aileron atteignant les bords de l'ovale. Ces deux tiges se croisent et créent une espèce de grande fleur en forme de calice dont les deux pétales se terminent en volutes.

2. Du sommet de ce premier motif repoussent deux autres tiges qui forment à nouveau une figure semblable (c'est à dire une figure ovale au sommet de laquelle se trouve une fleur en forme de calice avec trois pétales); à l'intérieur on voit de nouveau deux petites branches qui se retournent sur elles-mêmes et tout en se touchant, se terminent par deux volutes en directions opposées.

3. Du sommet de la deuxième formation poussent deux autres tiges qui se séparent (en même temps qu'on y voit deux petites branches dirigées en sens inverse), puis se rapprochent. Au milieu on voit un petit bourgeon. En se rapprochant elles se retournent et forment une sorte de cercle. Chacune se termine par une grande fleur en forme de calice avec trois pétales comme les précédentes.

4. Des deux extrémités des tiges de la troisième figure se détachent deux autres tiges

qui se rencontrent sur le bourgeon. A leur point de rencontre se trouve un disque couvert de rayons concentriques. Ce disque ressemble à un chrysanthème.

5. On remarque ici que l'aire décorée s'est élargie. Du chrysanthème sortent deux nouvelles tiges avec rameaux composées d'un élément ressemblant à une feuille de palmier. Chacune de ces tiges se dirige vers la pointe du *mihrāb* voisin pour se terminer en un rameau qui s'enroule sur lui-même et une volute extérieure qui rejoint une volute semblable provenant de la formation voisine.

6. De l'extrémité des deux tiges de la quatrième formation sortent deux grosses branches qui s'inclinent de façon à rejoindre la pointe de l'arc du *mihrāb*. Ces branches se retournent sur elles-mêmes pour se rejoindre plus haut. Avant de se rejoindre elles donnent naissance à deux branches secondaires qui, après s'être retournées sur elles-mêmes, se terminent par une grande fleur en forme de calice dont l'intérieur est comme une longue spirale. Les deux branches principales sont recoupées au centre par un croissant.

7. Du croissant naissent deux tiges qui se rejoignent dans la partie supérieure de la décoration au milieu de la figure ovale mentionnée plus haut et formée par la rencontre des lignes granulées. Avant de se rencontrer elles créent deux tiges secondaires qui se retournent sur elles-mêmes en faisant un cercle. Après s'être rejointes elles se séparent à nouveau et se retournent sur elles-mêmes. Tous ces croisements à l'intérieur de l'ovale créent une belle forme décorative composée de deux séries de cercles entrecroisés, l'un au-dessus de l'autre.

8. Au-dessus du *mihrāb* deux figures semblables sont créées qui, en s'enroulant, forment une fleur en forme de calice avec trois pétales.

Toutes ces formations végétales apparaissent clairement dans le schéma géométrique de la fig. G.



Dans la partie inférieure du cénotaphe ces branches créent aussi de belles figures basées sur des tortions circulaires et spirales. L'axe de symétrie se trouve exactement au centre de la face du cénotaphe, c'est à dire dans la partie inférieure d'une des grandes unités principales de décoration. Comme nous l'avons déjà mentionné, cette décoration est intimement liée aux tiges et aux lignes de ces dernières (*pl.* 5, *fig.* 12).

Il nous reste un des coins du cénotaphe dont les caractéristiques sont presque intactes. Sa décoration de lignes granulées et de tiges végétales très semblables à celles que nous avons décrites par ailleurs est organisée symétriquement autour de la ligne même de l'angle.

Nous devons ajouter que les dessins utilisant les mêmes éléments sur les autres faces du cénotaphe ne répètent pas les mêmes motifs. Chaque face semble avoir développé ses propres compositions, mais nous ne pouvons pas les décrire parce que ces faces ont été trop détruites.

Des tiges et branches sillonnées, comme celles que nous voyons ici, se retrouvent dans un certain nombre d'autres exemples. Parfois elles donnent l'apparence de doubles branches; dans les deux cas: l'essentiel est de donner un certain volume et des ombres au motif. En voici quelques exemples:

1. Le minaret nord de la mosquée al-Ĥakīm au Caire,<sup>67</sup> daté en 392/1003.

2. La grille de la *maqṣūrah* de la mosquée de Kairouan<sup>68</sup> datée en 410/1019.

3. *Le minbar* en bois fait pour le mausolée de Ĥusayn à Ascalon et transporté au sanctuaire d'Hébron en Palestine. On y lit les noms d'al-Mustanṣir billāh, le calife Fāṭimide et de son ministre Badr al-Jamālī et la date 484/1091-92.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>67</sup> Creswell, pl. 25, a, b, c, d; pl. 26, d et e.

<sup>68</sup> Notre ami M. Ibrāhīm Shabbūh nous en a montré une photographie.

<sup>69</sup> *Aṭlās*, p. 115, fig. 353.

4. Divers monuments décoratifs en Afrique du Nord.<sup>70</sup>

Quant aux feuilles, fleurs et ligaments, nous les avons réunis sur une même planche (*fig.* H) tel qu'on les trouve sur les diverses unités décoratives du cénotaphe. Nous les avons arrangés à partir des types que l'on voit dans le motif décoratif central en ajoutant les types divergents des autres unités. Pour leur étude nous nous sommes référés au précieux livre écrit par le Dr. Farīd Shāfi'i au sujet des fleurs en forme de calice.<sup>71</sup> Quoique le Dr. Shāfi'i ait publié tous les exemples connus, nous n'y avons pas trouvé un seul qui soit exactement semblable aux nôtres. Et c'est pourquoi nous les ajoutons à son travail et mentionnons un certain nombre de ressemblances entre celles de notre cénotaphe et celles de son livre.

1.<sup>72</sup> Fleur en forme de calice et à trois pétales, dont deux sont en spirale dans des directions opposées, semble particulièrement proche des exemples suivants tirés de l'ouvrage du Dr. Shāfi'i: (a) planche 21g, provenant du chapiteau d'une colonne trouvée à Raqqah (troisième/neuvième siècle) qui diffère de notre fleur par le fait qu'elle a des "yeux" et n'a pas de double queue; (b) planche 21z provenant du *miḥrāb* de la tombe de Sayyidah Ruqqayah au Caire (528/1183) qui diffère par la présence d'une entaille ovale aux extrémités aplaties; (c) planche 23h provenant du mausolée d'al-Ĥusayn à Alep (579/1183 ou 599/1202) dont les extrémités inférieures sont différentes; (d) planche 28w provenant d'une marqueterie persane du sixième-septième/ douzième-treizième siècle au British Museum, qui diffère par la place des nervures intérieures et par la queue; (e) planche 29u provenant du tombeau en bois de Qalā'un au Caire (643/

<sup>70</sup> Marçais, vol. 1, p. 170.

<sup>71</sup> F. Shāfi'i, *Simple calyx ornament in Islamic art*, Cairo, 1956.

<sup>72</sup> Ces numéros correspondent aux numéros de la *fig.* H.

1245) qui ne diffère de notre exemple que par de petits détails dans les nervures et la queue; (f) planche 31w provenant du tombeau en bois de Fakhr al-Dīn au Caire (613/1276) qui est très proche du nôtre.

2. Les bourgeons se trouvent entre des ligaments en spirale et des feuilles en forme d'ailerons et ont été trouvés aussi séparément dans d'autres endroits. Il n'y en a pas de semblables dans le livre du Dr. Shāfi'i, mais il en parle dans la deuxième partie de son article.<sup>73</sup>

3. La fleur en forme de calice et à trois pétales, dont la pétale centrale coupée par son milieu, a la forme d'une amande et des nervures, tandis que les pétales latéraux ont aussi des nervures et une spirale vers le bas, me semble sans parallèle immédiat dans le répertoire décoratif.

4. La fleur en forme de calice à trois pétales, dont la partie centrale se termine en spirale et possède des nervures, tandis que les parties latérales sont semblables au type précédent, peut se comparer aux exemples suivants du Dr. Shāfi'i: (a) planche 29e provenant du cénotaphe de Saladin à Damas (592/1195); (b) planche 31i provenant du mausolée de Farrūkh-shāh aussi à Damas (592/1195).

5. Moitié d'une fleur en forme de calice dont l'extrémité et une nervure seulement sont en spirale; cette fleur apparaît plusieurs fois sur notre cénotaphe, quoique dans des positions variables dont l'une seulement est dessinée sur notre planche. Les nervures ressemblent aux plumes d'une aile d'oiseau. Cette forme ressemble à ce que l'on voit sur la planche 39p du livre du Dr. Shāfi'i provenant d'une chaire de Koran de Konya (687/1288).

6. Moitié de fleur en forme de calice dont l'extrémité est en spirale; on y trouve une seule pétale; sous ses nervures apparaît une feuille secondaire avec spirale et dentelée. Ce motif ressemble aux exemples donnés p. 180, fig. 64

et planche 51g dans le livre mentionné, le deuxième exemple provenant d'un chandelier persan du septième/treizième siècle.

7. Moitié de fleur ressemblant à la précédente sauf dans les détails.

8. Torsade comprenant une feuille et deux torsades plus petites sur le corps.

9. Torsade semblable à la précédente mais avec deux feuilles; cette forme ressemble à la planche 50j provenant d'un *mihrāb* persan sur un carreau de faïence de Kashan daté en 722/1322.

10, 11, 12. Torsades dans des positions différentes; elles sont légèrement enflées et comprennent parfois de plus petites torsades ou quelque chose qui ressemble à de petites feuilles en forme d'ailerons. Le type le plus important est représenté par le no. 10.

13. Double torsade en directions opposées; à l'une des deux s'ajoute une forme qui ressemble à un aileron avec spirale vers le bas. Ce motif ressemble aux exemples suivants du livre du Dr. Shāfi'i: (a) planche 39c provenant d'un motif sur pierre de la citadelle de Damas (610/1213); (b) planche 41n du cénotaphe de Al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb au Caire (647/1249); (c) planche 47q provenant de faïences de la mosquée Zirdālān à Najaf (septième/treizième siècle).

14. Double torsade en forme de parenthèse, sans aucune addition.

15, 16. Branche de palmier avec nervures et "oeil" dans la partie inférieure.

17. Chrysanthème qui se trouve aux points de jonction de branches.

(Telle est la liste des éléments que l'on trouve dans l'unité décorative principale; les exemples qui suivent proviennent d'autres parties du cénotaphe.)

18. Bourgeon avec deux spirales et des rayons autour d'un centre sur le corps.

19. Fleur en calice avec trois pétales et spirale; le motif ressemble au numéro 4, mais

<sup>73</sup> Bull. Fac. of Letters, vol. 16, Pt. 1, May, 1954.



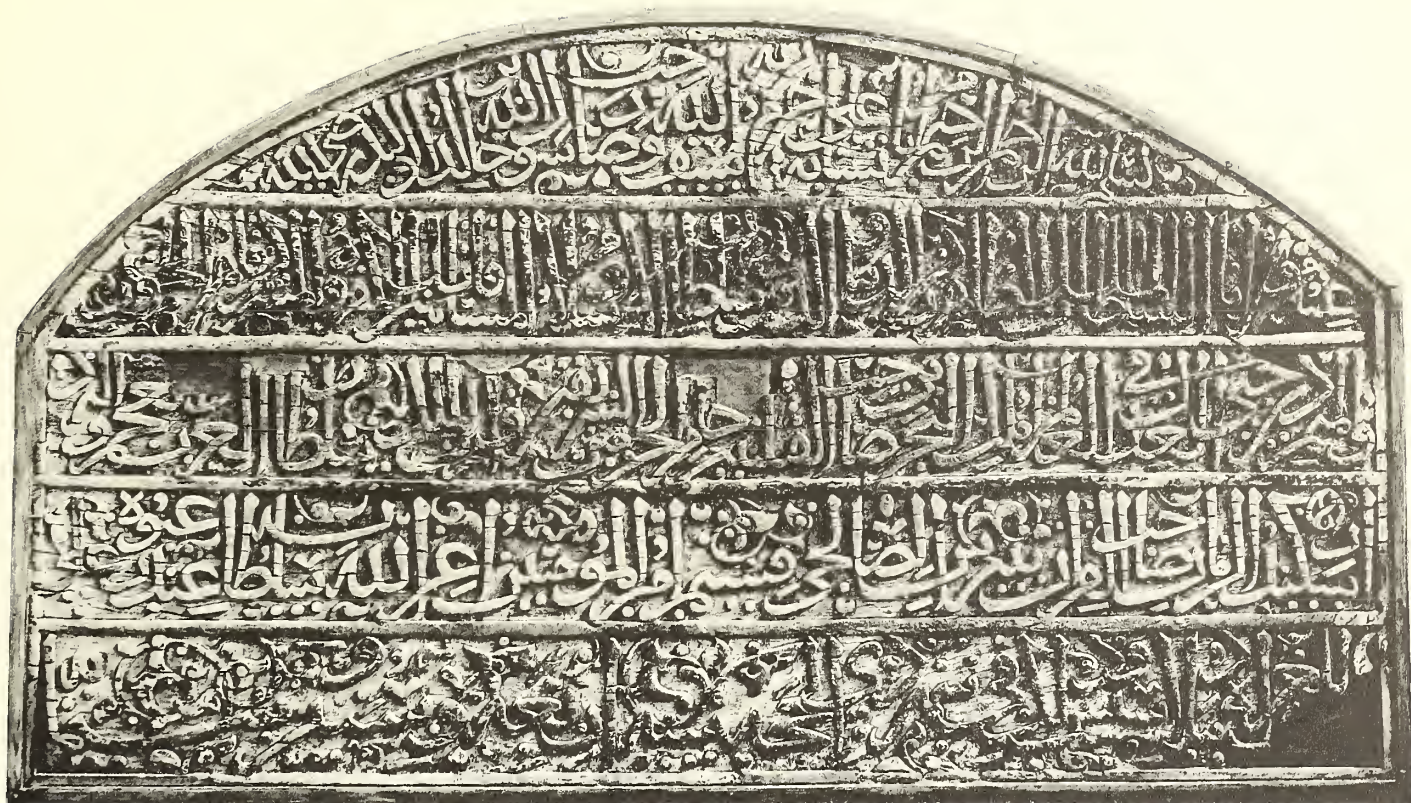


FIG. 1.

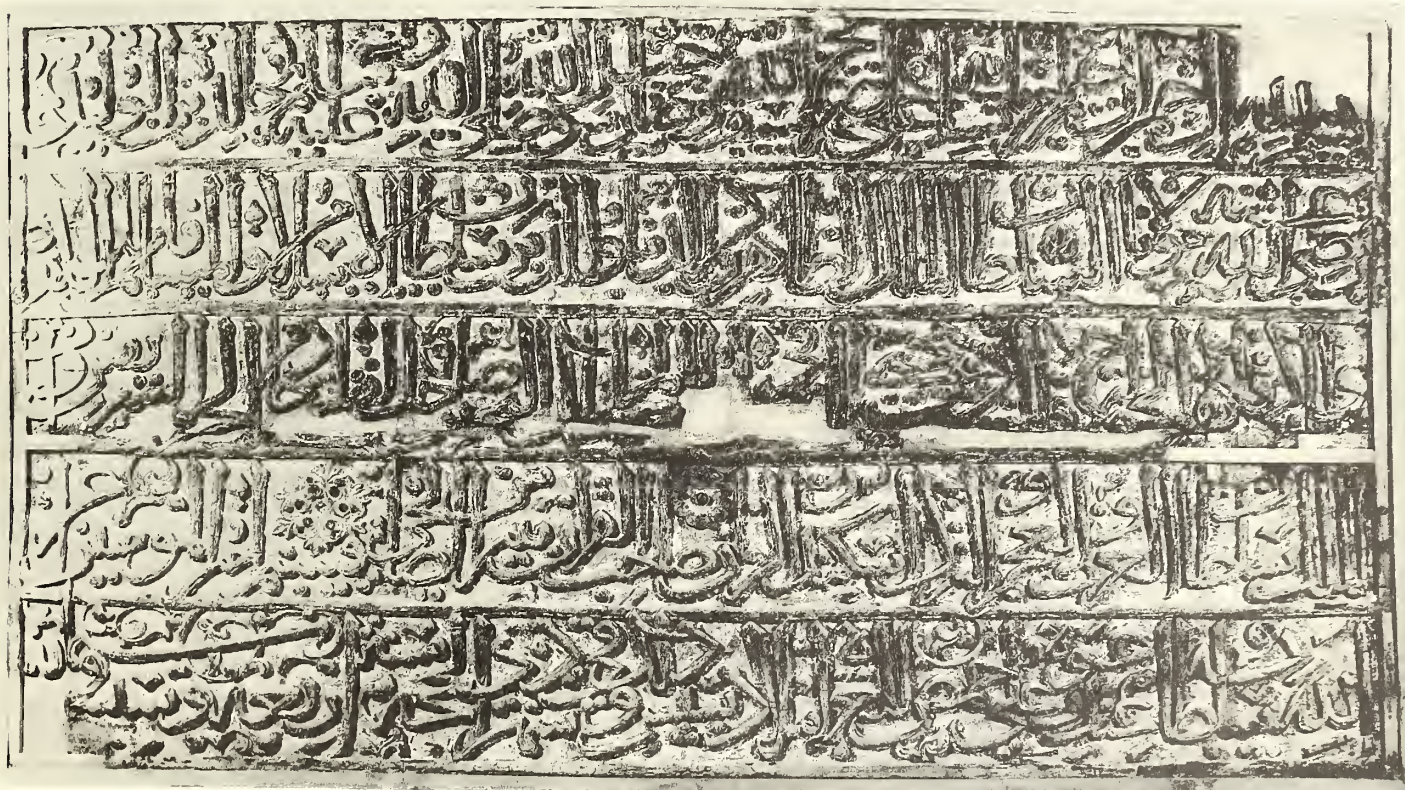


FIG. 2.



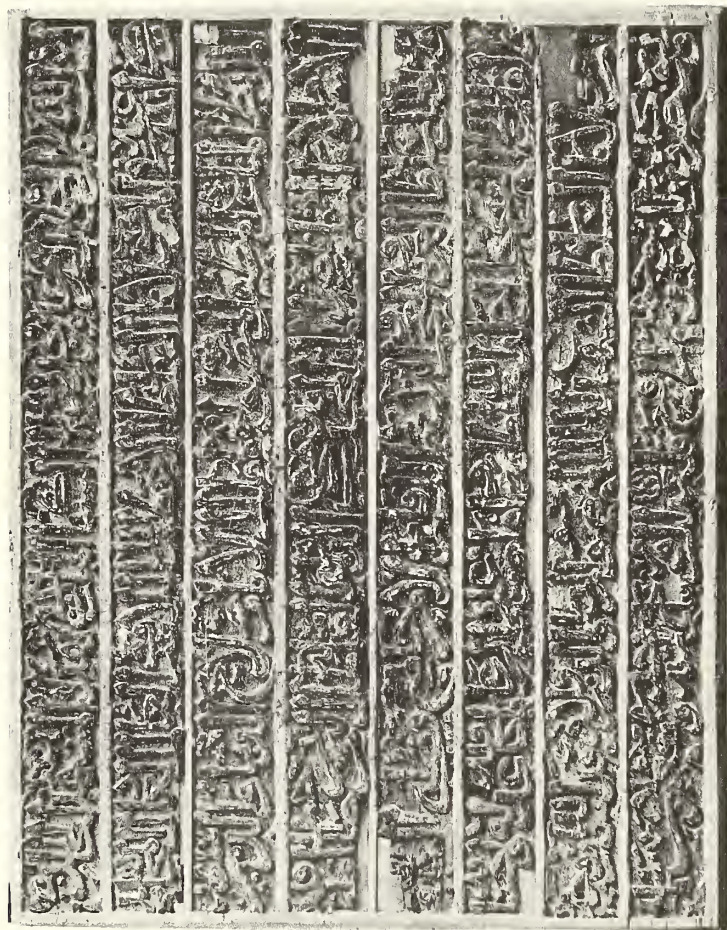


FIG. 3.



FIG. 4.

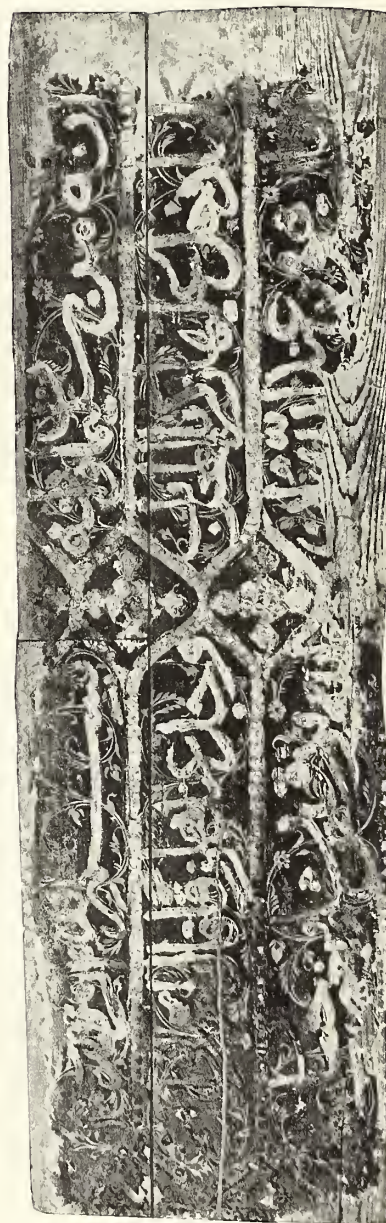


FIG. 5.





FIG. 6.—VUE GÉNÉRALE.

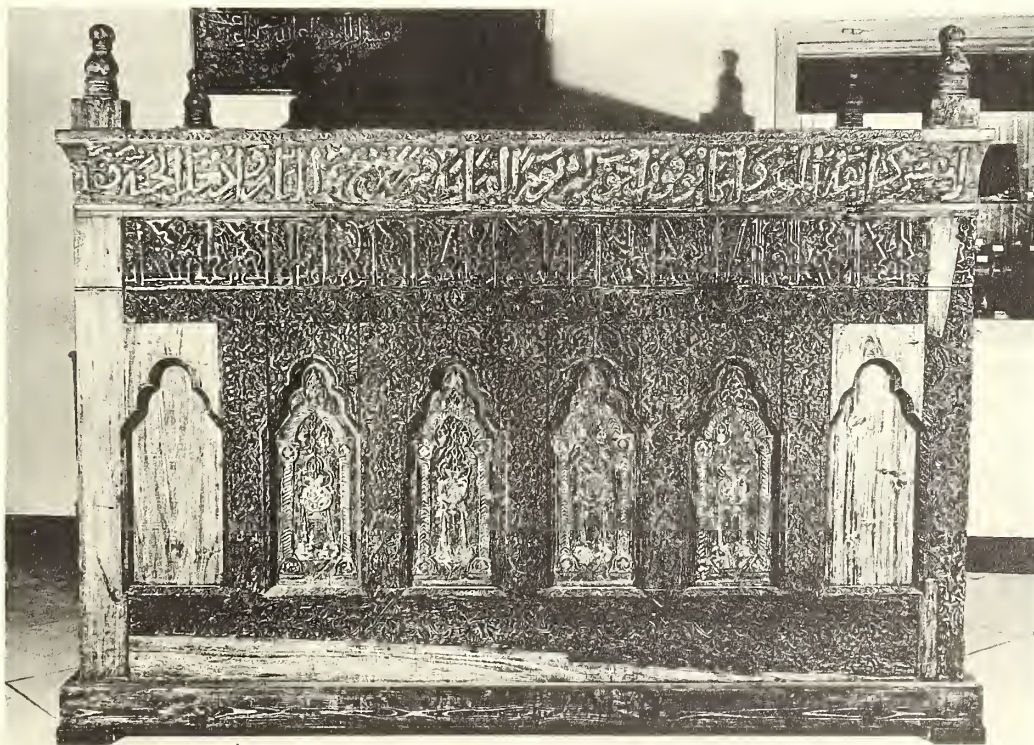


FIG. 7.—FACE PRINCIPALE.





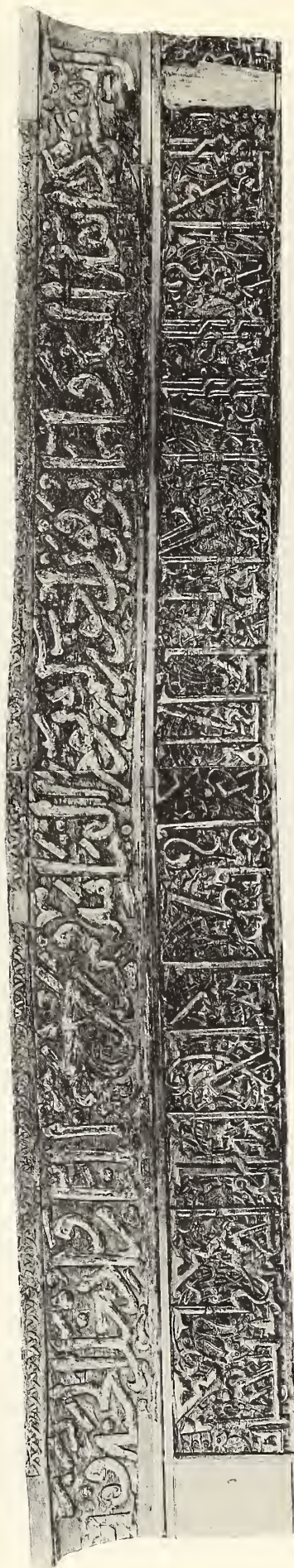
Above: FIG. 9.



Left: FIG. 8.



Right: FIG. 10.



Below: FIG. 11.



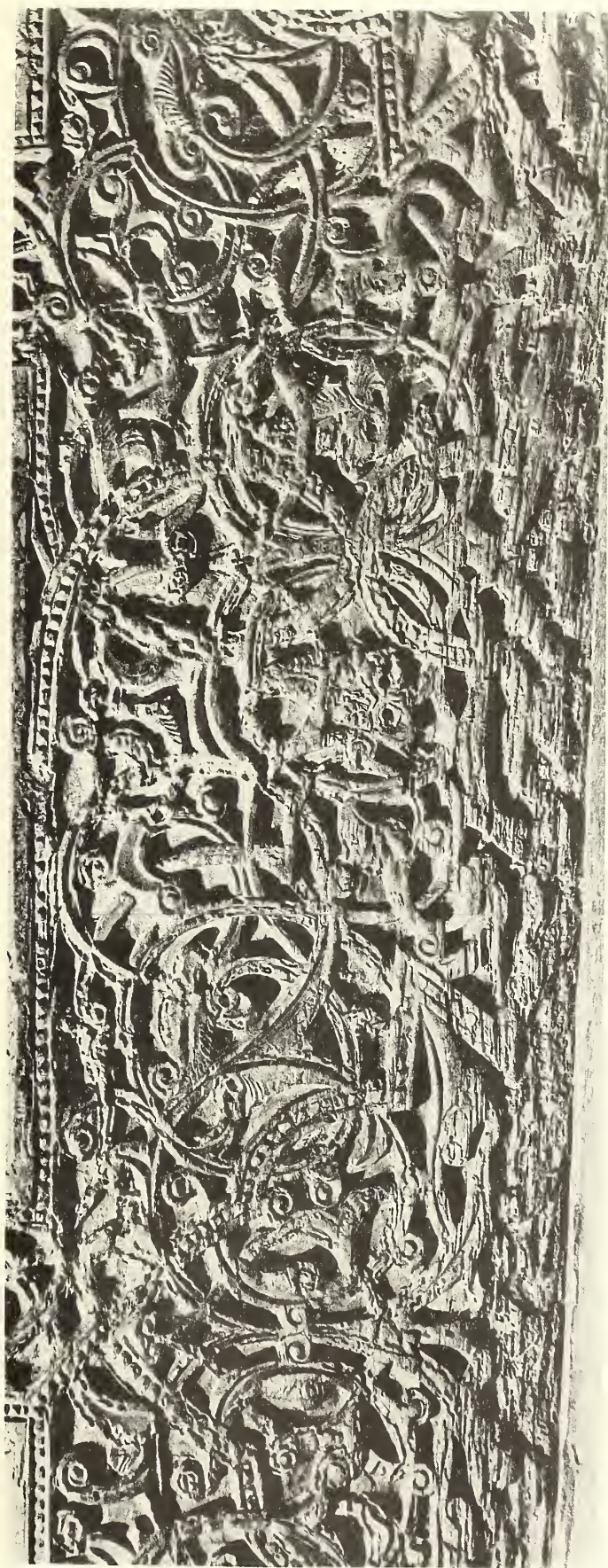


FIG. 12.



FIG. 13.



FIG. 14.

FIGS. 12, 13, 14.—MOTIFS VÉGÉTAUX.



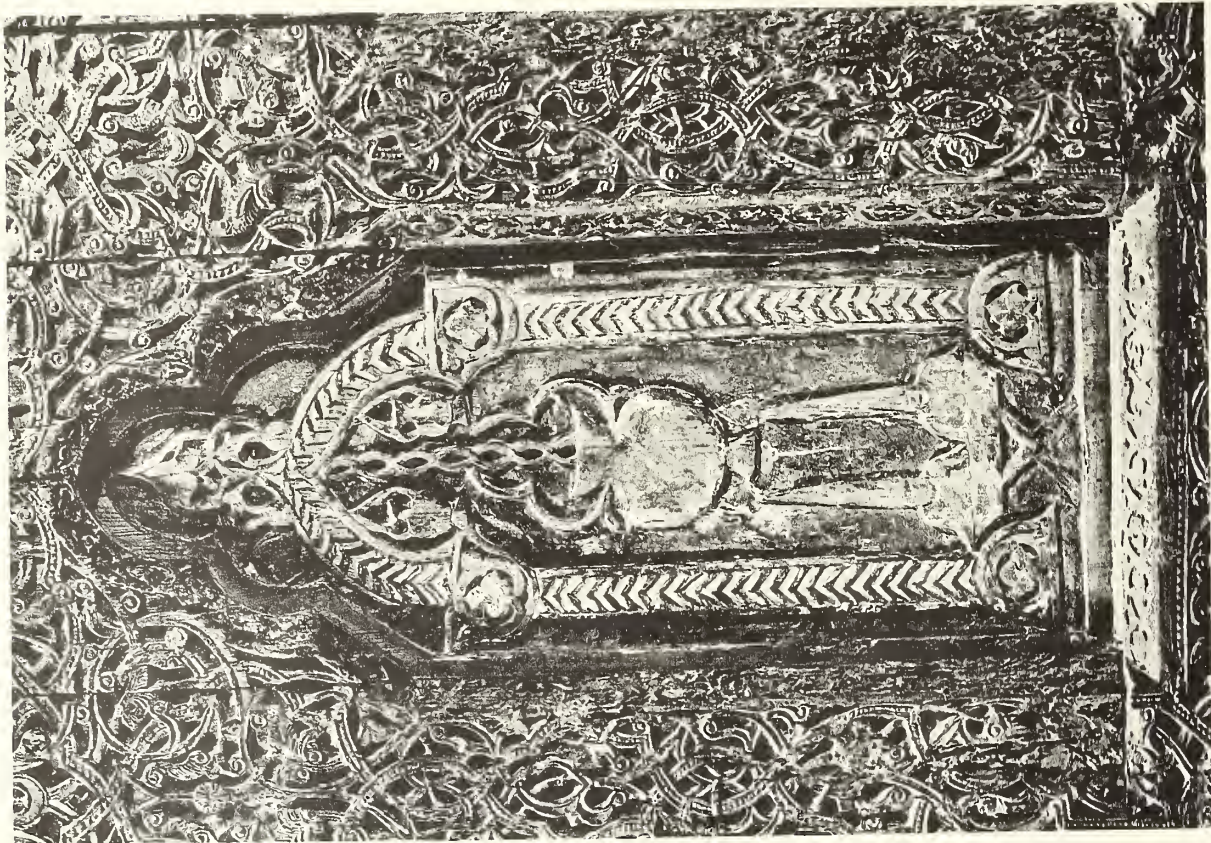


FIG. 15.

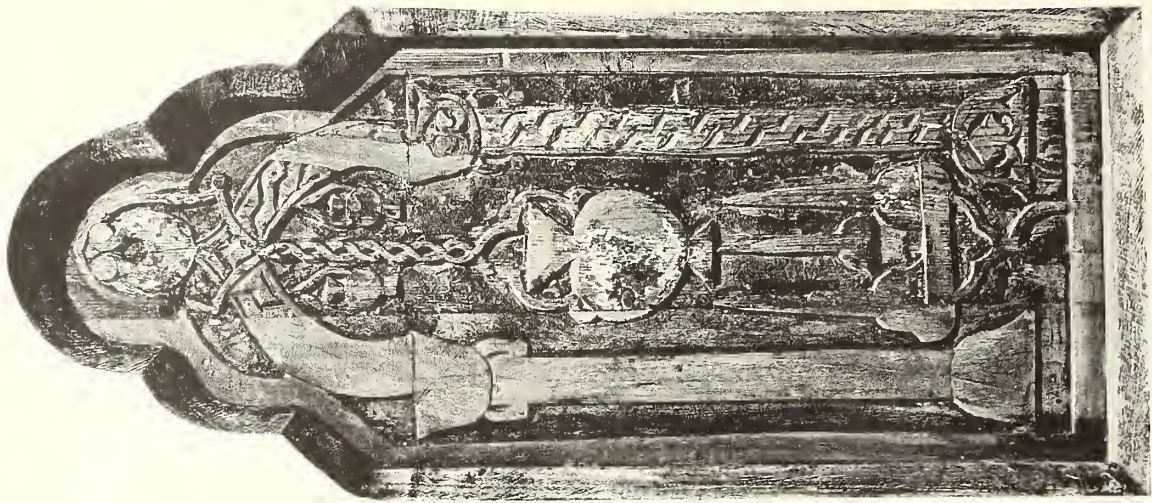


FIG. 17.

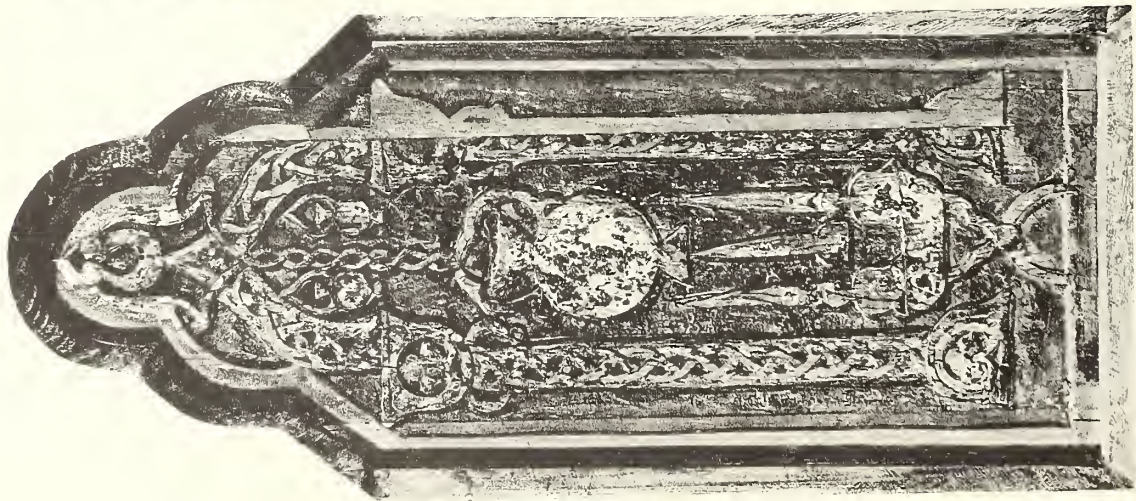


FIG. 16.



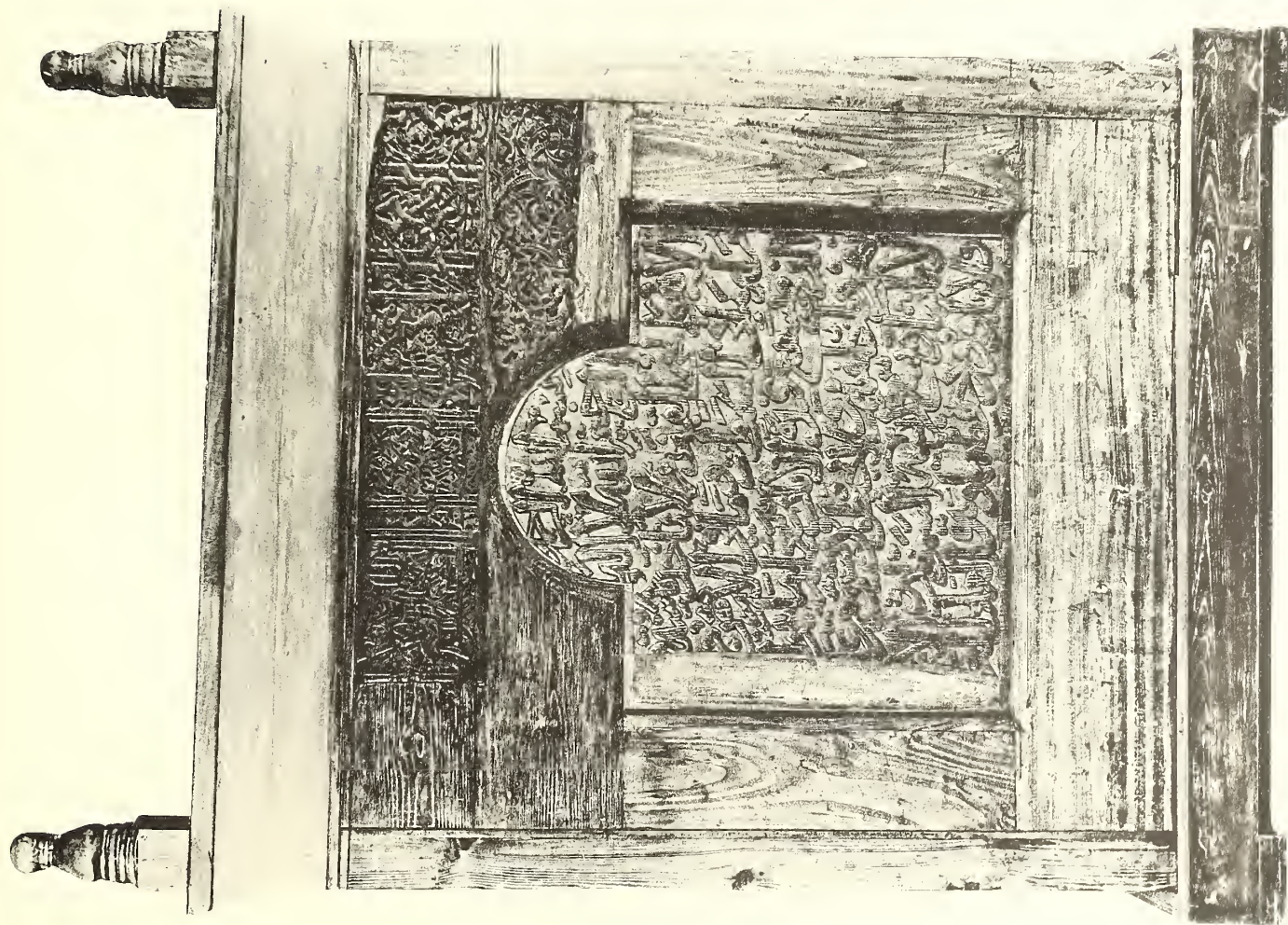


FIG. 18.—INSCRIPTION CORANIQUE.



FIG. 19.—ENCRIER DE RAQQAH.





on y trouve aussi deux fleurs supplémentaires gravées sur la partie principale. Ce motif ne se trouve qu'une fois sur notre pièce (*pl. 5, fig. 14*) et nous ne lui avons pas trouvé de parallèle.

20. Fleur en calice et à deux spirales; ce motif aussi ressemble au numéro 4, mais a deux spirales supplémentaires qui ressemblent à des croissants (*pl. 5, fig. 12*, en haut à droite).

21. Fleur en forme de calice tripartite, comme la précédente, mais avec de vraies spirales sur les côtés (*pl. 5, fig. 13*).

#### V. La décoration végétale sous l'écriture coufique.

Nous avons mentionné précédemment que cette décoration est d'un relief moins élevé que celui de l'inscription. A sa base se trouvent de fines (3 mm d'épaisseur) tiges qui s'enroulent en spirale trois ou quatre fois avant de se diriger les unes vers les autres. Elles donnent naissance à des feuilles en forme d'ailerons, à des fleurs en forme de calice à trois parties avec volutes, et à de nombreuses petites volutes. Il est à remarquer que ces tiges ne se repètent pas mais s'agencent avec les espaces vides entre les lettres. Nous en avons illustré deux exemples (*pl. 5, figs. 13, 14*).

Il y a beaucoup de parallèles à ce motif décoratif. En voici les plus rapprochés :

1. Le cénotaphe du mausolée al-Ĥusayni, sans date, au Musée de l'art musulman au Caire.<sup>74</sup>

2. La deuxième bande décorée du cénotaphe de Sayyidah Ruqayyah (568/1133).<sup>75</sup>

3. La porte de la mosquée al-Nabi Jurjis à Mossoul (septième/treizième siècle) conservée au Musée des Antiquités arabes à Baghdad.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>74</sup> Hassan, *Funūn*, p. 464, figs. 383-4.

<sup>75</sup> Hauteceur et Wiet, vol. 1, p. 241; vol. 2, pl. 38.

<sup>76</sup> *Aṭlās*, p. 127, pl. 379.

#### VI. La décoration des panneaux en forme de miḥrāb.

Lorsque nous retrouvâmes les boiseries du cénotaphe, ces panneaux n'étaient plus à leur place. Certains étaient incomplets. Nous les avons restaurés à fin de voir ce qui manquait. Sept unités restaient, tandis qu'il y en avait eu quinze. Nous remarquâmes que les panneaux se ressemblent mais ne sont pas identiques. Quatre panneaux étaient particulièrement proches les uns des autres avec quelques variations dans le mouvement des deux colonnes et des arches. Nous mîmes ces quatre panneaux sur la face principale qui est ainsi mieux conservée que les autres. Nous plaçâmes les autres sur l'autre long côté du cénotaphe, deux par deux. En voici la description, étant bien entendu que leur technique est semblable à la technique décrite plus haut.

1. (*Pl. 6, fig. 15*)<sup>77</sup> : La base de la décoration comprend deux colonnes avec des chapiteaux en forme de cloches et des bases semblables aux chapiteaux, mais renversées. Au-dessus se trouve une arche de forme lancéolée. Sur la pointe de l'arche se trouve une fleur en calice tripartite ressemblant à une fleur de lys, sauf que ses deux pétales externes se terminent en volute. Les pétales sont évidés et celle du centre contient une autre fleur tripartite qui se pose sur deux tiges. Le même motif en plus petit se repète sur les pétales de côté. Cette fleur est fort proche d'un grand nombre de fleurs que l'on trouve sur divers objets anciens, textiles, reliures, marbre. Nous ne mentionnons que quelques exemples : une dalle égyptienne en marbre à décorations en relief (huitième/quatorzième siècle) conservée au Musée du Caire;<sup>78</sup> et la reliure d'un livre égyptien (même époque) au Musée de Berlin.<sup>79</sup>

Les deux colonnes et l'arche sont entière-

<sup>77</sup> Sur la face principale.

<sup>78</sup> *Aṭlās*, pl. 268, fig. 791.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 385, fig. 934.

ment décorés par des chevrons en relief. Les chapiteaux et la base contiennent le même type de fleur tripartite mais, cette fois-ci, enveloppée dans une tige de laquelle poussent aussi des feuilles en forme d'ailerons qui remplissent les vides des coins. Des fleurs semblables, enveloppées dans leurs tiges, se retrouvent à l'entrée de la mosquée al-Şāliḥ Ṭalā'i' au Caire (555/1160).<sup>80</sup> Du haut de l'arche pend une chaîne à laquelle s'accroche une lampe au tronc sphérique et au col conique. Cette lampe est pourvue d'une anse trilobée entre le col et le tronc. Deux petites lampes remplissent les vides à l'intérieur de l'arche.

Entre les bases des colonnes se trouve un siège aux pieds croisés. Au-dessus du siège on aperçoit deux chandeliers à base en forme de cloche. Les chandelles atteignent le bas des lampes.

Ces deux sujets décoratifs, la ou les lampes et deux chandeliers, sont communs à l'époque mamlūk, soit ensemble soit séparés. On les retrouve aussi à l'époque seljūqide ainsi que sous les Ottomans et ils apparaissent souvent dans l'art persan pendant toute cette période. Ils se voient surtout dans les *mihrābs* des mosquées, sur les tapis et sur les boiseries. En voici quelques exemples publiés :

(a) Une dalle de marbre égyptienne avec décoration en relief du huitième siècle, conservée au Musée du Caire.<sup>81</sup>

(b) Un tapis Seljūq d'Asie Mineure du septième/treizième siècle conservé au Musée des Arts Turcs et Musulmans à Istanbul.<sup>82</sup>

(c) Un *mihrāb* en carreaux de faïence à reflets métalliques au musée de Berlin daté en 663/1264.

(d) Un autre *mihrāb* du même type au Metropolitan Museum du huitième/quatorzième siècle.<sup>83</sup>

(e) Un *mihrāb* dans la même technique de la mosquée Zirdalān à Najaf daté au septième/treizième siècle.<sup>84</sup>

(f) Un des côtés d'un encrrier émaillé trouvé à Raqqah et datant du sixième/douzième siècle ; cet objet (*pl. 7, fig. 19*), au Musée de Damas, n'a pas encore été publié.

2. Un deuxième type de panneau est semblable au premier sauf sur un point de détail : les chevrons qui décorent les colonnes et l'arche sont remplacés par des traits obliques.

3. Un troisième type diffère des deux précédents dans les détails suivants :

(a) L'élément décoratif au sommet de l'arche se compose d'un croissant avec deux volutes en sens inverses.

(b) La chaîne se continue au-delà de l'arche par deux lignes qui créent une sorte de casque.

(c) La décoration des colonnes et de l'arche se compose d'un motif tressé.

(d) Il y a un troisième chandelier entre les deux que l'on trouve par ailleurs.

(e) Les pieds du siège forment dans leur parties supérieure un arc tri-lobé et dans leur partie inférieure un demi-cercle ; un bouton circulaire apparaît au croisement.

4. Le dernier type est semblable au précédent sauf que la décoration des arches et des colonnes se compose d'une sorte de tresse à angles.

Le grand panneau avec le verset du Trône a été décrit plus haut et est illustré sur la *planche 7, fig. 18*.

Nous pouvons conclure en disant que le cénotaphe de Khālid ibn al-Walid est une oeuvre d'art de tout premier ordre qui représente la pleine maturité de l'art du bois au début de la période Mamlūk. Mais c'est aussi

<sup>80</sup> Creswell, *pl. 105c*; Hauteceur et Wiet, *pl. 45*.

<sup>81</sup> *Aḥlās*, p. 260, *fig. 792*.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 232, *fig. 676*.

<sup>83</sup> G. C. Miles, *Epitaphs from an Isfahan grave-*

*yard*, *Ars Islamica*, vol. 6, 1938, pt. 2, pp. 151-157, *figs. 11 and 12*.

<sup>84</sup> M. Aga-Oglu, *Fragments of a thirteenth century Mihrab at Nedjef*, *Ars Islamica*, vol. 2, pt. 1, 1935, p. 128.



une pièce qui illustre admirablement l'art musulman en général car on y trouve beaucoup d'éléments plus anciens auxquels des thèmes nouveaux ont été ajoutés. Les qualités les plus importantes de cette pièce sont les suivantes :

1. La décoration d'une grande surface du cénotaphe au moyen de la répétition d'une grande unité centrale qui est liée aux unités voisines par une composition originale.

2. La grande complexité de l'écriture coufique.

3. La diversité des éléments végétaux que l'on trouve au-dessous de l'écriture coufique.

4. La technique de haut relief qui permet de mettre en valeur l'art des motifs.

5. Les différences de relief entre les divers éléments décoratifs.

6. La précision de la technique dans la gravure et l'utilisation de rainures ainsi que dans la dissimulation des extrémités des motifs pour donner du volume aux formes décoratives.

7. La profondeur du fond et la netteté des motifs.

8. Les branches et les tiges ont des torsions élégantes et sortent les unes des autres.

9. Les éléments végétaux ont des parallèles mais pas de semblables.

10. L'invention d'une série de motifs différents, tels que le croissant ou le chrysanthème, pour lier les branches et les tiges.





## TWO MINIATURES FROM THE COLLECTIONS OF TOPKAPI

By E. ESIN

THE MUSEUM OF TOPKAPI POSSESSES NUMEROUS miscellany albums made either for Ottoman sultans, or for various Turkestani and Near Eastern princes. These collections have in common the fact that they are composed of unconnected works consisting of miniatures, drawings, and inscriptions in Arabic, Persian, or Turkish; the Turkish inscriptions are either in Arabic or in the Uygur alphabets. Together with the works of well-known Near Eastern and Turkestani Islamic schools, there are other works of unusual aspect. Considering some of the miscellany albums, Turkish and foreign scholars<sup>1</sup> (see NOTES at end of text) have distinguished among the unusual works, groups of different sources.

A. One group consists of paintings, drawings, and inscriptions showing some characteristics of Buddhist or Manichean Turkestani art. These must originate either from as yet unknown Turkestani centers or from the courts of Turkish and Mongolian princes on the cultural borders between Iran and Turan, such as Tabriz, Khwarazm, Samarkand, Bukhara, or from Herat where Uygur painters were known to be active down to the 15th century.<sup>2</sup>

B. There is another group, which, with its weird shamans, demons, and animal motifs, seems to be linked with the later art of Eurasian nomads, the late Ordos, Saray-Berke, Kıpçak, and Öngüt productions and may sometimes be inspired by the popular mythology of the Turks.<sup>3</sup>

C. A small number of works are thought to originate from China,<sup>4</sup> India, Egypt, and Europe.<sup>5</sup>

The miniatures here presented seem to belong to the group of works bearing influence

of Buddhist and/or Manichean Turkestani art. The connection of these miniatures with Buddhist art has been noted by A. Sakisian.<sup>6</sup> Professor Ettinghausen has kindly indicated to me that these miniatures were once exhibited in Munich in 1910, as a loan from the Ottoman collections of Yıldız. In the catalogue of the exhibition (see Note 6) it is suggested that they might be copies of pre-Mongol Persian murals. This guess was evidently made before the expansion of our present knowledge on Inner Asian art. Archaeological studies beginning at the start of our century in eastern Turkestan and continuing to our day in central and western Turkestan, as well as in the Altay and in Siberia, have brought to light the evidence that from the first centuries of the Christian Era there has existed in the heart of Asia an ethnically and culturally eclectic civilization which, however, was able to produce works of art of a homogeneous and strikingly distinctive style. The well-known sites of eastern Turkestan dating from the first centuries; the Uygur cities; the western Turkestan sites of Toprak-kale, of Panj-Kent, of Varakhshah, of Balalík-tepe; the Buddhist temple of Ak-beşim in central Turkestan all appear to be local expressions of the same Inner Asian art, presenting the same characteristics in style, in technique, and in the costumes and physiognomy of the figures.

Around the time of the introduction of Islam to Turkestan in the seventh century, the art of Inner Asia seems to have been largely of Buddhist or Manichean inspiration, with traces of Zoroastrian and animist cults. Inner Asian painting of the time favored a bold style with large patterns and vivid coloring. The compositions had often allegoric and re-

ligious meanings, and therefore tended to a certain hieratic aspect. However, contemporary life was also depicted in a dynamic style. The drawing was expressionist in character with a tendency to stylization and even to the transformation of natural elements into abstract patterns. As in ancient Eurasian Nomadic art, there were numerous representations of supernatural beings, of demons and of animals. Among the figures, those which seem to be portraits generally show physiognomies with mixed ethnic characteristics; moonlike faces and slanted eyes reminiscent of the Hunnic races are allied to the beak nose of the Scythian and sometimes to the fair hair and blue eyes of the Europeoid stocks. The costumes of some figures are related to the nomadic rider's outfit consisting of tunics, trousers, bonnets, and boots.

This Inner Asian civilization, which has yielded an apparently inexhaustible crop of paintings and sculptures, could not have remained without influence on Islamic plastic arts, then at their formative stage. Indeed, there are stylistic as well as documentary indications showing the existence of Turkestani influence already at the earliest stages of Islamic art.<sup>7</sup>

Because the archeological survey of Inner Asia began late, its past culture remained comparatively little known. Another factor was that the process of islamization of Turkestan, although beginning in the 7th century, ended only in the 15th. The result was that Turkestan remained for a long time divided into two cultural parts: the Islamic and the Buddhist-Manichean. Accordingly, the artistic and intellectual production of Turkestan went under two separate tags; the Islamic art of Turkestan was generally attributed to the Moslem Persian world, whereas the Buddhist-Manichean art of Turkestan was considered part of the Chinese world.<sup>8</sup>

The same origin and the common char-

acteristics of both brands of Turkestani art were forgotten. However, documents of the 10th, 11th, and 12th centuries are explicit and clearly indicate the frontiers of the two Turkestani zones.<sup>9</sup> Historical sources, as well as Selçuk literature, show that the fabulous "Imagery of China" (*Nighār-khāne-e Chīn*), composed of Manichean paintings, was not really in China but in Turkestan. The Turks had probably accepted Buddhism before the sixth century, as attested by the *Türkeş* connections of the *Ak-beşim* temple discovered in 1956 in Kirgızistan and by the Buddhist inscription in Orhon script found by Pelliot at *Kum-arık*. From the ninth century onward, the Uyğur Turks of eastern Turkestan had begun to produce important works of sculpture and of mural and miniature painting of Buddhist and Manichean inspiration. They had become the main representatives of these religions in the artistic field of Inner Asia. The non-Moslem Turks under the rule of the Manichean *Kara-Khitay* dynasty, the Mongols, and even the Moslem Turks and, through these two latter, the Near East felt the repercussions of Uyğur art. When the Selçuk Turks established their rule over both western Turkestan and the Near East, there appeared in the plastic arts of the Near East, where Hellenic and Byzantine influences had hitherto been prevalent, many Turkestani motifs in decorative patterns and animal conventions. A new type related to the figures of Uyğur painting developed: the short-sized, large-headed figure with a moon-shaped face and slanted eyes, who often wears the narrow tunic, the boots, and the bonnets of the Eurasian steppes. E. Diez has mentioned the relation of the miniatures of the Baghdad school to Uyğur painting; K. Otto-Dorn studied the parallelisms between Uyğur and Selçuk art, in what concerns ceramics, metalworks, and relief sculptures.<sup>10</sup>

Under the Mongol rulers of the Near East who styled themselves "King of the Turks,



of the Arabs and of the 'Ajam," Inner Asia was again linked to the Near East. The Mongols, who had adopted from the Uygurs their alphabet and the Buddhist religion, brought to the Near East Uygur scribes and artists. Prof. Z. V. Togan has published a section of the *Waghnāmeḥ e-Rashīdī* called *The Turkish Slaves* (در باب غلامان ترک). The names of 20 highly salaried Turkish artists skilled in painting, calligraphy, architecture, and other arts are given. The names, with the exception of one, are probably non-Islamic. Two names bear the addition of Khitay. At the Mongol time, Buddhist temples were built in the Near East and decorated with murals.<sup>11</sup>

After these remarks on their historical background, we return to the two Topkapı miniatures (pl. 1). The size of each miniature is 26 x 37.5 cms. They are pasted side by side on page 61 in Album H. 2152. This collection attributed to Baysungur contains principally Il-hanlı and Timuri works.<sup>12</sup>

The miniatures showing the same stylistic details are obviously of the same hand and seem connected. Although in a dilapidated state, the paintings are fine works, showing a bold style allied to an accomplished technique. The figures being partly effaced, it became necessary to make line copies of both miniatures (fig. 1, 4). There are large white patches which might be attributed either to accident or to later voluntary effacement. The miniatures have the characteristic sheen of egg painting. Vivid colors are used in both in conjunction with gold illumination. The reds, the blues, the dark greens, and the pale yellows remind one of the later Chotscho miniatures.<sup>13</sup> There are also many violet tints as in early East Turkestani murals,<sup>14</sup> and as in the Warqah-Gulshah manuscript of the Topkapı Museum attributed to the Selçuk period. One miniature is on red ground while the other is on blue ground. Both show traces of illumina-

tion and are edged by a floral border, a lotus-bud design commonly seen in Inner Asia.<sup>15</sup> A similar floral border exists in a Maqamāt e-Harīrī painting, the composition of which is, however, thought to be derived from Inner Asian models.<sup>16</sup>

The surface of both Topkapı miniatures is pervaded with various floral motifs which we recognize as different forms of lotus flowers through their resemblance to Inner Asian specimens. The profusion of this Buddhist religious symbol reminds one of the background of Chotscho murals<sup>17</sup> (pl. 3). The exuberant flowering of the lotus is a trait of Turkestani Buddhist art.

In what concerns physical types, where the faces are not indistinct, we can observe that they belong to the heavy-jawed, slant-eyed, beak-nosed variety common in Turkestan and more particularly in Uygur murals. The ears of the enthroned figure have heavy lobes, in a fashion characteristic of Buddha representations. The figures have long hair in single or multiple tresses, with or without frontal or side locks. These are all particularities seen in Turkestani representations, as for example, in Chotscho (pls. 3 and 4, C), or in the extreme left figure in the dado of a Miran mural (pl. 2). The frontal lock seems to have been adopted as a result of the Buddhist ritual shaving of the scalp. Long hair was associated with Turkestan and with the Turks, as we learn from the Panj-Kent mural representing western Turks<sup>18</sup> (pl. 4, A), from Mahmud Kaşgari,<sup>19</sup> and from the Chinese chronicles. The Chinese pilgrim Hsuan-tsang noticed that all Tu-kiues wore tresses, except the king, whose hair was flowing freely.<sup>20</sup> This particularity is also to be observed on the Topkapı miniature, with the enthroned personage. All the figures of both Topkapı miniatures are clean-shaven, decidedly a non-Moslem particularity.

As to the costumes, the short-sleeved tunic

or the long-sleeved tunic with simulated arm bands, either patterned or plain, worn together with the trousers and the boots of the Eurasian steppe rider, are common in ninth-century Turkestani paintings, and particularly at the Bezeklik and Chotscho murals bearing Turkish inscriptions (*pl. 4, B and C*). These costume elements still commonly worn in Inner Asia are also seen, since the Selçuk period, in Near Eastern art.<sup>21</sup> Amongst many examples, one may mention an early miniature, dated 1222.<sup>22</sup> The illustrations of the Warqah-Gulshah manuscript of Topkapı or the Anatolian Kubad-Abad figurative tiles,<sup>23</sup> show other specimens of Selçuk garb deriving probably from the costume of the Hunno-Scythian rider.

Three main types of headgear are observed in the Topkapı miniature. One of them is the tupetay, a low cylindrical bonnet, sometimes with sliced crown, seen in eastern Turkestani Buddhist murals<sup>24</sup> (*pl. 4, B*), and worn in our time by the Özbek and the Tartars. The other is the calyx-shaped hat which is very common on the Chotscho murals (*pl. 5, A*). The third is a brimmed and sometimes notched hat, of a type also existing at Chotscho<sup>25</sup> (*pl. 5, B*). This headgear is still worn in Inner Asia by the Kirgız-Kazak who call it kalpak (*pl. 5, C*) and occasionally decorate it with a feather.

The heads of the people on the Topkapı miniatures are surrounded by round or ogival haloes, as seen predominantly in Inner Asian Buddhist and Manichean art and in Near Eastern works of the Selçuk period. The ogival haloes of the Topkapı miniatures are not, however, flame-shaped as in Tun-Huang or as in the Uygur *Mi'rājnāme* of Herat. They are merely pointed at the top as in earlier specimens of Inner Asian relief sculptures at Khotan,<sup>26</sup> at Chotscho,<sup>27</sup> and in Chinese art of the Wei period.

In the first Topkapı miniature (*fig. 1*) we see, on a red ground horizontally divided with

a dark line, a composition of haloed people and of animals. The walls of ancient central Asian nomadic tombs were generally red. Red remained a favorite color for the grounds of Turkestani murals, as observed in Miran (third century), at Panj-Kent and Varakhshah (seventh century), and finally at Chotscho (ninth century). Red grounds are also common in Uygur miniatures. In Near Eastern miniatures red grounds are seen particularly in the Selçuk period.<sup>28</sup> Near parallels to the Topkapı miniature are perhaps the third-century Miran mural (*pl. 2*) where the story of Prince Vassantara, with a procession of animals, is also represented on a red ground horizontally divided into two sections,<sup>29</sup> or the frontispiece of the Topkapı Il-hanlı *Shahnāme*, showing the presentation of birds and horses to a king.

In our miniature, starting from the top right, we see a floating motif which seems to consist of two flaming lotuses with jewel hearts, or of Cintamanis. The Buddhist and Manichean art of Inner Asia gives many examples of these motifs, at Kızıl<sup>30</sup> or on the ornamental borders of the Bezeklik murals representing Prāṇidhi scenes,<sup>31</sup> or in a silk painting from Tun-Huang at the Musée Guimet (*pl. 6, A*). It is to be remarked that the existence of this pattern in an obviously symbolic aspect lessens the possibility that the miniatures may be Islamic. Although the Cintamani in a disguised form is common to post-Mongol Near Eastern art,<sup>32</sup> it is not usual to represent it in its original aspect, with its pertinent implications, in an Islamic painting. Next comes a pair of blue figures, one of which has within its arms a pelican. The bird is perched on a sphere preceded by another flame or cloud-shaped pattern. A small haloed figure in dark green is holding a monkey, also a usual figure in Buddhist and Manichean iconography. There is a large deer on the top left. This animal had a ritual character for Turks and is here of a type which in Buddhist



Turkestan replaces the gazelle of the Benares sermon.<sup>33</sup> There follow haloed blue-skinned figures with nude torsos. One of these carries

there exists in a Mongol period Uygur manuscript a drawing of a unicorn of a ferocious species called *kiat*<sup>35</sup> (*pl. 6, B*). The wings of

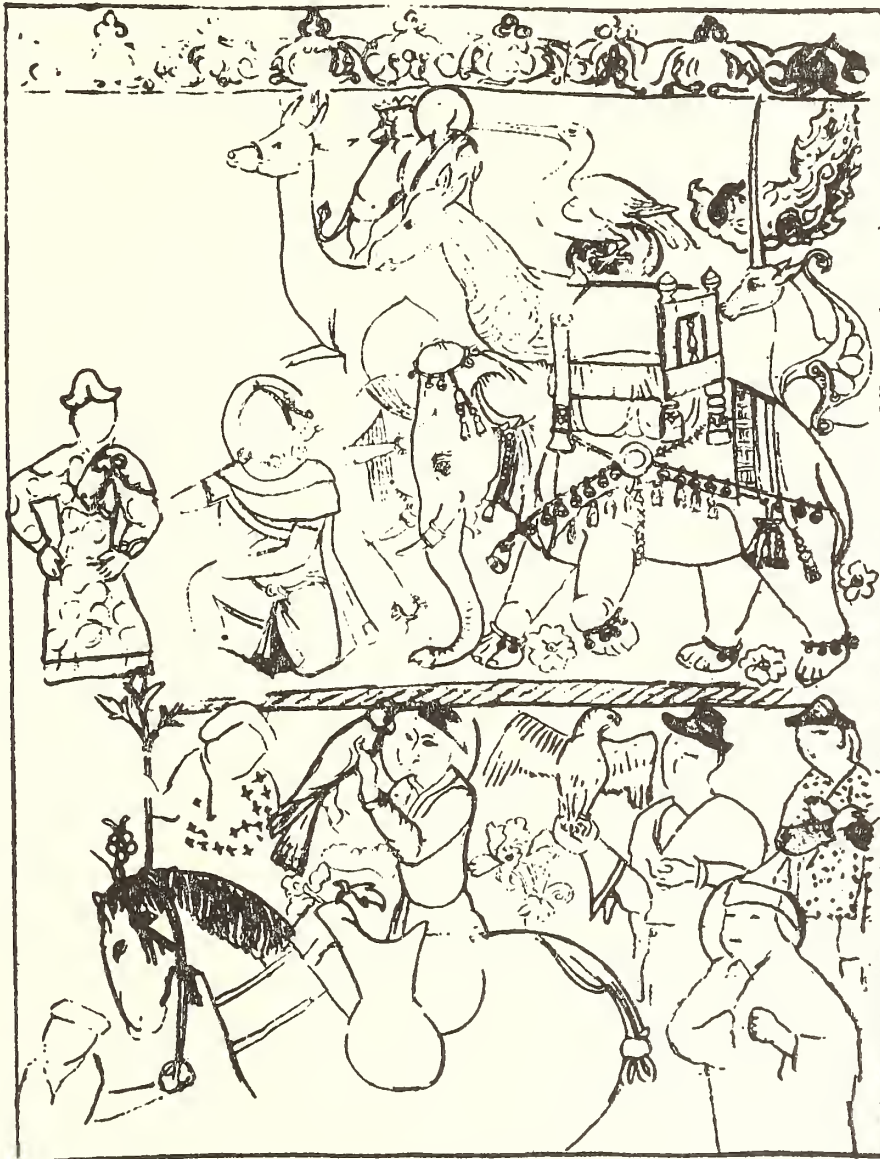


FIG. 1.—OUTLINE OF ONE MINIATURE FROM MS. H. 2152, TOPKAPI MUSEUM SHOWN IN PLATE I.

a bird, probably a peacock. Returning again to the right on the second row from the top, we see a winged unicorn, a fabulous animal represented in ancient Iran, in China,<sup>34</sup> and commonly in Near Eastern Islamic art. Also,

the unicorn of the Topkapı miniature have the same stylized treatment with curved ends as the wings of the Hephtalite camel emblem seen in Varakhshah<sup>36</sup> (*fig. 2*). Next comes a wild ass or zebra preceded by indistinct blue-

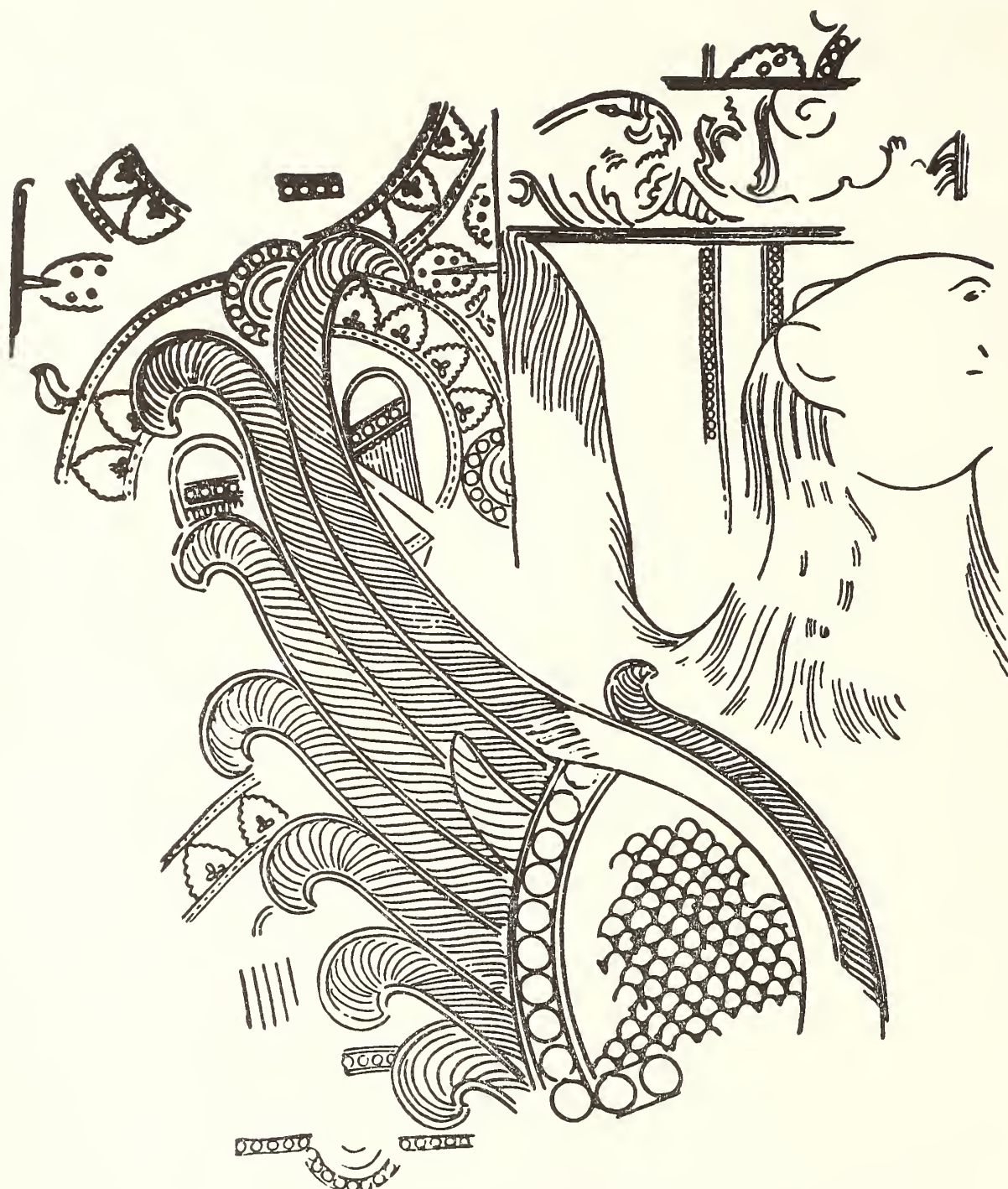


FIG. 2.—DETAIL FROM A VARAKHSHAH MURAL. (After *Paintings of ancient Panj-Kent*, T. 10.)



skinned figures. The violet elephant on the third row, decorated with bells and bearing a throne on its back, is treading on lotus blooms. He is led by a kneeling and again blue-skinned figure. So far, all personages of the upper register in this miniature have had the peculiarity of being blue-skinned. The Indians in Turkestan paintings are sometimes represented as blue-skinned as in the case of the Dandan-Oyluk Shiwa (*pl. 6, C*). Blue or dark gray figures are also found in Near Eastern illustrations.<sup>37</sup> Yet, in our miniature the clothes worn by the kneeling blue figure link him to Turkestani representations of Indians. One may compare him at random with almost any specimen of Indian in Turkestani art; he wears a cloth thrown over one shoulder and draped around the legs, in the same way as the standing figure in the Painter's Cave at Kizil,<sup>38</sup> (*fig. 5*) or as Prince Vessantara at Miran. His large collar, his Scythian necklace, the bracelets on his upper arm are also worn by the Miran Vessantara (*pl. 2*) or by a Kum-arik Maitreya (*pl. 6, D*).<sup>39</sup> The figure behind the elephant in the Topkapı miniature is dressed in tight-fitting trousers and has a scarf like another Kizil figure (*fig. 6*).<sup>40</sup>

On the kind suggestion of Professor Grabar, I found some Near Eastern specimens of draperies reminiscent of Indian fashions in the *Manāfi' al-Hayawān* manuscript.<sup>41</sup> In this early Near Eastern Mongol work with yet lingering memories of Inner Asia in text and in illustrations, draped clothes and ankle bracelets may be observed. Other Indo-Scythian costumes, similar to those on Turkestani murals may be seen in an early MS of Qazvini's *Ajaib al-Mahlūqāt*, as worn by the inhabitants of the legendary island of wealth, Waq-Waq.<sup>42</sup> The latter manuscript may be of Inner Asian origin.

The procession of the Topkapı miniature ends with two rosy-skinned figures, one of which is shown in full face while the other is

in profile. The full-faced person wears a lotus-corolla-shaped hat, a patterned tunic with a short dented cape or collar and boots. The lotus-corolla hat, perhaps originally a religious symbol, existing in Turkestan at Kizil<sup>42</sup> (*fig. 3*) and in the Chotscho murals<sup>43</sup> (*pl. 7, B*), and also in the 9th to 12th century Mani-

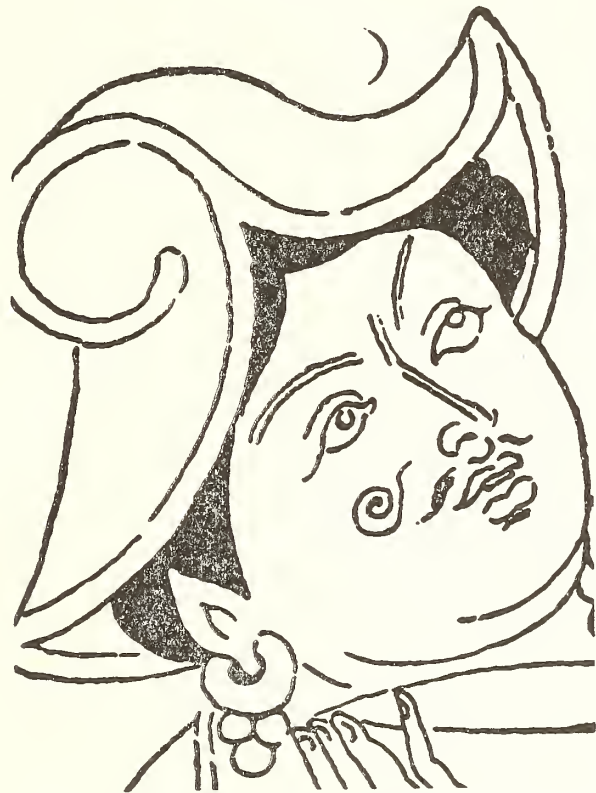


FIG. 3.—DETAIL FROM A KIZIL FIGURE. (AFTER A. v. Le Coq, *Bilderatlas*, fig. 77.)

chean miniatures<sup>44</sup> (*pl. 7, A*), is similarly worn in miniatures of the Mongol period and by some angel figures of Herat. The dented short cape or collar of the last figure in the Topkapı miniature exists in Chotscho murals<sup>45</sup> (*pl. 8, A*), in the Sassanian costume,<sup>46</sup> and in Selçuk royal representations.<sup>47</sup>

In the lower register of the Topkapı miniature, the main larger figures, the haloed rider and the person behind him who wears a fal-

coner's glove, are both holding prey birds. This detail, together with the quiver on the side of the horse, may indicate a hunting scene. However, as in several Turkestani murals,<sup>48</sup> there are no arrows in this quiver, which is surrounded by floral motifs and a cloudlike pattern. Empty quiver representations, even in scenes of active archery, are also observed in Near Eastern works such as the late 13th- or early 14th-century metal vessel of the Koyunlu collection in Konya (*pl. 8, B*). Returning to our plate, we see a groom sitting on a stool, holding the bridle of the rider's horse. The attendant behind the groom has a quiver full of arrows. These last two figures have unfortunately remained outside the frame of our photograph. The horse's tail is knotted, its head being decorated with a five-petaled flower, a type of decoration seen on the horses of the Pazırık carpet<sup>49</sup> and in the Panj-Kent murals. An attendant with a patterned coat holds a three-flowered branch behind the horse's head. On the extreme lower right we distinguish a heavier figure. Above him, a slight figure dressed in a short-sleeved, floral-patterned coat crosses his arms over his breast. In the foreground are seen two animals. On the extreme right a spotted feline sits on its hind legs. In the middle of the picture a quadruped with a long body, which might be either a dog or a gryphon, turns its head to look back.

What can be the significance of the various animals in this composition? Without arriving at any conclusions, it might be remembered that the implications of animal symbolism are persistent in Turkish art since its very early manifestations in Siberia and have survived to our day in popular productions. According to Shamanist beliefs,<sup>50</sup> persons, and particularly illustrious personages, have doubles which may materialize as animal-shaped genii, such as the wolf, the deer, the birds or other animals.<sup>51</sup> We find a pictorial expression of

this concept in an Uygur manuscript where the legendary ancestor of the Oğuz Turks is allegorically represented as an ox.<sup>52</sup> There is in this case an allusion to the homophony of the words oğuz and udguz (ox). The *Irk-Bitiğ*, a Turkish fortune-telling book<sup>53</sup> from Tun-huang, gives several examples of symbolic meanings of animals. For the Orhon Turks, the human soul had the appearance of a bird,<sup>54</sup> while the members of the legendary Turkish dynasty of Alp-Er-Tunga (Afra-siyab) bore the names of prey birds.<sup>55</sup> The animals of the Turkish cycle had also various allegoric aspects.<sup>56</sup> Kaşgari, as well as later Ottoman sources,<sup>57</sup> give together the animal emblems of the Oğuz Kings and their seals. On a stone relief in Konya the word Sultan is flanked by two prey birds. The Turkish Mameluk Bay-pars (panther) had panther figures carved on the walls of Jerusalem. Animal emblems were also used by tribes. An example of this is the tombs of the Black-Sheep and White-Sheep Turkmens in Mangı-şlak, with sheep motifs. Animal vehicles or composite animal figures in Ottoman art are occasionally explained, either in accompanying texts or in separate literature, as ideographic figures.<sup>58</sup>

In the second miniature of Topkapı (*fig. 4*), the ground is blue, as in many Manichean miniatures.<sup>59</sup> A large central figure is represented sitting with his ankles crossed and surrounded with numerous people in various smaller sizes. Many parallels may be found to this type of composition. Since the Gandhara period at the beginning of the Christian era, Inner Asian Buddhist tradition offers examples of seated Buddhas surrounded with other figures<sup>60</sup> (*pl. 9, A*). In Bezeklik, on a great mural, we see a Buddha enthroned in the midst of Bodhisattvas, animal-headed demons, and allegoric figures of the Turkish Animal-Cycle<sup>61</sup> (*pl. 9, A*). In the late period of Kızıl, some paintings of the Painter's cave offer striking



resemblances to our Topkapı miniature<sup>62</sup> (figs. 5, 6, 7). We find other specimens of the same composition in a Manichean miniature which,

Dorn to the Turfan area<sup>64</sup> is another example of the same composition. The Selçuk representations of Kings, as in a 13th-century plas-



FIG. 4.—OUTLINE OF OTHER MINIATURE FROM MS. H. 2152, TOPKAPI MUSEUM, SHOWN IN PLATE I.

moreover, shows, like the Topkapı miniature, a low table with jugs<sup>63</sup> (pl. 9, B). An Ermitage plate which has been related by K. Otto-

ter relief or as in a 12th-century stucco relief of Tuğrul Bey<sup>65</sup> at the Philadelphia Museum, show similar arrangements. Professor



FIG. 5.



FIG. 6.

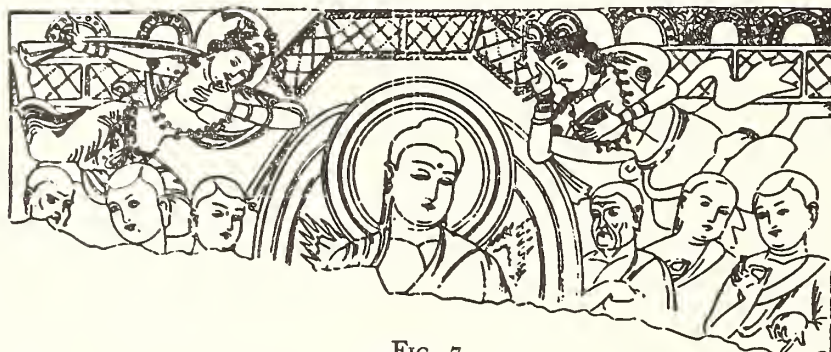


FIG. 7.

FIGS. 5, 6, 7.—MURALS, MING-OY OF KIZIL. (After A. Gruenwedel, *Alt buddhistische Kultstätten in Chinesisch Turkestan*, figs. 353, 354.



O. Grabar has kindly drawn my attention to another group, presenting remarkable resemblances to the set of Topkapı miniatures. These are the frontispiece of the Vienna Galen manuscript,<sup>66</sup> and the frontispieces of the various *Kitāb al-Aghāni* volumes.<sup>67</sup> In Inner Asia the dignity of the office of the king offers certain similarities to that of the rank of saints and divinities, who are styled in Turkish Sufi literature "spiritual rulers" (*mânevi sultan*) and "wearers of the crown of purity" (*Taci edeb sahibi*). The same person could accumulate the status of temporal and spiritual ruler. The mythical Oğuz Han and his descendants are described not only as kings but also as astral or nature deities.<sup>68</sup> One of these, Gün Han (Sun King) had been the originator of "royal rites"<sup>69</sup> (*saltanat ayini*). In the old Turkish inscriptions, the king is called "god-like" (*tangri-tek*), or "born of a god," or bodhisatva-like. The King "Dizaboul" of the western Turks, sitting on a golden throne with wheels, might have desired to look like an Inner Asian Sun or Moon deity.<sup>70</sup> These deities were often represented on horseless chariots.<sup>71</sup> A Turkestani mural shows Mani<sup>72</sup> with a double solar and lunar halo, like an astral deity. The Irk-Bitiğ gives a description of the enthroned king of China which corresponds to the traditional representation of divinities,<sup>73</sup> and refers to the habit of offering food and wine to enthroned divinities and kings. In the same way, on the frontispieces of the fourth and seventh volumes of *Kitāb al-Aghāni*, the name of Badr al-Dīn (Moon of Religion) Lū'lū, seems to serve as a source of inspiration for an emblematic crescent halo around his head. The ruler looks like a moon representation from the allegoric figures in Balkhi's early 13th-century astrologic work in the Bibliothèque Nationale. K. Holter notes that the Vienna Galen and *Maqāmāt al-Harīrī* Arabic manuscripts must be placed, not in the domain of the Hellenic-inspired Mediterranean, but in

the extended Turkish, that is Turkestani, traditions.<sup>74</sup> This observation might also apply to the *Kitāb al-Aghāni* frontispieces. It is to be remarked that specimens of frontispieces<sup>75</sup> are also found in Uygur Manichean manuscripts.

The seated, cross-ankled central figure in the second Topkapı miniature may perhaps be also compared to an Inner Asian Maitreya<sup>76</sup> (*pl. 6, D*). In opposition to the easy way of repose of the central figure, the attendants are humbly squatting. Both these positions, common in Turkestan, are called in Turkish "bağdaş" (linked) and "diz çökmek" (squat on the knees).

The general aspect of the low throne on our miniature resembles the Ajanta thrones or the Selçuk thrones such as the ones in the already mentioned Tuğrul Bey relief. The draperies are similar to those of Gandhara thrones while the floral decoration is nearer the motifs on the throne in a Manichean miniature (*pl. 9, B*). The cushion has a pattern showing a cross within a square. This pattern may be seen in early Selçuk textiles. It reminds one also of the motif of squares on the seat of the Dandan-Oyluk Shiwa, (*pl. 6, C*). The cross is a common motif in Central Asian art.

The personage on the throne holds in one hand a cup against his breast. This ancient royal gesture has perhaps been most frequently represented in Turkestan, in the murals of Miran (*pl. 2*), of Panj-Kent,<sup>77</sup> (*fig. 8*) and of Balalīk-Tepe<sup>77</sup>. One also sees the cup very often in Selçuk and Mongol art. As with the Scythians, the cup played a part in pre-Islamic Turkish rites, when oaths of fidelity were taken.<sup>78</sup> The drinking ceremonies of the western Turks are described by Hsüan-Tsang.<sup>79</sup> The eighth-century Turkish figural carvings in monoliths (*balbal*) at Orhon, which were funeral monuments, sometimes hold cups. The Irano-Turkish legendary Sun-King (Jam-Shid or Gün-Han), in addition to establishing "the royal rites," had also, like Dionysos, invented

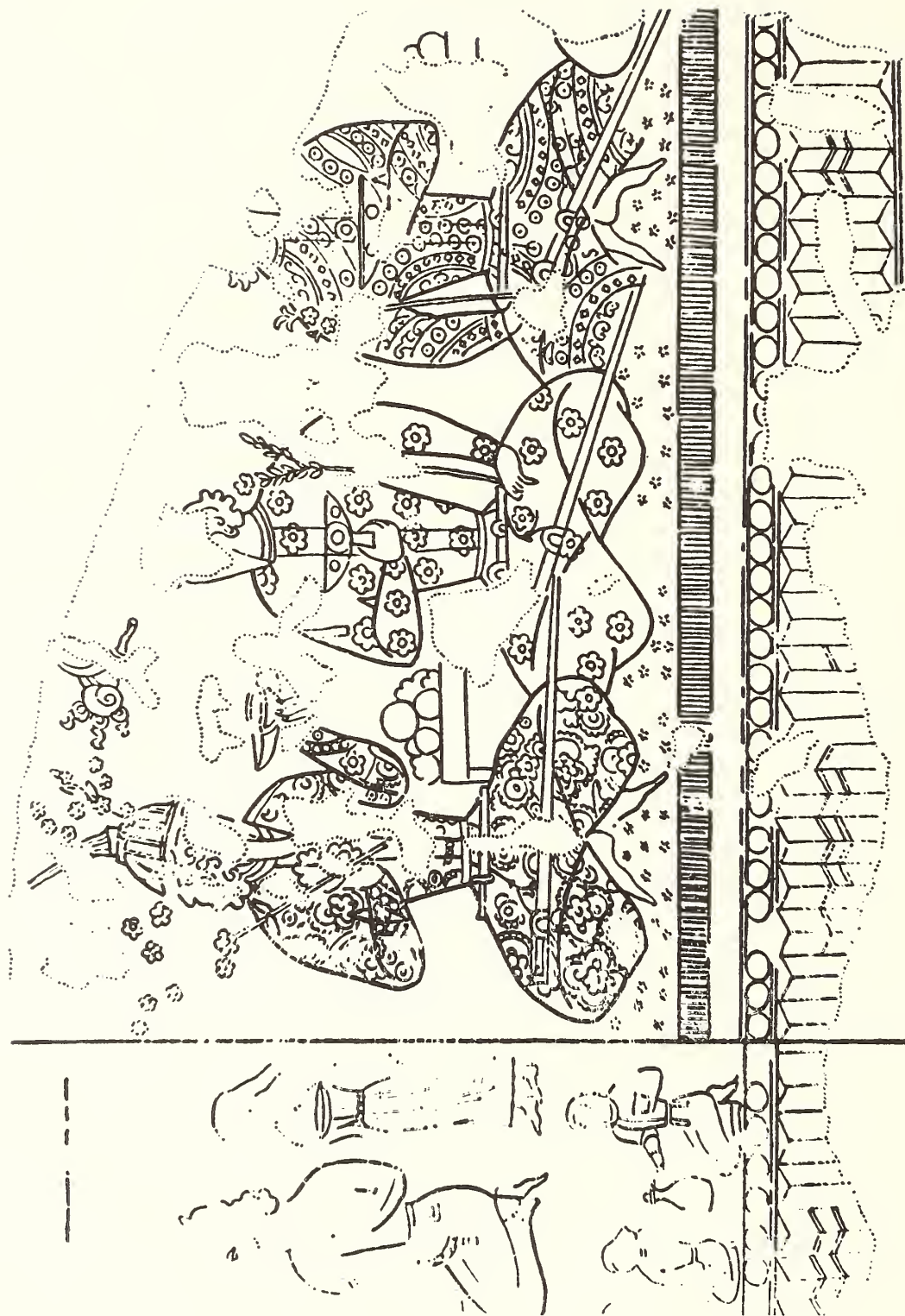


FIG. 8.—OUTLINE OF A MURAL. (After *Ancient paintings of Panj-Kent*, T. 22.)



wine.<sup>80</sup> The cup is held also by Anahita in Central Asian representations. The cup as a symbol of sovereignty was presented to the king on the occasion of his enthronement, both by the Turks and the Mongols.<sup>81</sup> The Turkestani king Timur invited his vanquished foe, the Ottoman Sultan Bayezid, to partake of the *bazm* (feasting) after the *razm* (campaigning), and reminded him that both performances were part of royal rites. The Tavgaç (Topa) and the Mongols offered libations and sacrificial food to the effigies of their idols. The ritual meal in Manichean miniatures is thought to depict the commemoration of the anniversary of Mani's death for whom an empty symbolic seat was erected. Fruits rich in solar rays, such as grapes, were served. Turkish dervishes of the Bektaşhi congregation also used the cup in their ceremonies and prepared symbolic seats for their dead masters.

The figure on the throne of the Topkapı miniature is offered a platelike object by a kneeling person. Another figure seems to preside over a red-patterned table of the type seen on a Manichean miniature (*pl. 9, B*). On a blue cloth, covering the table, are placed three jugs.

In the sky of the miniature, wearing diadems over their long hair, two winged and haloed figures hold a garland of leaves in the shape of a three-lobed arch, framing the enthroned personage. The garland forming an arch or a circle, combined sometimes with jewels and with winged figures, is often seen in ancient Turkestani Buddhist art since Kutcha and Miran. However, the movement of the two figures with their floating scarves reminds one especially of the various flying pairs of figures holding garlands in a series of Kızıl paintings (*figs. 5, 7, pl. 10, A*). We see angels holding a garland over the head of a sitting personage also in various Near East-

ern representations, notably the *Maqāmāt al-Harīrī* miniature already mentioned.

Just above the throne of the Topkapı miniature, two figures dressed in patterned coats and wearing large-brimmed kalpaks hold together the stem of a three-flowered bloom similar to the triple bloom of Kum-Tura<sup>82</sup> (*fig. 9*). This emblem does not usually occur in Islamic works. It is in Buddhist paintings such as the Kızıl niche that we see a large lotus held over a Buddha<sup>83</sup> (*pl. 10, B*). In the Islamic royal representations, the emblem of the ruler held over his head is either the nomadic horse-tail standard and a sword as in the Topkapı Il-hanlı *Shahnāme*, or some decorative motif which might have an allegoric character.

Our miniature shows over the central personage's shoulder still another attendant holding a spear or a staff surmounted with a floral motif. On the left side of the central personage is seated a comparatively large figure dressed in white brocade patterned with gold, whose mushroom-shaped headdress resembles the headgear worn by the Manichean Electi and by Turkish dignitaries in Chotscho<sup>84</sup> (*pl. 7, C, fig. 10*). In the album H. 2152, page 42b, of Topkapı, among the portraits of Mongol princes, Alan Koga is represented with the same mushroom-shaped hat. In our miniature, the large and important figure holds in one hand a lotus and in the other an object which might be a handkerchief or a fan. The fan was a sign of dignity in Turkestani art. The other important figure on the right, wearing a tupetay from which emerges a frontal lock, also resembles some types of Uygur donors of Chotscho. His halo is slightly ogival. This person is holding an indistinct object.

On the lower right section there is a seated figure, possibly feminine, wearing a tupetay over divided tresses, with one hand placed on the breast. Two large white spots erase the rest of the scene on this part of the miniature.



FIG. 9.—DETAIL FROM A KUM-TURA FIGURE. (After A. v. Le Coq, *Bilderatlas*, fig. 139.)



An object is apparent which might be the handle of a stringed instrument, such as the tanbur. The very small figure in the center could be playing a harp. If these assumptions are true, there would have been on the right lower side a concert. Concerts are represented



FIG. 10.—DETAIL FROM PAINTED TEXTILE. (After A. v. Le Coq, *Chotscho*, p. 8.)

as often in Inner Asian Buddhist and Manichean art, where they had religious meaning, as in Near Eastern Islamic art. Having not only been a famous painter but also a celebrated musician and the inventor of the *ko-puz* (lute), Mani was often associated with music,<sup>85</sup> as also the ancient Turkish bard Dede Kerkut.

Lastly, a fairly large personage in the

lowest middle part of the picture raises his arm in an active gesture.

Taken together, the two miniatures might probably be a dedicatory frontispiece, as suggested by Professor O. Grabar, or copies of murals depicting scenes of a prince's life. The miniatures might also represent an episode of Buddhist or Manichean hagiology. The second composition seems to glorify a Buddhist or Manichean personage who might be the Idikut (Holy Majesty) of the Uygurs, the Manichean Kara-Khitay Kaan, or the Mongol ruler of the Near-East, Arghūn, who was a devout Buddhist. Always surrounded by priests, Arghūn had built many Buddhist temples in the Islamic Near East. On the walls of these edifices there had been paintings in which Arghūn was also represented.<sup>86</sup> In the Paris *Jāmi' al Tawārikh* and elsewhere there are portraits of Arghūn<sup>86</sup> in which he is not unlike the enthroned figure on our plate. Arghūn laid stress on Buddhist culture and had his son instructed in Uygur script.<sup>87</sup> Rashīd al-Dīn relates that on March 13, 1288, ambassadors from the people of Boka arrived at the river Juy-Nav bringing the "Šaril of Berkan (Buddha) Shaqyamuni." It is explained that the *Šaril* was a jewel-like bone from the body, which resisted fire when the Buddha Shaqyamuni was incinerated. It is added that other holy person's *Šarils* are also immune to fire. Arghūn received the relic and held a *Toy* in which libations continued for some days.<sup>88</sup>

The *Toy* is a Turco-Mongol ceremony with a Shamanist background, held on solemn occasions, such as enthronements. Through the fact that in both ceremonies there is ritual drinking and feasting, the *Toy* resembles the *Yoğ* commemorating an illustrious person's death. In the *Toy*, gift animals, mainly horses, were either sacrificed or set free. Branches of greenery were waved over the head of the dedicated horse whose reins were entrusted to the hand of an honored person (*tutkan*).

The spirits of the ancestors, sometimes in the shapes of emblematic animals and holy prey birds, were invoked and arrived joyously answering the shaman's call.<sup>89</sup>

If the Topkapı miniatures were connected with the *Toy* episode in Arghūn's life, the first miniature's upper register could represent ambassadors, among them Indians, bringing the flaming Şarıl shown on the top left, while the relic in its material shape would perhaps be borne on the elephant's throne. Gift animals, or the animal-shaped ancestor spirits, would be seen accompanying the Şarıl received by Arghūn himself standing on the lower right of the upper section together with an attendant. In the lower section would figure the holy prey birds and more gift animals and horses. A branch being waved over the horse's head, the reins would be held by the *tutkan*. The person on the extreme right could be the officiating priest. The second miniature would show Arghūn, wearing a lotus-shaped hat and feasting in royal enjoyment, cup in hand, surrounded by his court, the *Toy* emblem held over his head. The figure on his left could be a priest while the figure on his right might be Prince Boka, his viceroy. This assumption would place the miniatures between 1288, the year of the Buddhist *Toy*, and 1295, date of the acceptance of Islam by Gazan Han, the son of Arghūn Han. We know that after this date Buddhist temples and their paintings were destroyed.

However that may be, we see in the miniatures the techniques and the religious motifs of Turkestani Buddhist or Manichean painting. There is a predominance of characteristics of Uygur art and of Inner Asian Turkish physical types and costumes. This conjunction permits us to hold the theory that the miniatures could be the work of an Uygur artist active either in Buddhist-Manichean Turkestani centers or in the Near East, during the short-lived Buddhist period. The miniatures might

have been made at a time when the iron coil of sixth- to ninth-century Turkestani mural painting was already long forgotten and when the fuller volume sense and the colder scale of colors beginning in the later Chotscho Uygur miniatures of the 9th to 12th centuries had been developed; and also while the particularities of Selçuk art were already apparent. The Munich exhibition catalogue dates them around 1300. An expert examination of the paper used for the miniatures would bring valuable supplementary information.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> (a) O. Aslanapa, *Türkische Miniaturmalerei am Hofe Mehmet des Eroberers*, *Ars Orientalis*, vol. 1, 1954. (b) L. Binyon, I. Wilkinson, B. Gray, *Persian miniature painting*, London, 1933. (c) A. Chaghtai, *A treatise on calligraphists and miniaturists by Dost Muhammed*, Lahore, 1936. (d) R. Ettinghausen, *Some paintings in four Istanbul albums*, *Ars Orientalis*, vol. 1, 1954. (e) M. Ipşiroğlu-S. Eyyuboğlu, *Sur l'album du conquérant*, Istanbul Üniversitesi Basımevi, n.d. (f) E. Kühnel, *Miniaturmalerei im Islamischen Orient*, Berlin, 1923. (g) M. Loehr, *The Chinese elements in the Istanbul miniatures*, *Ars Orientalis*, vol. 1, 1954. (h) T. Öz, *Topkapı Sarayında Fatih Sultan Mehmet II'ye ait Eserler*, Istanbul, 1953. (i) B. Öge, *Fatih Albümünde "Şeyhi" imzalı Minyatürler hakkında*, *Vakıflar Dergisi*, sayı 4, 1958, p. 210. (j) A. Sakisian, *La miniature persane*, Paris-Bruxelles, 1929. (k) E. Schröder, *A review of fourteenth century painting*, *Ahmed Musa and Shams al-Din*, *Ars Islamica*, vol. 6, 1939; (1) F. Sarre-F. R. Martin, *Ausstellung der Meisterwerken Muhammedanischer Kunst in München*, München, 1912; (m) I. Stchoukine, *Notes sur des peintures persanes du Sérail de Stamboul*, *Journal Asiatique*, vol. 226, 1935, pp. 117-140; (n) Z. V. Togan, *Topkapı Sarayındaki Dört Cönk*, Istanbul, 1953; *Ali Şir*, *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul, 1941; *Topkapı Sarayındaki Minyatür albümlerine dair*, *Milletlerarası birinci Türk Sanatları Kongresi*, Ankara, 1959.

<sup>2</sup> The influences of Turkestan in the Near East at the Mongol period: (a) Prof. Z. V. Togan has published a yet unknown part of the *Waqfnâme e-Rashîdî* concerning the existence of Turkish artists in the Rab e-Rashîdî, in vol. 3, fasc. 2-4, of the *İslam Tetkikleri Enstitüsü Dergisi* in Istanbul. Here is a



quotation of the passage entitled "Turkish Slaves" (غلامان ترك) "Twenty Turks (skilled) in calligraphy, qawali (religious music), painting, jewellery, garden and canal-planning and architecture . . ."

بيت نفر غلام ترك ۰۰ از خطاطی  
و قوالی و نقاشی و زرگری  
و باغبانی و گهرزکنی و دهقانق  
و معماری ۰

Some of the names of artists are Koylun Boka, Buyluk Boka, Toktimur Bavurcu, Ayas, Tagayirtimur, Olcay, Altun Boka Khitay, Abdullah, Sulti Khitay, etc.

The existence of these architects and painters who for generations lived in the Near East, throws a light on passages of Rashid al-Din about the building of Buddhist temples in the Near East which were decorated with figural murals. (See quotation from Rashid al-Din in A. Y. Jakubovsky's *Golden Horde*, Turkish translation by H. Eren, Istanbul, 1953, p. 142. See also B. Spuler, *Iran Mogolları*, Turkish translation by C. Köprülü, Ankara, 1957, p. 201.)

In E. Diez's article, *Sino-Mongolian Painting*, *Ars Islamica*, vol. 1, pt. 2, 1934, it is stated that the *Jami' al-Tawārikh* of the Royal Asiatic Society, dated A.H. 714, made in West Turkestan, as well as the Demotte *Shahnāme*, show Uygur characteristics. See also E. Wellesz, *An early Sufi MS.*, *Ars Orientalis*, vol. 3, 1959, where certain aspects of the illustrations of the work of the astronomer al-Sufi (803-986 A.H.) are compared to Manichean Chotscho figures. E. Kühnel makes the same observation in what concerns the manuscript of al-Birūnī's *Athār-e Bāqiyah* in the Edinburgh University Library, dated 1307. (See *Book painting, c. History*, A survey of Persian Art, A. U. Pope, ed., London and New York, 1939, p. 1833.)

(b) According to Z. V. Togan in the article *Ali Shir*, *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul, 1941, pp. 356-357, amongst Herat painters the Turkish origin of Dervish Muhammad, of Sultan Muhammad Tabrizi, of Mahmud Mudhahhib, and of Yusuf Naggāsh is certain. The latter two went subsequently to Bukhara. The first part of the *'Ali Shir* compilation (Bibliothèque Nationale, suppl. turc, No. 316) is a work of Mahmud Mudhahhib.

The Uygur influence found its center around the poet 'Ali Shir who was himself of Uygur origin. The name of the great Herat painter, Haji Muhammed, is supplemented with the appellation Uygur in the list of the court of Sultan Husain (see *Mu'iz al-Ansab*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Anc. fond persan, No. 68).

The Herat *Mir'rajnāme* written partly in the Turkish language and in Uygur and Arabic script in A.H. 840 (1436) (Bibliothèque Nationale, suppl. turc 190) is an Uygur work, not only through the language of its text, but also through stylistic details. Compare, for example, a many-headed angel (T. Mann, *Der Islam*, Leipzig, 1914, Abb. 104) with a Chotscho Avalokiteśvara (A. v. Le Coq, *Chotscho*, Berlin, 1913, Taf. 65b).

Some of the Turco-Mongol Jalairli, Karakoyunlu, Akkoyunlu, and Timuri princes were themselves accomplished painters. Z. V. Togan gives us the following names of princely artists: Sultan Uways and Sultan Ahmed Jalairli, Pirbudak Karakoyunlu, Ya'qub Bey Akkoyunlu, Sultan Husain Baykara Timuri.

On Turkish painters at the Safawid court, see V. Minorsky's translation of Qādī Ahmed's *Calligraphers and painters*. Freer Gallery of Art Occ. Pap., vol. 3, No. 1, Washington, D. C., 1959. The Turkmen or Afşar origin of some painters is indicated in this work. In addition, those bearing the title Beg are generally Turks. The signature Shah Kulu Rumi on a dragon drawing in MS. H. 2154 of the Topkapı Museum indicates a Turk who might be either an Anatolian or from the Rum district or Ardabil where the Anatolian Turks had been settled by Timur-Leng. (See W. Hinz, *Uzun Hasan ve Şeyh Cüneyd*, Turkish translation by T. Biyikoglu, Ankara, 1948, p. 67.)

<sup>3</sup> In *Topkapı Sarayındaki Dört Cönk*, p. 84, Professor Z. V. Togan makes the observation that when Abu Said-Mirza occupied Herat on July 19, 1457, he apparently brought with him several artists from the Kıpçak region and from Khwarazm. Some of the costume elements (coat, börük, staff, gourd, belt) of the Muhammad Siyah Qalam figures appear related to Shaman costumes as seen in the Ethnographic Museum of Leningrad and to the kalender or diwanah (errant darvish) garbs. (See E. Esin, *Türkistan Seyahatnamesi*, Ankara, 1959, Res. 16 and Res. 36.)

The Turkish Oğuzname epos and the Dede-Korkut episodes furnish legends on various figures of the Topkapı collections such as the giants and the kinnari-like birds with feminine heads. (See E. Rossi, *Kitab-ı Dede Qorqud*, Citta del Vaticano, 1952. See also O. S. Gökyay, *Dede Korkut*, Ankara, 1928.)

<sup>4</sup> See note 1(g).

<sup>5</sup> See note 1(h).

<sup>6</sup> See A. Sakisian, *op. cit.*, note 1(j), p. 10, and F. Sarre-F. R. Martin, *op. cit.*, note 1(1), Taf. 8.

<sup>7</sup> Early influences of Turkestan on Islamic civilization are observed in:

(a) The Omeyyad period.

Dr. O. Türkkan has kindly drawn my attention to the fact that in *Türk Tarih Kurumu, Belleten*, vol. 6, No. 23, p. 182, Ş. Günaltay cites Balādhuri's *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān* (Leyden, 1866) as stating that during the period of Mu'āwiyah's caliphate, thousands were deported from Bukhara and settled in Basrah to teach the arts to the inhabitants of Iraq.

In al-Sulāmi's *Kitāb Tabaqāt al Sūfiyah* (ed. S. Pedersen, Leyden, 1960) and in the *Tadhkarat al-Awliyā* of Ferīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār (anonym. Turk. trans. Istanbul, 1957), we find the description of a veritable exodus of pilgrims from Turkestan toward the holy lands of Islam in the first centuries after the Hegira.

In Yāqūt's Geographical Encyclopaedia, *Mu'jam al-Buldān* (hrsg. von Wüstenfeld, Leipzig, 1866-73) we find the mention of many Turkestanis who had settled in the Islamic world as far as Spain. (See *Kushān* and other articles.) Turkish princes such as Ibn Ṭūlūn and Mas'ūd of Gazneh were interested in architecture to the point of drawing up sketches for buildings they wished to have constructed. The Turkestan architectural terms Erk (castle) and Khan (princely foundation) are mentioned in Yāqūt as already long used in the Near East (see Yāqūt, *Halab*, and other articles).

The existence of the pointed Buddhist arch in the architecture of the Omeyyad period indicates a Turkestan influence. (For various representations of pointed arches in Ancient Turkestan see A. v. le Coq, *Bilderatlas zur Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Mittel-Asiens*, Berlin, 1925, and *Budhistische Spätantike in Mittel-Asien*, Berlin, 1922.) E. Diez, in *Die Kunst der Islamischen Völker*, München, 1915, p. 159, tells us that the pointed arch was introduced from Central Asia to the Near East and to Egypt by al-Farghānī at the time of the construction of the famous Nilometer.

The following subjects also deserve study in the light of new archeological discoveries: The introduction of the fortified architectural forms of Ancient Khwarazm (see P. Tolstov, *Auf den Spuren der Altkhorezmischen Kultur*, Berlin, 1953) to the Near East; the technical similarities between the earthen sculpture of Mafjar (see R. W. Hamilton, *Khirbat al Mafjar*, Oxford, 1959, pl. 55) and Khwarazmian Kushan sculpture (see Tolstov, *op. cit.*); the musician-monkey of Quṣayr-'Amrah, so similar to Turkestanian figures (see A. v. Le Coq, *Bilderatlas*, fig. 37); the reminiscences about Kabac Hatun and Kultekin, the Kagan of the Turks, and their supposed portraits at Quṣayr-'Amrah; all are evidence of Turkestanian contacts. The rider-archer at Qaṣr al-Hayr (see

E. Esin, *Türkistan Seyahatnemesi*, Ankara, 1959, Res. 17) may be compared to the Varakhshah rider. (See *History of Turkestan* [in Russian], Academy Nauk, A'shkabad, 1957.)

(b) The Abbassid period.

In the Abbassid period the Turks were numerous in the Near East. According to the Arab authors, Khorasān was already turkicised. (See R. N. Frye and A. Sayılı, *Turks in the Middle East before the Saljuqs*, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 1943, vol. 63, No. 3.) The Turks were at that time amongst the main bearers of Turkestanian culture. The Uygurs, who in 762 accepted Manicheism in addition to Buddhism, were producing the miniature and mural paintings and the sculptures of 9th- to 12th-century eastern Turkestan. They had thus become the representatives of Buddhist and Manichean art in that area. In the 10th century Firdawsi could say of Mani,

A man came, it was said

from China بیامد یکی مرد گویا ز چین

A painter the like of whom the world has

never seen که چون او مصور نبیلا زمین

(Shahnāmeḥ)

Mani is supposed to have painted masterworks and decorated a temple in the land of the Çiğil in China. (A. v. Le Coq, *Budhistische Spätantike*, vol. 20, p. 18, quotation from Th. Hyde, *Veterum Persarum et Parthorum et Medorum Religiones Historia*, Oxford, 1760, pp. 281-284.) According to Mahmud Kaşgari's 11th-century dictionary of Turkish (*Divanulugat-it-Türk*, terc. B. Atalay, Ankara, 1941) the Çiğil are a branch of the Turks. Here, as in *Hudūd al-'Alam* (trans. V. Minorsky, Oxford, 1937, pp. 81-83, 232-235), in Firdawsi's *Shahnāmeḥ*, in Kaşgari's divan, in Yāqūt's geographical dictionary, and in many other historical and poetical works, the term *Sīn* or "Khitāy" includes eastern Turkestan (see note 8). It is in eastern Turkestan that the great works of art of the Manicheans are found, as well as the majority of Manichean documents. One may accordingly assume, together with A. v. Le Coq in the above-cited passage, that in connection with Manichean painting the word "China" or "Khitāy" is used to indicate eastern Turkestan. The confusion between eastern Turkestan and northern China was usual (see note 8). When Al-Jahiz in *Kitāb al-Hayawān*, Cairo, 1907 (quoted by T. W. Arnold in *Book painting, A., The Origins*, A. U. Pope's *Survey of Persian Art*, vol. 2, p. 1818), speaks of ninth-century Manichean painters whose works were de-



stroyed in Baghdad, he may well have referred to Uygurs. (See also U. Monneret de Villard, *Book painting, B., Manichean relations, ibid.*, pp. 1820-1828.) In 841, at Baghdad, the Turkish Afshin. was condemned for the possession of a book with images.

The Turkish influences in the decorations of Samarra have been studied by H. Glück. (See *Türkische Dekorationskunst*, Kunst und Kunsthandwerk, vol. 23, Wien, 1920.) Parts of Samarra were built by the Turks (see Samarra in Ya'qubi's *Kitāb al-Buldān*).

E. Diez has explained the Uygur influences on Selçuk paintings. (See *Die Kunst der Islamischen Völker*, München, 1915; also E. Diez-O. Aslanapa, *Türk San'ati*, Istanbul, 1955.) At the Selçuk time a school of miniature painting was founded in Baghdad. E. Diez has also shown the influence of Turkestan in the field of architecture in the Near East. (See E. Diez, *Die Kunst der Islamischen Völker*.) H. Otto-Dorn has studied other parallelisms between the patterns of Turkestan and those of the Selçuk. (See *Eine Seldshukische Silberschale*, Vakıflar Dergisi, 1956, sayı 3, p. 85.) Anatolian Selçuk animal motifs have been shown as closely related to the equivalent figures of the ancient nomadic art of Turkestan. (See E. Diez-O. Aslanapa, *op. cit.*)

<sup>8</sup>(a) Through successive invasions of peoples from Inner Asia, such as the To'pa, the Northern Ch'i, and others in the T'ang and Mongol periods, the art of China was closely linked with Turkestan. Many references to Central Asian painters active in China are found in Chinese chronicles. We may cite the following: An artist from Ts'ao (Ts'ao Chung-ta from Sogdia) in the Northern Ch'i period (see P. Pelliot, *Les fresques de Touen-houang*, Revue des Arts Asiatiques, vol. 5, 1928); also Wei-ch'ih Po-chih-na, and his son Wei-ch'ih I-seng, who were active in China in the T'ang period. (See H. Trubner, *The arts of the T'ang dynasty*, Ars Orientalis, vol. 3, 1959.) A. G. Wenley, in *A parallel between Far Eastern and Persian paintings*, Aus der Welt der Islamischen Kunst, Festschrift für E. Kühnel, 1959, mentions Li Tsan-hua in the T'ang court in the 10th century. (Also see J. Mahler, *Westerners among the figurines of the T'ang dynasty of China*, Rome, 1959. On the Uygurs in Kansu, see F. Ligeti, *Unknown Inner Asia*, Turkish trans., S. Karatay, Ankara, 1946.)

(b) On the various significations of the word Khitây:

In the 11th century, the Turk Mahmud Kaşgari (*op. cit.*, p. 28ff.) is explicit: Khitây or Sîn is a part

of the Turkish world at its extreme eastern border. Upper Khitây or Upper Sîn is the domain of the Tavgaç Turks, that is, of the To'pa of the Chinese chronicles. Lower Khitây or Lower Sîn is the land of Kashgar. The Buddhist and Manichean Uygur Turks are considered identical with the Tavgaç Turks and with the Khitây or Chinese. Beyond the wall is an unknown world called Yā'jūj and Mā'jūj (Gog and Magog), perhaps southern China, with which Turkish contacts did not often take place at that time.

(c) In the Mongol period, Khitây or Chin is the Turco-Mongol-Chinese realm of the Kaan. The Turkish expression, "Hitay, Il Kaan" (Khitây, the great Kaan), is often met with in Rashid al-Din and in other contemporary MSS. such as F. 1423 of the University of Istanbul.

For the Ottoman historians, Khitây often meant the countries from which Jengis Han and Timur-Leng originated, respectively Mongolia and Turkestan. Both conquerors are commonly called Khitāyi by the Ottomans. In Safawi Iran, Shah Ismail signed his Turkish poems with the pen-name Khitāyi, thus establishing a claim to the legitimate succession of the Khitây and Mongol Kaans of Turkestan.

In short, there was often confusion between eastern Turkestan, Mongolia, and China. This has to be taken into consideration when looking at some of the miniatures in the Topkapi albums with later added inscriptions reading "Works of the masters of Khitay" (کارهای استادان خطای).

<sup>9</sup>In the following works the names of Turkestani cities beyond the outposts of the Islamic world are cited as part of Khitây or Sîn, and the Turkestani persons are also often called Khitāyi. (*Hudud al-'Alām*, tr. V. Minorsky, Oxford, 1937, pp. 81-83, 232-235; Kaşgari, *Divanu Lugāt-it-Türk*, terc. B. Atalay, Ankara, 1941; Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, in note 7.)

<sup>10</sup>See note 7, Diez, *op. cit.*, and Otto-Dorn, *op. cit.*

<sup>11</sup>See note 2(a).

<sup>12</sup>On Album H. 2152. See Togan, *op. cit.*, in notes 1(n), first and third references.

<sup>13</sup>A. v. Le Coq, *Budhistische Spätantike*, vol. 2, Taf. 80.

<sup>14</sup>A. Stein, *Ruins of desert Cathay*, London, 1912, p. 482.

<sup>15</sup>N. Zaspikin, *Architektura Srednei Azii*, Moscow, 1948, fig. 15.

<sup>16</sup>A. v. Le Coq, *Bilderatlas*, fig. 173.

<sup>17</sup>A. v. Le Coq, *Chotscho*.

<sup>18</sup> *The paintings of ancient Panj-Kent* (in Russian), Academy Nauk, Moscow, 1954, pl. 22.

<sup>19</sup> Kaşgari, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, note 9b, p. 416, article *Türkmen*. Kaşgari also indicates that the Turks wore feather decorations on their hair.

<sup>20</sup> A. v. Gabain, *Hunnisch-Türkische Beziehungen*, Z. V. Togana Armağan, Istanbul, 1950-55, p. 21.

<sup>21</sup> H. Goetz, *The history of Persian costume*, in *A Survey of Persian Art*, ed. by A. U. Pope, London and New York, 1939, p. 2240.

<sup>22</sup> F. Saare-F. A. Martin, *op. cit.* (note 1, 1), vol. 1, Taf. 4.

<sup>23</sup> Z. Oral, *Kubad-Abad Sarayı*, İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi, vol. 2, 1953.

<sup>24</sup> A. v. Le Coq, *Chotscho*, Taf. 12 and 38b.

<sup>25</sup> See A. v. Le Coq, *Chotscho*, Taf. 22, 28.

<sup>26</sup> See A. Stein, *Ruins of desert Cathay*, pl. 76.

<sup>27</sup> See A. v. Le Coq, *Chotscho*, pl. 58, figs. c, d, e, and pl. 59, figs. s and v.

<sup>28</sup> See the MS. *Warqah-Gulshah* of Topkapı, also the frontispiece of the Galen MS. of Vienna and the frontispiece of the Dioscurides MS. No. 3703 of the Aya Sofya Library.

<sup>29</sup> See A. Stein, *Ruins of desert Cathay*, London, 1912, fig. 146, and chaps. 42-44.

<sup>30</sup> See A. Gruenwedel, *Altbudhistische Kultstätten in Chinesisch Turkestan*, Berlin, 1910, fig. 479.

<sup>31</sup> See A. v. Le Coq, *Chotscho*, Taf. 17-29.

<sup>32</sup> See T. Öz, *Türk Kumaş ve Kadifeleri*, Istanbul, 1946, pl. 5.

<sup>33</sup> See A. v. Le Coq, *Chotscho*, Taf. 38; also A. P. Okladnikov, *Ancient populations of Siberia and its cultures*, Cambridge, 1959, pp. 45-48; and A. Inan, *Tarihde ve bugün Şamanizm*, Ankara, 1954.

<sup>34</sup> See R. Ettinghausen, *The Unicorn*, Freer Gallery of Art Occ. Pap., vol. 1, No. 3, Washington, 1950, p. 105, fig. 4.

<sup>35</sup> See R. Nur, *Oghouzname*, Alexandrie, 1928. The kiät is also mentioned in a Turkish poem by Lutfi of Herat (15th century) in connection with the beauty of its eyes (*idem*, note 4).

<sup>36</sup> See *The paintings of ancient Panj-Kent*, T. 14.

<sup>37</sup> The blue-skinned figures in Islamic art and particularly in Ottoman painting appear to fall in different categories. Some are obviously related to Buddhist Turkestan. An example of this group is found in the 17th-century miniature by Kalender in the Topkapı manuscript *Fālnāmeḥ*, representing the Moslem saint Ali bin Musa. In this miniature, a blue-skinned figure with seven arms sits in Mundra position on an elephant, in the way of a Turkestani

Samandabadra. (See A. v. Le Coq, *Bilderatlas*, fig. 104). On the other hand, the blue Zuhā (Saturn) figures found in illustrations of Islamic astrologic works may be linked to the Sabeian Saturns which are reported to have also been represented as Indians. (See F. Saxl, *Beiträge zu einer Geschichte der Planetendarstellung im Orient und im Okzident*, *Der Islam*, vol. 3, 1912.)

<sup>38</sup> See A. Gruenwedel, *op. cit.*, note 30, fig. 353.

<sup>39</sup> See A. v. Le Coq, *Budhistische Spätantike*, vol. 6, T. 17.

<sup>40</sup> See A. Gruenwedel, *op. cit.*, note 30, fig. 352, sitting figure in the front.

<sup>41</sup> For Indian draperies in the MS. *Manāfi' al-Hayawān* (*The utilities of animals*) of the Morgan Library, dated 1291 and dedicated to "Gazan Han, King of Turks, Arabs and 'Ajams. . ."

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see S. Kühnel, *Book Painting, C. History*, in *Survey of Persian Art*, p. 1832. This manuscript offers also varied animal representations which could be compared to many animals in the Topkapı miscellanies. The problematic animal called in Turkish *Böbür* or *Babur* and cited in Kaşgari is also shown in the Mongol bestiary. For the Qazvini illustration, see T. Arnold and A. Grohmann, *The Islamic Book*.

<sup>42</sup> A. v. Le Coq, *Bilderatlas*, fig. 77.

<sup>43</sup> A. v. Le Coq, *Chotscho*, T. 17, 18, 19.

<sup>44</sup> A. v. Le Coq, *Budhistische Spätantike*, vol. 2, T. 7.

<sup>45</sup> See A. v. Le Coq, *Chotscho*, T. 28.

<sup>46</sup> See K. Otto-Dorn, *op. cit.*, note 7c, Res. 7.

<sup>47</sup> *Idem*, Res. 13.

<sup>48</sup> See A. v. Le Coq, *Bilderatlas*, figs. 33, 65, 76; also *The paintings of ancient Panj-Kent*, fig. 25.

<sup>49</sup> See S. I. Rudenko, *The culture of the Altay Mountains in the Scythian time* (in Russian), Moscow, 1953, T. 116, fig. 2.

<sup>50</sup> A. Inan, *Tarihde ve bugün Samanizm*, Ankara, 1954, pp. 47, 81-83.

<sup>51</sup> Yakut, *op. cit.*, note 7a, art. *Bulgar*.

<sup>52</sup> See R. Nur, *op. cit.*, note 37.

<sup>53</sup> See H. N. Orkun, *Eski Türk Yazıtları*, vol. 2, pp. 73-97.

<sup>54</sup> See *idem*, vol. 1, p. 15.

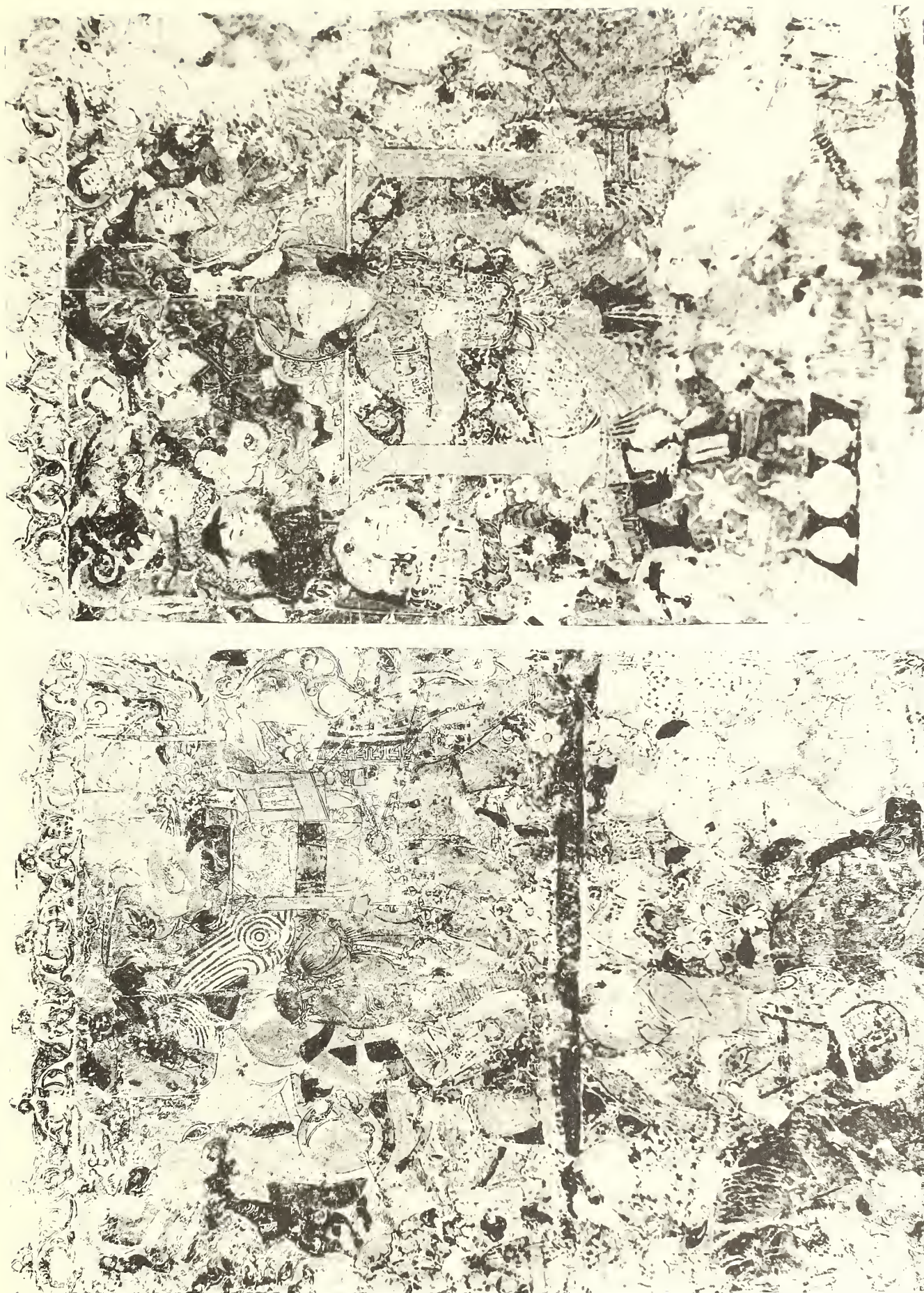
<sup>55</sup> See Kaşgari, *op. cit.*, note 9c, art. *Teğün*.

<sup>56</sup> See O. Turan, *Oniki hayvanlı Türk Takvimi*, Istanbul, 1941.

<sup>57</sup> See Ms. *Hunernāmeḥ* of the Topkapı Museum.

<sup>58</sup> See M. M. Mendykulov, *Architectural monuments of Mangışlak and of western Üst Yurt* (in





FIGS. A and B.—MINIATURES FROM ALBUM H. 2152, PAGE 61a.  
(Courtesy of the Topkapı Museum.)





MURAL PAINTING FROM MIRAN.  
 (After A. Stein, *Ruins of desert Cathay*, fig. 146.)





DETAIL FROM A MURAL PAINTING.  
(After A. v. Le Coq, *Chotscho*, Taf. 12.)





FIG. A.—A WESTERN TURK, DETAIL FROM A MURAL PAINTING IN PANJ-KENT. (After *The paintings of ancient Panj-Kent*, Academy Nauk, Moscow, 1954, Taf. 22.)



FIG. B.—DETAIL FROM A BEZEKLIK MURAL. (After A. v. Le Coq, *Buddhistische spätantike in Mittelasien*, vol. 4, Taf. 20.)



FIG. C.—MURAL. (After A. v. Le Coq, *Chotscho*, Taf. 38.)





FIG. A.—DETAIL FROM A MURAL.  
(After A. v. Le Coq, *Chotscho*, Taf. 22.)



FIG. B.—DETAIL FROM A CHOTSCHO  
MURAL.  
(After A. v. Le Coq, *Chotscho*, Taf. 28.)



FIG. C.—MODERN KIRGIZ-KAZAK KALPAK.





FIG. A.—DETAIL FROM A TUN-HUANG SILK PAINTING  
(THE ASSAULT OF MARA).  
(Courtesy of the Musée Guimet.)

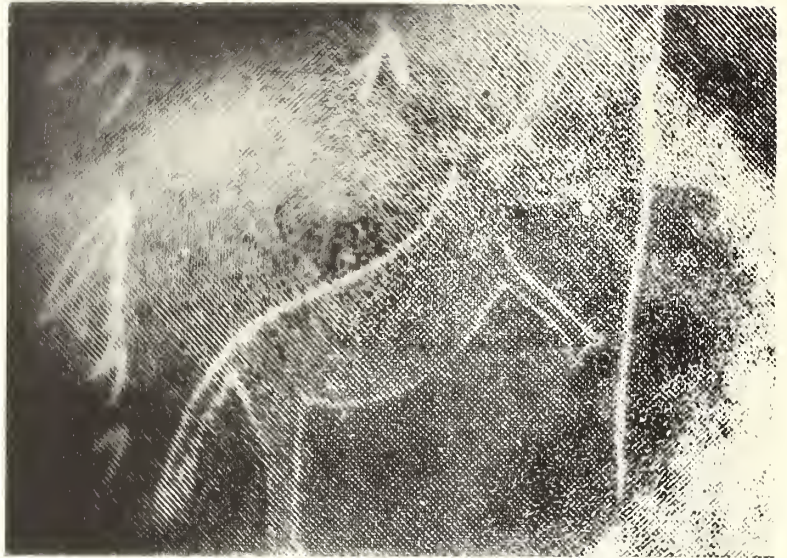


FIG. B.—DRAWING OF A POSSIBLY MONGOL PERIOD UYGUR MANUSCRIPT.  
(After R. Nur, *Oghouzname*.)



FIG. C.—PAINTED PANEL FROM DANDAN-OYLUK.  
(After A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, pl. 60.)  
(Courtesy of the British Museum.)



FIG. D.—DETAIL OF MURAL IN KUM-ARIK.  
(After A. v. Le Coq, *Buddhistische spätantike*, vol. 6, Taf. 17.)





FIG. A.—DETAIL FROM AN EASTERN TURKESTAN MINIATURE.  
(After A. v. Le Coq, *Buddhistische spätantike*, vol. 2, Taf. 7.)



FIG. B.—DETAIL FROM A CHOTSCHO MURAL.  
(After A. v. Le Coq, *Chotscho*, Taf. 18.)



FIG. C.—DETAIL FROM A SILK  
PAINTING.  
(After A. v. Le Coq, *Chotscho*, Taf. 3b.)





FIG. A.—DETAIL OF A MURAL.  
(After A. v. Le Coq, *Chotscho*, Taf. 28.)



FIG. B.—DETAIL OF A METAL VESSEL.  
(Courtesy of the Koyunoglu Collection in Konya.)



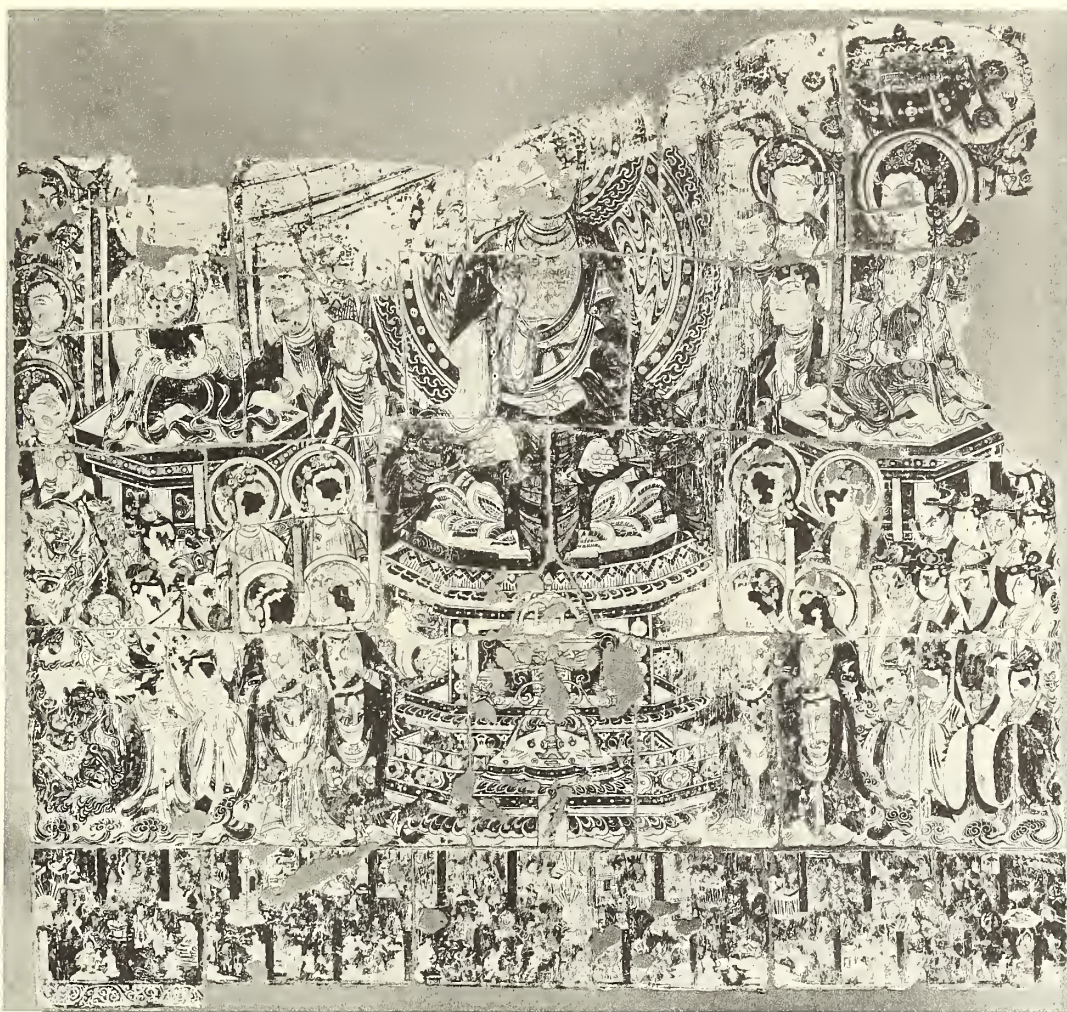


FIG. A.—BEZEKLIK MURAL PAINTING.  
(After A. v. Le Coq, *Buddhistische spätantike*, Atlas, Taf. 17.)

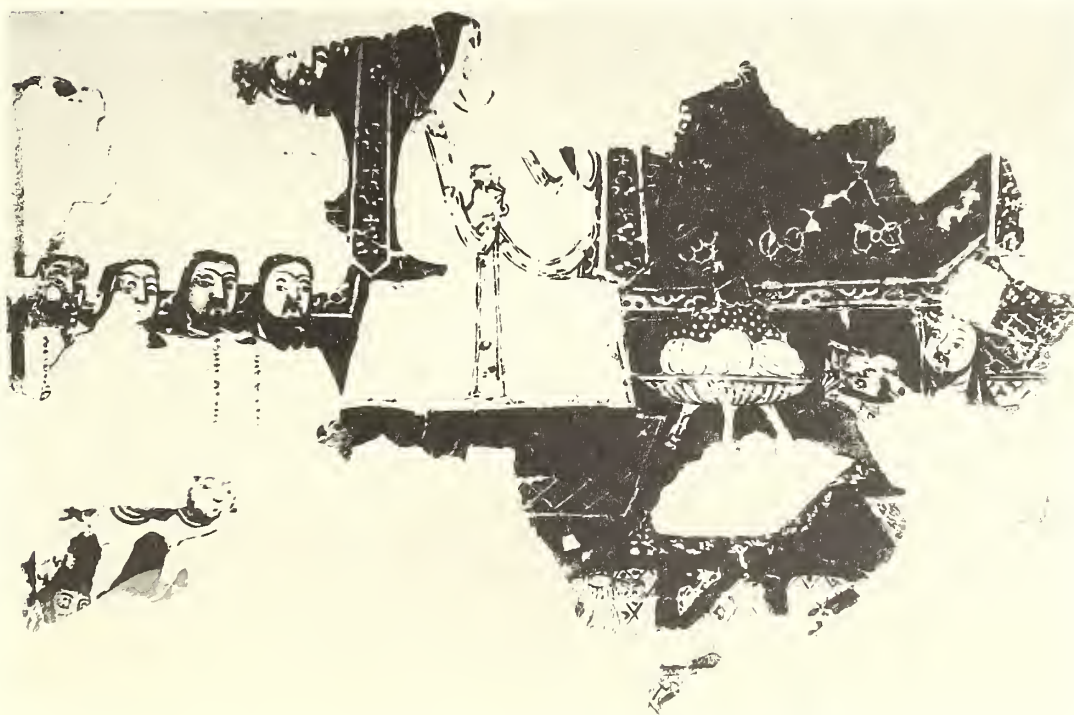
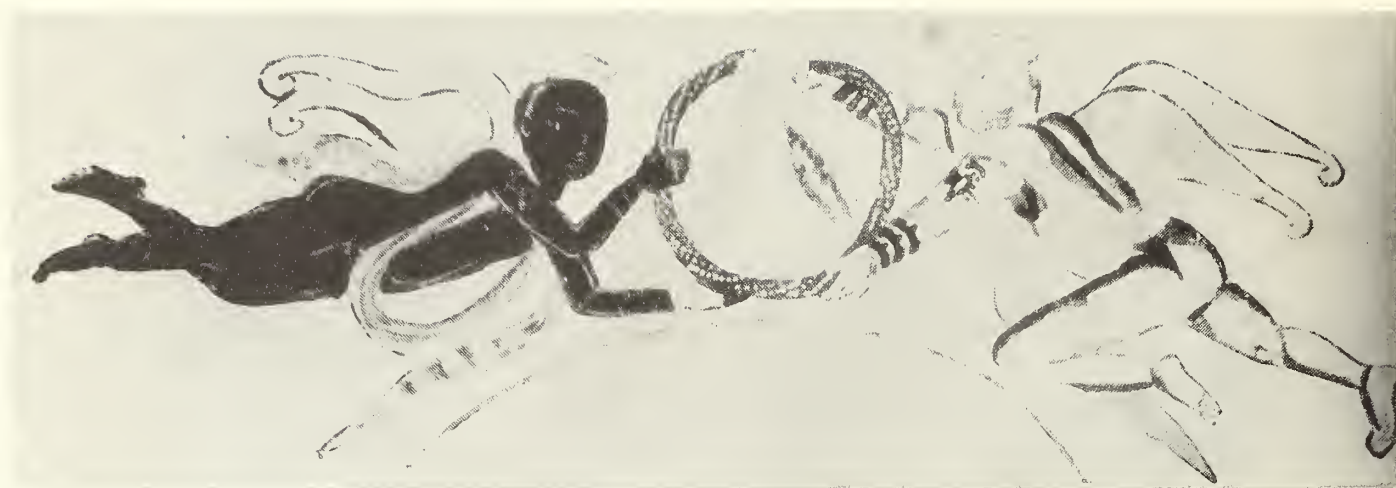


FIG. B.—EASTERN TURKESTAN MANICHEAN MINIATURE.  
(Courtesy of the Völkerkunde Museum, Berlin.)





FIGS. A AND B.—GROUP FROM A KIZIL NICHE.  
(After A. v. Le Coq, *Bilderatlas*, figs. 171, 172.)



Russian), Alma Ata, 1956. For explanations of composite animal figures in Ottoman art see principally MS. *Da'wat-nāmeḥ-e Firdawsī e-Ṭawīl* (No. 208) of the University of Istanbul. This is a copy, dated A.H. 1114, of an earlier Turkish book dated A.H. 893, written in Balıkesir by Firdawsī, by compilation from earlier works. The *Da'wat-nāmeḥ* (Book of Invocation) is a treatise on sorcery. The illustrations consist of figures which are supposed to be magically effective only if they are reproduced unchanged. There is therefore a chance that these illustrations are exact copies of older ones. The many-headed or animal-headed figures of the *Da'wat-nāmeḥ* are reminiscent of Uyğur demons and deities.

<sup>59</sup> See A. v. Le Coq, *Budhistische Spätantike*, vol. 2, pl. 8b.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 1, T. 7.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, Atlas, T. 17.

<sup>62</sup> Gruenwedel, *op. cit.*, note 30, figs. 340, 353.

<sup>64</sup> K. Otto-Dorn, *op. cit.*, note 7c, Res. 1.

<sup>65</sup> *Idem*, Res. 4 and 13.

<sup>66</sup> T. Arnold and A. Grohmann, *The Islamic Book*, pl. 31.

<sup>67</sup> D. S. Rice, *The Aghānī miniatures and religious painting in Islam*, *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 95, 1953, p. 128ff.

<sup>68</sup> R. Nur, *op. cit.*, note 37.

<sup>69</sup> See M. Neşrî, *Kitâb-ı Cihan-Nümâ*, ed. by F. R. Unat and M. Köymen, Ankara, 1949, p. 15. For the Turkish inscriptions, see F. Büchner, art. *Tanrı*, *Encyclopedia of Islam*, Leyden, 1934, vol. 4, p. 653, and A. v. Gabain, *Buddhistische Türkenmission*, *Asiatica*, Festschrift F. Weller, Leipzig, 1954, p. 172.

<sup>70</sup> E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, présenté à l'Académie des Sciences de St. Petersbourg, le 23 Août, 1900, Paris, p. 237.

<sup>71</sup> A. v. Le Coq, *Budhistische Spätantike*, vol. 1.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 6, T. 17.

<sup>73</sup> See N. Orkon, *op. cit.*, note 56, vol. 2, p. 73: T(e)nsi m(e)n y(a)r(ı)n kiçe (a)ltun

I am *Tensi*, sitting night and day

Ögin üze otur(u)p(a)n m(e)nil(e)yürmen.

On a golden throne, in enjoyment.

<sup>74</sup> K. Holter, *Die Galen Handschrift und die Makamen des Hariri der Wiener Nat. Bibliothek*, *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, vol. 11, 1937.

<sup>75</sup> A. von Gabain, *Türkische Turfantexte 9*, Berlin, 1958, p. 4.

<sup>76</sup> A. v. Le Coq, *Budhistische Spätantike*, vol. 6, T. 17.

<sup>77</sup> *The paintings of ancient Panj-kent*, T. 22; also L. U. Albaum, *Balalık-Tepe, Taşkent*, 1960, pls. 100, 102, 104, 107, 109.

<sup>78</sup> Kaşgari, *sub. And.*

<sup>79</sup> R. Grousset, *L'Empire des steppes*, p. 141.

<sup>80</sup> Turkish and Iranian literature give information on the ritual use of the cup. Here is a quotation from the 17th-century Turkish poet Ne'î:

Merhaba ey yadigârı	Greetings, Oh token of
devranı cam,	the Rite of the cup,
Abiruyu Devleti Cam-	Emblem of the realm of
şid ve Ayini Peşenk	Jam-Shid and of the
	ceremonies of Peşenk.

(Peşenk was the father of the legendary Turkish Kaan Alp-Er-Tunga.)

On the identification of Jam-Shid with Gün-Han (Sun King), eldest son of Oğuz Han, see in F. Kirizoğlu, *Dede Korkut Oğuznameleri*, Istanbul, 1952, vol. 1, pp. 32-33, a citation from Enveri's *Düstürnâmeḥ* (15th century).

<sup>81</sup> For Turkish customs, see K. Otto-Dorn, *op. cit.*, in note 7b, citing Vambéry, *Das Türkenvolk*, p. 31. For Timur's remark, see Nizam al-Din Shamī, *Zafarnamah*, Turkish transl. N. Lugal, Ankara, 1949, p. 313. For Mongol ceremonies, see B. Spuler, *op. cit.*, in note 2a, p. 189. See also E. Blochet, *Djami el-Tévarikh de Rashid ed-Din Fadl Allah*, London, 1911, pl. 4. For Topa usages, see W. Eberhard, *Das Toba-Reich Nord Chinas*, Leyden, 1949, pp. 357-359.

<sup>82</sup> A. v. Le Coq, *Bilderatlas*, fig. 139.

<sup>83</sup> *Idem*, figs. 171, 172.

<sup>84</sup> A. v. Le Coq, *Chotscho*, pl. 3b, p. 8.

<sup>85</sup> A. v. Le Coq, *Budhistische Spätantike*, vol. 3, p. 18.

<sup>86</sup> See note 2a. For Arghūn's portrait in the Paris *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh*, see E. Blochet, *Musulman Painting*, London, 1929, pl. 63.

<sup>87</sup> Rashid al-Din, *History of Ghazan Khan*, ed. by K. Jahn, London, 1940, p. xviii. I am indebted to Prof. Z. V. Togan for indicating this passage.

<sup>88</sup> See *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak-i Gazanī des Rashid al-Din Fadl Allah*, *Geschichte der Ilhane Abaga bis Gaihatu*, ed. by K. Jahn, Gravenhage, 1941, Persian text, p. 67.

<sup>89</sup> A. Inan, *op. cit.*, note 50, pp. 97-100 and 104-106.





# SOME MINIATURES OF THE *JĀMI' AL-TAVĀRIKH* IN ISTANBUL, TOPKAPI MUSEUM, HAZINE

LIBRARY NO. 1654<sup>1</sup>

BY GÜNER INAL

*Jami' al-Tavārikh*, THE "WORLD HISTORY" of Rashīd al-dīn, the famous Prime Minister of the Mongol khāns, is one of the most important works produced by the Mongols in Persia. The work was begun in the time of Ghāzān khān (1295–1304) as a volume on Mongol history. After Ghāzān khān's death, his successor Ūljaytū (1304–16) ordered it to be finished, and also wanted two more volumes to be written, one containing a general history from the time of the old prophets to the time of the Mongols and the other dealing with geography; but we do not know whether the latter volume was ever actually written, because we have no version of it whatever. Today we possess only the first two volumes of the *Jāmi' al-Tavārikh*. The completed work was presented to Ūljaytū in 710 H./A.D. 1310–11. This work, or at least the second volume, must have been written in Rashīdiyyah, the cultural center of the Mongols which was founded by Rashīd al-dīn as a suburb of Tabriz in the time of Ūljaytū. Rashīd al-dīn made every effort to provide for the survival of his work to succeeding generations. Each of his works had several copies which were written in two languages, Arabic and Persian. These were sent to scholars and friends. Everyone was allowed to copy them freely.

In spite of the author's efforts, not even one complete copy has come down to us. The execution of Rashīd al-dīn in 1318 and the destruction of Rashīdiyyah caused the annihilation of most of the versions.<sup>2</sup> On the other

hand, if we consider how very few works survive from the Mongol period, the situation might be worse. We have at least some versions of this extraordinary work even though they are incomplete.

In spite of its great importance, this work has never been published in its entirety.<sup>3</sup> A few scholars have tried to publish and to translate only some parts of it.<sup>4</sup> We also have versions of the *Jāmi' al-Tavārikh* containing miniatures which have not yet been completely published.

Today we have only three versions of the

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of Persian literature under the Tartar dominion (A.D. 1265–1502), from A History of Persian Literature, vol. 3, Cambridge, 1920, p. 68 ff.; C. A. Storey, *Persian literature*, London, 1927–29, section II, pp. 71–79; E. Berthels, *Rashīd al-Dīn Ṭabīb* in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. 3, Leyden, 1929, p. 1124 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Browne, *op. cit.*, p. 69; A. Ateş, *Raşīd al-dīn Faḫrallāh, Cāmi' al-Tavārih, cild II, cüz 4. Sultan Mahmūd ve devrinin tarihi* (Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlarından, seri III, No. 4), Ankara, 1957, p. 5.

<sup>4</sup> E.-M. Qatremère (ed. and trans.), *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse*, Paris, 1836; Beresin, *Sbornik letopisei. Istorija Mongolov, sochinenie Rashid Ed-dina*, Moskva, Izd-vo Akademii Nauk SSR, 1946–52; Vvedenie: O Turetskikh i Mongolskikh plemenakh. Predov s Persidskago Vvedenien: *Primyechaniyami*, St. Petersburg, 1858–1888; E. Blochet, *Djami al Tevarikh histoire générale du mond par Fadlallah Rashideddin. Tarikh-i Moubarek-i Ghazani*. Histoire des Mongols, London, 1911; K. Jahn, *Geschichte Gāzān-Hān's aus dem Ta'rih-i mubārek-i Gāzāni des Rāshīd al-dīn Fadlallāh B.' imād al-Daula Abūl-Hair* (E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series XIV), London, 1940; *idem*, *Histoire des Francs*, Histoire universelle de Rasid al-dīn Faḫrallāh Abul-khair, vol. 1, Leiden, 1951; A. Ateş, *op. cit.* [Editorial note: A complete translation into Russian by various scholars is being sponsored by the Soviet Academy of Sciences. At least three volumes have appeared.]

<sup>1</sup> I am greatly in debt to Dr. Nihad Çetin and Dr. Ali Alpaslan of the University of Istanbul for help in identifying the scenes.

<sup>2</sup> For the literary references about Rashīd al-dīn and *Jāmi' al-Tavārikh*, see E. G. Browne, *A history*

*Jāmi' al-Tavārikh* (with miniatures) which come from the time of Rashīd al-dīn. All of them deal with general world history; that is to say, they are the second volume of the work. One of them is the famous manuscript which is preserved in two parts in Britain, in two different collections, one in the London Royal Asiatic Society,<sup>5</sup> and the other in the Edinburgh University Library, MS. No. 20.<sup>6</sup> Both are written in Arabic and dated 707–714 H./A.D. 1307–14. Two other manuscripts are in Istanbul. One of them, in the Topkapı Museum, Hazine Library No. 1653, is written in Persian and dated 714 H./A.D. 1314,<sup>7</sup> about

<sup>5</sup> Kurt Holter, *Die islamischen Miniaturhandschriften vor 1350*, Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, Jg. 54, Leipzig, 1937, p. 26; F. R. Martin, *The miniature painting and painters of Persia, India and Turkey*, London, 1912, vol. 1, pp. 19–29; vol. 2, pls. 27–32; I. Stchoukine, *La peinture iraniennes sous les derniers Abbasides et les Il-khans*, Bruges, 1936, pp. 23–26, 32, 59, 81–84, 150–157; E. Kühnel, *History of miniature painting and drawing, A Survey of Persian Art*, London-New York, 1939, vol. 3, p. 1835, vol. 5, pl. 828 AB; Binyon-Wilkinson-Gray, *Persian miniature painting*, Oxford, 1933, pp. 4, 15, 29–39, 45–46, No. 26, pl. XXIII AB; E. Schroeder, *Ahmed Musa and Shams al-Dīn; A review of fourteenth century painting*, *Ars Islamica*, vol. 6, part 2 (1939), pp. 113–142; M. Dimand, *A handbook of Muhammedan art*, New York, 1947, chapt. 3, p. 30; D. Barrett, *Persian painting of the XIVth century*, London, 1952, p. 4, pl. 3; B. Gray, *Art under the Mongol dynasties of China and Persia*, *Oriental Art*, vol. 1, No. 4 (winter 1955), p. 159, fig. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Holter, *op. cit.*, p. 25; F. R. Martin, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 20–27, figs. 12–15; I. Stchoukine, *op. cit.*; E. Kühnel, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 1835; vol. 5, pls. 827 AB; Binyon-Wilkinson-Gray, *op. cit.*, pp. 34–36, 39, 44–45, No. 25, pls. XVIII AB, XIX AB, XX AB, XXI AB, XXII AB; E. Schroeder, *op. cit.*; M. Dimand, *op. cit.*, D. Barrett, *op. cit.*, pp. 2, 8–10, pls. 2–3.

<sup>7</sup> M. Aga-Oglu, *Some unknown Muhammedan illustrated MSS. in the library of the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi at Istanbul*, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 1931, p. 320; *idem*, *Preliminary notes on some Persian illustrated MSS. in the Topkapı Müzesi*, *Ars*

the same date as the British manuscript. The second manuscript is also in the Topkapı Museum, Hazine Library No. 1654, and I am going to discuss some of its miniatures in this article. It is dated 717 H./A.D. 1317, according to its colophon on folio 350r, which is a little later than the other manuscripts mentioned above.

Although this manuscript has already been mentioned in some general publications on Islamic painting,<sup>8</sup> only one of its miniatures has been published, in a series of iconological studies by Massignon.<sup>9</sup> It has sometimes been confused with MS. Hz. 1653 in the same library.<sup>10</sup> In one of the most recent publications on the *Jāmi' al-Tavārikh*, by Ahmed Ateş,<sup>11</sup> a description of MS. Hz. 1654 is ac-

*Islamica*, vol. 1, 1934, pp. 183–184, figs. 1–3; A. Sakisian, *La miniature persane du XII<sup>e</sup> au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris et Bruxelles, 1929, p. 30; I. Stchoukine, *op. cit.*, p. 84; Binyon-Wilkinson-Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 34; E. Kühnel, *op. cit.*, p. 1835; M. Dimand, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

<sup>8</sup> I. Stchoukine, *op. cit.*, p. 84; M. Dimand, *op. cit.*

<sup>9</sup> L. Massignon, *Les sept dormants d'Ephèse (Ahl-al-Kahf) en Islam et en Chrétienté*, Recueil documentaire et iconographique, *Revue des Études Islamique*, 1954, pp. 59–112, pl. VI, No. 1 (our fig. 10).

<sup>10</sup> R. Ettinghausen, in his article, *An illuminated manuscript of Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū in Istanbul*, *Kunst des Orients*, vol. 2, 1955, p. 35, note 6, deals with this confusion. As Dr. Ettinghausen says, Aga-Oglu's above-mentioned article in *Ars Islamica* caused all these confusions. He mentioned a *Jāmi' al-Tavārikh* in two bindings under the number 1863–2475 and dated 717 H./A.D. 1318, but he published three miniatures from the *Jāmi' al-Tavārikh* (now MS. Hz. 1653), which is actually dated 714 H./A.D. 1314. I suppose that he thought these two different versions were two successive volumes of one book and gave the date of MS. Hz. 1654. Afterward the scholars who worked on this work gave the same date, although they meant MS. 1653 (A.D. 1314), e.g., Sakisian, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

<sup>11</sup> A. Ateş, *op. cit.*, pp. 20–22.



accompanied by two illustrations.<sup>12</sup> MS. Hz. 1654 is preserved in a new red binding. It consists of 350 folios<sup>13</sup> which measure approximately 55.7 x 32.8 cm. The measurements of the written parts are about 34.2 x 24.4 cm. The text is in 31 lines, written in Persian *nasih*, and is richly illuminated.

The miniatures fall into two groups: (1) historical scenes, and (2) portraits of the Chinese emperors (as in MS. Hz. 1653). There are 118 miniatures of historical scenes and 78 pages of portraits of the Chinese emperors. The miniatures of the historical scenes do not show one style only. Three different styles can be identified: (1) a style that resembles the Mongol style as is seen in the miniatures of the above-mentioned manuscripts of Rashīd al-dīn<sup>14</sup> (fol. 5v, fol. 23r, fol. 27r [fig. 4], fol. 31v); the portraits of the Chinese emperors also belong to this group; (2) a style that resembles the Shāh Rūkh style which is seen in the miniatures of the *Hāfiẓ-i Abrū* manuscript of MS. Hz. 1653<sup>15</sup> (fol. 68v [see fig. 1]);<sup>16</sup> and (3) the so-called Timurid style<sup>17</sup> (fol. 252r [see fig. 2]).

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, Lev. I. The illumination of the chapter beginning with Gaznevid history. Lev. II. The colophon of folio 350 r which gives the date 717 H./A.D. 1317.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 20. Prof. Ateş states that according to an inscription on folio 350 r, 25 folios have been lost. The manuscript should have 375 folios.

<sup>14</sup> This style has not yet been completely defined. It has been accepted as a style showing Chinese influences with Far Eastern landscape elements, dynamic lines, and light color tones, which was executed in Persia in the beginning of the 14th century under some special conditions. See Binyon-Wilkinson-Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

<sup>15</sup> R. Ettinghausen, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-44.

<sup>16</sup> We shall see the same kind of mountains again, in figs. 8 and 10 from the first group, as the background of the scenes, but here they are rougher and have lost their delicate forms.

<sup>17</sup> I. Stchoukine, *Les peintures des manuscrits Timûrides*, Paris, 1954.

In this article, I will deal only with the miniatures of the first group of MS. Hz. 1654, which shows a resemblance to the Mongol style, and discuss their connection with the British manuscript. When the miniatures of these two manuscripts are examined, we see that certain scenes show a close relationship. Various figures and figure groups of MS. Hz. 1654 follow the schema of the London-Edinburgh version, and yet there are differences. In order to see these relationships and differences we shall examine a few scenes. In this comparison the scenes of the British manuscript will be examined first, since they were painted earlier than those of our manuscript, and then the same scenes in MS. Hz. 1654 will be studied.

Let us take the throne scenes first. In figure 3 (fol. 6v) we see a throne scene from the Edinburgh manuscript. Here the Persian king Minuchihr is represented with his companions. The scene is either in a tent or in a room; the curtains above the throne show us that it is supposed to be an indoor scene. The king is in the center. He has no beard and seems to be young. One of his knees is raised. His hands are on his knees. He sits on a tripartite Mongolian throne typical of the time. There are two guards behind him, one on either side. In front of the throne there is a pot of plants. On both sides of the picture there are figures. On the extreme left there are two standing figures, one of whom is only partially visible. In front of them is an interesting large figure. There is an inscription near his head: *Tasvīr-i Rustem* (تصویر رستم), the name of the famous Persian hero. In addition to the inscription, we recognize him by his coat of tiger skin. This is the first dated visual representation of Rustem in Islamic book painting. His expressive face with big moustaches and his way of sitting remind us

of some of the figures by the "Black-Pen,"<sup>18</sup> and must be of Uighur or Far Eastern origin. The part that interests us most is the right side of the picture. Here we have four figures, two standing in back and two sitting in front. The two standing figures are speaking with each other, making gestures. One of them wears a brimmed Mongol hat and the other an ordinary cap. The manner in which they speak is very lively. In the foreground the two seated figures are also talking with each other, but their manner of talking is somewhat different. The figure on the left is telling something, pointing his finger at his companion. He sits on a small folding chair. Both his feet are on the same level and shown in profile. With the left hand he seems to be holding something, but it is not clear what. He wears a simple robe and over it a pelerine which also covers his turban. The folds of the robe and the pelerine come together in the middle of the figure about the knees and conceal the form of the body. The lines are angular and hard, somewhat nervous. (We see the same kind of drapery, also, in the image of the king, whose knees are covered with the drapery folds.) This figure has a long beard. The second figure also has a long pointed beard, but he has no pelerine. He wears a simple Mongolian robe which has very long sleeves and a turban. He also sits on a chair, but one which somewhat resembles a stone bench and cannot be folded. One of his legs is raised and disappears among the folds of the robe. Here again we see the dynamic and nervous lines which are typical of Persian Mongolian painting. His right hand is on his knee and with his left hand he holds a stick.

In *figure 4* (fol. 27) we see another throne scene. This is from the Istanbul MS. Hz.

<sup>18</sup> M. S. Ipşiroğlu-A. Eyüpoğlu, *Fatih Albümüne bir bakış-sur l'album du conquérant*, Istanbul, 1955, p. 44, fig. 38.

1654. Here another Persian king, Guderz-i Eshkan, is represented. The throne is again in the center. We find the same kind of central arrangement in both scenes, but on the whole, there is a difference. This is an open-air composition in a landscape. Above, a Chinese cloud shows in the sky. A tree leans from the middle toward the left. In the foreground there is water, perhaps a pool or a river. Along the edge of the water we see some plants and flowers. Besides this, the entire picture ground is filled with small plants. All these elements suggest a place in the open air, perhaps a garden. This landscape shows the taste of the end of the 14th century. Especially the treatment of the whole group with small plants shows us that we are not far from the Timurid period. An open-air throne scene from the Topkapı Museum, MS. Hz. 1653<sup>19</sup> (this is called the history of *Hâfız-i Abrû*, dated 829 H./A.D. 1426; in the same binding we have also the other manuscript of Rashid al-din dated 714 H./A.D. 1314) shows an early 15th-century landscape. Here we see the same kind of ground decorated with small plants and some larger flowering plants as in *figure 4*, but all the elements are more stylized, indicating a later date. Let us turn to our scene again. The king sits in the same manner as the king in *figure 3*, but he is bearded. The thrones are also similar, but this one is decorated with Mongol flowers. Behind the throne there is only one guard figure instead of two. He is unarmed. To the left there are again two standing figures. These are more fully visible than those in *figure 3*. Between the throne and these figures there is a man kneeling. He is not Rustem. On the right side again there is a group composed of two standing figures in back and two sitting figures in front. Here we find the same type of figures as in *figure 3*. The standing figures are talking with each

<sup>19</sup> R. Ettinghausen, *op. cit.*, p. 36, fig. 6.



other, gesturing. The first figure also has a Mongol hat and the other has a cap. The difference is that the second figure in *figure 4* has no visible hair. If we look closely, we see that the gestures are not as lively and as natural as those in *figure 3*. The arm of the second figure, cut by the picture frame, disturbs the eye. The hands are more stylized. The seated figures in the foreground also show that the whole group on the right is a copy from the Edinburgh scene. We have again, seated on a movable chair, a bearded person wearing a pelerine over his robe and a part of the pelerine covers his turban. He holds a book with his left hand and is telling something to his companion with the same gesture as in *figure 3*. Since this miniature is a copy, we see some lack of proportion in it. The right arm which stretches out is stylized and its connection with the shoulder is not skillfully drawn. The feet are not on the same level. The right leg makes a curve to the left which seems somewhat unharmonious. It is too much separated from the body. On the whole, the turning of the body is also not so lively and natural as that of the person in *figure 3*. The second figure is also a copy from *figure 3*. This figure is placed somewhat behind the first. We notice the same lack of skill in the drawing of the legs. The leg which is raised and disappears among the folds in *figure 3* is not drawn well here, being more stylized and less clear. The left hand lacks the stick. On the whole, we do not find the easy posture which we find in *figure 3*. The painter's misunderstanding is also clear in the drawing of the drapery. In the Edinburgh scene the overlapping of the garment comes from one shoulder to the opposite armpit, but in the Istanbul scene the interpretation presents an impossible situation; the overlapping does not come to the armpit but above it, a sure sign of the copyist's lack of first-hand acquaintance with his subject matter. This comparison shows

that the painter wanted to apply the composition of the throne scene with Minuchihr and Rustem of the Edinburgh manuscript to another throne scene in this manuscript. He started with two figures on the left and gave them enough room, and instead of Rustem he put in a figure of his own. When he came to the right, he lacked sufficient space and had to make the figures on the extreme right more crowded and more stylized. He used an open-air composition, but in spite of some differences in detail, the main composition follows that of the scene in the Edinburgh manuscript. The painter has adopted the technique of using dynamic lines and shading by means of varying the color values, but the effect is nevertheless lifeless, the drapery flat, the drawing unskillful. The dynamism and the color spots which make the impression of shading richer are lacking. The faces are more like the Timurid faces with no expression.<sup>20</sup> Although the painter has copied the compositional schema and the figures from the Edinburgh example, he expresses it in his own manner, which is more stylized, more purely decorative than the other, and which also shows some Timurid characteristics alongside the Mongol ones.

Let us consider another throne scene, *figure 5* (fol. 138v) from the Edinburgh MS. No. 20, which shows Alp Aslan on the throne. Once again we have an indoor scene as in *figure 3*. The king is again in the center. On the left there are three standing figures. Two of them are talking with one another and the third looks toward the right. Between them and the throne there is seated a person who is reading something to the king. The king listens to him, resting his right arm on his knee and holding in his right hand a stick; with his left hand he holds the folds of his robe. To the right of the king there are five attendants, four standing and one seated. The seated one

<sup>20</sup> I. Stchoukine, *op. cit.*

has his hands folded on his knees. The standing ones seem to be listening to the reading. Their heads are turned at different angles, making the group more lively.

Still another scene from MS. Hz. 1654, *figure 6* (fol. 23r), shows a similar arrangement to that in *figure 4*; it is also an open-air composition. The throne is again in the center, and behind it we see the branches of a large tree. The ground is treated as in *figure 4* with an all-over pattern of small plants and flowers. On the left we see only two standing figures instead of three. One is partially seen, as in the Edinburgh MS. 20 example shown in *figure 3*. Between them and the throne there is a person sitting on the ground. Over his robe he wears a pelerine which also covers his turban. This figure is different from the one in *figure 5*, but the figure and the gesture are not foreign to us; we have seen them before, in *figure 4* and *figure 3*, in the figures seated on the movable chairs on the right. Clearly, we have once again a figure that was drawn from Edinburgh MS. 20. He stretches out his right arm and says something. The manner of the king here is also different; he joins the conversation, a fact indicated by the gesture of his right hand. When we come to examine the right side of the picture we find the same group as in *figure 5*, but the seated figure in the foreground is more stylized and holds a book in his hands. Here we do not see the alert and lively attitude of the figure in *figure 5*. This representation is weaker. Behind him we again find four standing figures and in these, too, there is a lack of richness in the drawing. All of them stare directly to the left. There is no movement and no expression in these figures; they suggest a rigid copy of the group in the Edinburgh MS. 20. There are also the same differences in style in these two scenes. The painter intended here also to copy the right side of the scene of the Edinburgh manuscript, as in the first example.

Looking further, we find the same tendencies in another scene. This is a well-known scene, the "Annunciation." In *figure 7* (fol. 22r), we see the Annunciation taken from Edinburgh MS. 20. The scene depicts a rocky landscape. High bare mountains drawn in the East Asiatic manner form the background for the event. In the center there is a hole that is supposed to be the spring to which Mary came to get water. The figures of Mary and Gabriel, the latter in the shape of a human being without wings,<sup>21</sup> are on either side of the spring. Both wear pelerines over their robes and Mary's also covers her head. She stands firmly, holding a ewer in her left hand. Her right hand is raised to her cheek. The gesture of her small finger shows her excitement when she hears the words of Gabriel. The folds of her dress go around her legs, molding the shape of the body. Her pelerine falls in dynamic, edged folds, and some parts of it, pressed under the left arm, join on her breast with the opposite part which comes from the right shoulder. If we look at the Gabriel figure, we see the same treatment of the drapery. The shape of the legs is visible under the robe. The folds of the pelerine are also dynamic and the lower right border of the pelerine has pointed corners. With his left hand Gabriel holds his pelerine and with his right he makes the gesture of Annunciation by pointing two fingers at Mary. His right leg is somewhat behind the left, showing that he has just descended from heaven. The dynamic lines of the folds

<sup>21</sup> The subject matter of this type of iconography does not derive from Christian sources as was stated in Arnold, *The old and new testaments in Muslim religious art*, London, 1933, pp. 14-15, but is taken directly from the Koran, Sûrah 19 (Sûrah of Mary), Ayah 17: "At that time we sent her our spirit and it appeared to her in the shape of a human being." For the other examples of this type, such as the Annunciation scene in Al-Birûni's *Athâr-i Baqiyah*, a Christian origin can be discussed (*idem*, p. 15, pl. IV), but here it comes from the Koran.



against the linear rocky landscape and this movement of the leg make the scene quite lively. But what is more important in this scene is the expressions of the faces which show the spiritual relation between these two figures. They make this miniature more than an illustration; it is rather an image through which we share the experience of the moment.

In *figure 8* (fol. 31v) we see the same scene in a different setting. Here there is also a rocky landscape, but the mountains have lost their high and pointed shapes. They are treated in a more detailed and softer manner.<sup>22</sup> These mountains will become very common in later centuries in a more detailed and decorative way. The landscape is enriched with some trees such as those we have seen in the previous scenes. When we come to the figures, we see the same postures and gestures as in *figure 7*, the folds drawn as wavy lines running into each other. Here the lines are not so dynamically independent of the surface. In contrast to *figure 7*, the shape of the legs disappears under the folds. The function of the line is different—not to make a real figure, but to make a surface pattern. This makes the figure flatter and lifeless. Mary again holds a ewer, but instead of a simple one it is a blue-white ceramic. Apart from these differences, the gestures of the hands and the lines of the pelerine are similar. The figure of Gabriel is of the same type as that in *figure 7*; he is wearing a pelerine over his robe. With his left hand he holds his pelerine in the same

manner and with his right hand makes the gesture of Annunciation, but this time only one finger is outstretched. Besides these similarities, there are also differences. Both feet are on the same level. There is no sign of sudden arrival. If we look at the drapery, we notice that it follows the Edinburgh model but here again with weak, surface-bound lines. Although the ends of the pelerine repeat the same curves as those in *figure 7*, we do not see the pointed corners on the back of the figure. All the curves and corners are softened. The legs are invisible under the folds of the robe. Moreover, there is no spiritual relation between these two figures, each being independent. Gabriel talks to Mary, but Mary does not seem to be surprised; she rather meditates, absorbed in herself. Again, there is no doubt that the painter of the second manuscript has followed the first example. He has copied his models from those now in Edinburgh, putting them in a more detailed, decorative landscape according to the taste of his time. Since he has chosen to use the figures as patterns, he has not conveyed the spiritual aspect of the scene. Therefore, the second scene lacks the liveliness and attractiveness of the first.

Still another miniature from the Edinburgh manuscript, *figure 9* (fol. 23r) represents another well-known scene: The Seven Sleepers (Aṣḥāb ul-Kahf.)<sup>23</sup> There are various stories about this event, placing it in various countries and describing it in different ways.<sup>24</sup> Here the scene depicts the seven youths of Ephesos who escaped from the persecution of

<sup>22</sup> These mountains are called spongy-rocky mountains in the literature on miniature painting, and some authorities state that this convention does not seem to occur before the end of the 14th century. (See Binyon-Wilkinson-Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 35.) In the miniatures of the dispersed *Kalilah wa-Dimnah* preserved in an album in the University Library in Istanbul (No. 1022 F.) we find earlier examples of these mountains, but, although they have a rocky character, they have not become so decorative as the type that is called spongy. (See Kühnel, *op. cit.*, pl. 844.)

<sup>23</sup> *Koran*, Sūrah 18; A. J. Wensinck, *Aṣḥāb al-Kahf*, in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. 1, Leiden-London, 1913, pp. 478–479. For the iconology of this scene see L. Massignon, *op. cit.*, *Revue des Etudes Islamiques*, vol. 22, 1954, pp. 61–112; vol. 23, 1955, pp. 93–106; vol. 25, 1957, pp. 1–11; vol. 26, 1958, pp. 1–10; vol. 27, 1959, pp. 1–8.

<sup>24</sup> J. Koch, *Die Siebenschläferlegende*, Leipzig, 1883; M. Hubert, *Die Wanderlegende von den Siebenschläfern*, Leipzig, 1910.

Dakyanus (Decius), King of the Rûm, and took refuge in a cave, with their dog Kitmîr. Dakyanus, with his soldiers, followed them to the cave but feared to enter it, and ordered the entrance to be sealed with big stones so that the youths could not come out and would die there. They fell asleep and awoke 309 years later in the reign of Theodosius. *Figure 9* must represent the last phase of the event, the discovery of the sleepers and the coming of the Emperor Theodosius who was curious to see them, for they no longer look young. On the left we see a cave, again drawn as a rocky mountain in the East Asiatic manner, and the seven sleepers lie in it in alternating directions as three couples and a single figure at the bottom. Kitmîr lies at the entrance of the cave. The dog is drawn in a rather realistic way, with carefully drawn hair and shading on its body. As we understand from the expression of its face, it has already awakened. On the right we see the emperor, who has just arrived with an attendant. He talks with another of his attendants who stands at the mouth of the cave and is probably telling what he has seen in the cave. The talking gestures of these two figures join the two sides of the picture, and here again we see the spiritual relation between them in the expressions of their faces, as in *figure 7*. Behind the cave there is also an attendant figure who leads the eye back into space. The dynamically edged lines found in *figure 7* are found on this illustration as well. The most important thing in this picture is the effect of space. The emperor's horse stands in such a way that it seems to be coming out of the surface of the paper. Its body makes a diagonal curve, but its face is drawn completely from the front. The figure behind the cave also helps to develop the feeling of depth in the scene. We might say that in this illustration the painter has tried to give the scene in space rather than as a flat surface.

In *figure 10* (fol. 32) we see a parallel of this scene from MS. Hz. 1654, but in an entirely different setting. Here the rocky landscape has turned into finely detailed mountains and has been enriched with some of the Timurid landscape elements we have seen in *figures 4, 6* and *8*. Seven sleepers lie in the cave, but they have their dog inside with them. The figures thus arranged in a small space are highly schematic. We do not see the *plastic* figures with the dynamic lines of *figure 9*. The single figure, which was at the bottom in *figure 9*, is in the middle. On the right there is again the king making the gesture of astonishment which has become a cliché in Islamic miniature painting. His horse does not suggest any third dimension; it is shown parallel to the picture plane and raising one of its legs, another convention typical in Islamic miniature painting for many centuries. We also do not see the attendant figure behind the king. A decorative tree has taken its place. The figure at the mouth of the cave has also been schematized, and the natural relation between these two figures has disappeared. The figure behind the mountain has disappeared and a tree has taken his place. Everything connected with the story has been aligned on one plane and all the elements in the scene have been chosen purely for their decorative effect. There is no effort to depict the story in its expressiveness and to show it in three-dimensional space. Even the dynamic, lined drapery which could give the figures liveliness has been schematized into weak lines.

In these last two comparisons we see a great difference between the two manuscripts, quite apart from differences of style. The Edinburgh example tries to depict the moment of the story in a rather natural way with a few main figures emotionally related to each other. We are made to feel the spiritual content of the event. This feeling is absent from the Istanbul manuscript. In the throne scenes



this difference is less clear because the throne scenes have a partly conventional character; and yet the secondary figures of these scenes are much livelier in the Edinburgh miniatures than in the Istanbul one. But in the scenes that illustrate stories, this difference becomes clearer and shows two different conceptions in representing the same themes: one which tries to give the experience of the event, and the other which depicts it with stylized patterns and provides a decorative effect more appropriate to a miniature style.

Thus far, a few images of the Istanbul MS. Hz. 1654 have been compared with some scenes of the Edinburgh MS. 20. Now I shall try to show the relations of some scenes of the Istanbul MS. Hz. 1654 with the London fragment. Scenes belonging to the chapter on the reigns of the Chinese emperors will be compared.

In the last chapters of the *Jāmi' al-Tavārīkh* we find some representations of Chinese emperors. They are not portraits, but symbols with inscriptions above, showing which emperor is represented. We do not know where this idea originated. We do not have a single example from the early Islamic period.<sup>25</sup> Mas'ūdi, the famous historian of the 10th century, writes in his book that he had seen in the hands of a noble family in Iṣḥtār a history of the Persian kings, dealing with events relating to them and with the buildings they founded. These books contained pictures of the Sassanian kings with their sticks and crowns at the moment of their death, the prototypes of which may have belonged to a picture gallery in the Sassanian period.<sup>26</sup> But we do not possess the book today and there-

fore do not know the peculiarities and arrangement of the representations. The only thing we do know is that portraits of emperors were made in the Sassanian period. However, it is difficult for us today to determine whether the Islamic world inherited this idea from Iran.

Turning to our manuscripts, in *figure 11* (fol. 17r) we see nine representations of the Chinese emperors from the London manuscript, arranged in three rows.<sup>27</sup> The similarities of this page with a page from the Istanbul MS. Hz. 1654, are obvious, as can be seen by the arrangement of figures in *figure 12* (fol. 267v) from the Istanbul example. In both images there are nine figures in three rows, with different gestures, but the differences in gestures are secondary. The painters of both pages have been concerned with an important type of talking figure. Again, there are the same differences in style. The figures in the London manuscript are lively; the drapery is rich, with dynamic lines and shading. The figures in Istanbul MS. Hz. 1654 are weaker. The faces are similar to those in the miniatures of the Timurid period and the lines of the drapery are weak and not skillfully drawn.

The relationship between the two manuscripts is still clearer on another page. In *figure 13* (fol. 9v) we see three figures, one seated in the middle with one standing on either side. Their features are Chinese. The two standing figures have Chinese-like hats and long-sleeved coats over their robes; there are decorations on the fronts of the robes; both men are making a gesture of veneration.

<sup>25</sup> In the palace of Quṣayr 'Amrah there are some representations of kings, but made with completely different intention, with which Oleg Grabar deals in his note in *Ars Orientalis*, vol. 1, 1954, pp. 185-197.

<sup>26</sup> Arnold-Grohmann, *Denkmäler islamischer Buchkunst*, München-Firenze, 1929, S. 77-78.

<sup>27</sup> We find the same arrangement in an earlier Islamic manuscript, the Vienna Galen (*ibid.*, Taf. 32), where the nine figures are also set in three rows, although they are physicians and not emperors. The prototype of the Vienna manuscript is an ancient one and a Greek one, but the origin of the motif is not what concerns me here.

The figure on the left has his hands joined in front so that they are no longer visible. The figure on the right raises his hands, again in a gesture of veneration, the long sleeves hanging down and covering the hands. The central figure sits with one leg folded and the other in profile. He bends down a little to the left. His right hand also stretches out toward the right and makes a gesture, and he raises his left hand, making another gesture with the small finger. He wears not a hat but a turban. The front part of his robe, which is visible through the opening of his coat, is decorated.

In *figure 14* (fol. 259r) we see the same figures from the Istanbul MS. Hz. 1654. There are some small differences. For instance, the figure on the left is not inclined forward, as in *figure 13*, but stands straight. It has, however, the same kind of costume, physiognomy, and posture. The figure on the right shows the same peculiarities as that in *figure 13*, but it is arranged in an inclined position because of lack of space. In the central figure we see the same characteristics of costume and gesture. Even the folds of the drapery of these three figures are the same on both pages. If we compare these two pages with another page from the *Jāmi' al-Tavārikh*, Istanbul, Topkapı Museum Hz. 1653, we see the connection between these two manuscripts better; *figure 15* (fol. 399r) shows a single seated figure similar to the central figure in *figures 13* and *14*. If we put these pages next to each other, we notice that *figures 14* and *15* show the same style. The figures in both have the same Timurid faces and weak drawing, compared with *figure 13*. The outstretched right hand has the same gesture, even the drawing of the hand being the same, more stylized than the expressive hand of *figure 13*. But we notice a difference in the gesture of the left hand; *figure 14* follows *figure 13* with the raised small finger, but in *figure 15* the figure folds his fingers toward his palm. The treatment of

the costumes in *figures 14* and *15* is also different. Again, *figure 14* follows the London example, while *figure 15* generalizes and schematizes it in a more linear manner. The drawing of the left arm in *figure 15* is weak and the raised arm is not clearly shown; the structure of the arm disappears in the linear folds of the coat. The whole body seems to be in a linear capsule. The figure also lacks decoration on the dress.

There is no doubt that *figures 14* and *15* are from the same period, as can be seen from the treatment of the drapery, drawing, and faces. Both of them must have been made much later than the London example. But although both manuscripts show the same style, MS. Hz. 1654 is differentiated from the other one in Istanbul and shows similarities to the London version; we should rather say, it copies the London version. If we accept the London scene as the origin of these figures, we can say that *figure 15* is a second copy.

Let us take a final scene: *figure 16* (fol. 111r) is another page from the London manuscript. Here we have six figures, three above and three below. It is the lower figures that concern us. Again, we meet with a standing figure on either side and a reclining one in the middle. In *figure 17* (fol. 262r) we find a parallel scene from the Istanbul version. Here again the same figures have been used. The same gestures, postures, and costumes are to be seen. The differences of the postures are slight. The figure to the left in *figure 16* stands firmly; the same figure in *figure 17* raises his left foot as if he is walking. This makes a weak impression. The central figure in *figure 16* lies comfortably and makes a "curly" impression. The same figure in *figure 17* does not seem very comfortable and does not have the same curly lines. For instance, the elbow of the figure in *figure 16* is shown with edged lines; in *figure 17*, on the contrary, it is rounded. We see the same differences in



the third figure, too. The figure in *figure 17* is a weak copy of the other and does not seem complete because of the frame. Here again we see that the painter of the Istanbul manuscript has taken his models from the London version and changed them according to his own taste in detail and in the style of his time.

\* \* \* \* \*

These comparisons have shown us that the painter (or painters) of the Istanbul MS. Hz. 1654 copied figures and figure groups partly from Edinburgh MS. 20 and partly from the London manuscript of the same work. This fact suggests that to have enabled the painter of the Istanbul version to draw his models from it, these two portions of the *Jāmi' al-Tavārikh* in Britain, preserved in two different collections, both written in Arabic, must have been in one binding as different chapters of a single manuscript when Istanbul MS. Hz. 1654 was illustrated. In spite of the latter's reliance on the two manuscripts in Britain, there are differences in style and in the understanding of the depicted events, as has been brought out by the comparisons. According to its colophon, Istanbul MS. Hz. 1654 was written in 717 H./A.D. 1317. Is this also the date of the miniatures? If not, when were they painted?

We know that Prime Minister Rashīd al-dīn was removed from office in 1317, the same year in which the writing of this book was finished, and that one year later, in 1318, he was put to death with his family.<sup>28</sup> In these years everything connected with him was destroyed. Under such conditions, we cannot expect that work was continued on the *Jāmi' al-Tavārikh*. It must have been resumed at a later date.

The stylistic elements in the miniatures also make us think in this direction. Comparison shows that there is no doubt that the painter

knew the earlier example well. Besides copying some figures, postures, and certain Mongol features such as robes, hats, and thrones, the drawing of the drapery and the coloring also show that the painter was still under the influence of the Mongol style. By leaving out the emotional aspect of the event, however, and by schematizing the figures, this style was converted into a more decorative and weaker, linear style which indicates a later period. Such Timurid elements in the treatment of the landscape as the decoration of the picture ground with small plants and big flowers with leaves,<sup>29</sup> the decorative Chinese cloud as symbol of the sky,<sup>30</sup> the finely detailed, decorative rocky mountains,<sup>31</sup> and finally the meaningless Timurid faces also show that we are in a period not far from the Timurid time, i.e., the 15th century. The blue-white ewer in *figure 8* also indicates at least the second half of the 14th century.

According to the historical facts and the stylistic elements, we can answer our first ques-

<sup>29</sup> We find this kind of landscape in some Timurid manuscripts such as *Jāmi' al-Tavārikh*, Bibl. Nat. Suppl. Pers. 1113, fol. 285, in I. Stchoukine, *op. cit.*, pl. LII (this manuscript is undated); B. Gray in his article, *Blue and white vessels in Persian miniatures of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries re-examined*, Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society, 1948-49, p. 24; R. Ettinghausen, *op. cit.*, and I. Stchoukine, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-51, date it from the first half of the 15th century; fol. 21v of MS. of Ḥāfiz-i Abrū in Istanbul Hz. 1653 (dated A.D. 1426) in R. Ettinghausen, *op. cit.*, p. 36, fig. 6; also a page of the dispersed manuscript, *idem*, p. 42, fig. 11.

<sup>30</sup> Such as in *Jāmi' al-Tavārikh*, Bibl. Nat. Suppl. Pers. 1113, fol. 30, in I. Stchoukine, *op. cit.*, pl. XLIV; a page from the dispersed manuscript in E. Kühnel, *op. cit.*, vol. 5, pl. 845B; fol. 12r and fol. 35v of MS. Hz. 1653 in R. Ettinghausen, *op. cit.*, p. 35, fig. 5 and p. 37, fig. 7.

<sup>31</sup> Such as in *Jāmi' al-Tavārikh*, Bibl. Nat. Suppl. Pers. 1113, fol. 285v in I. Stchoukine, *op. cit.*, pl. L; a page from the dispersed manuscript in E. Kühnel, *op. cit.*, pl. 845A; a miniature from MS. Hz. 1653 in R. Ettinghausen, *op. cit.*, p. 37, fig. 7.

<sup>28</sup> E. G. Browne, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

tion: the miniatures could not have been done in the same year as the writing. They must have been painted in a transitional period when the tendency to paint in a more decorative way had already started and the first traces of the Timurid style had appeared in Islamic book painting. In spite of these Timurid elements, there is also a conscious, though weak, preservation of the Mongol style. I think it is reasonable to accept these miniatures as the continuation of the Mongol style if we assume that no artistic movement can disappear as if it had been cut off with a knife, leaving no trace. We do not possess any dated examples of 15th-century miniatures which have the same dynamic linear style and color tones. The miniatures of the *Hāfiẓ-i Abrū* manuscript in MS. Hz. 1653, which date from the beginning of the 15th century (A.D. 1426), show a different style, although they are also connected with the Mongol prototypes that R. Ettinghausen calls the historical style of Shāh Rukh.<sup>32</sup> The figures are flatter and the colors are vivid without tonal variation. Compared with these miniatures, the miniatures of MS. Hz. 1654, with their dynamic lines and their color tones, seem much closer to Mongol examples; they are, indeed direct copies of them. It is very possible that these miniatures fill the stylistic gap between the Mongol style of Rashīd al-Dīn's *World History* and the historical style of Shāh Rukh, and represent a transitional style in illustrating historical texts. Therefore, the second half of the 14th century is a more acceptable date for these miniatures. This date must remain theoretical, however, since we know very little about this time and we have no historical documents in our hands. This point also shows that for dating the miniatures of a manuscript, it is not always reliable to accept the date of

writing as the date of painting. We also need some historical and stylistic documents in order to assign a date with certainty.

If we search for other examples, we see that there are some miniatures which are more or less connected with this style. A page from a dispersed manuscript,<sup>33</sup> formerly in the Tabagh collection and now partly in the Metropolitan Museum in New York, shows the same style. The miniatures of the *Divan-i Muizzi*<sup>34</sup> in the Royal India Office Library in London (written in 714 H./A.D. 1314, although the miniatures seem later), also seem to be connected with this style, with schematic faces and less skillful drawing of the drapery. Some single miniatures from the *Fatih Album* in the Topkapi Museum, Hz. 2153,<sup>35</sup> fols. 8v, 23v, 53v, 65v, 70r, 148v, and 167v, have a similar style with schematic faces, although the manner of drawing the drapery is not so weak and is closer to that of earlier examples, while the landscape elements still bear East Asiatic traces. There are also two dated manuscripts that show a continuation of the Mongol style with weak, linear drapery, schematic faces, and motionless figures: *Kalilah wa-Dimnah*, written in 743 H./A.D. 1343, in the National Egyptian Library in Cairo,<sup>36</sup> and the *Garshāsp-nāme* in the Topkapi Museum, Hz. 674, written in 755 H./A.D. 1354.<sup>37</sup> All these miniatures extend through a period from the last decade of the first half of the 14th century to the beginning of the 15th century. Yet it is

<sup>33</sup> E. Kühnel, *op. cit.*, pl. 829.

<sup>34</sup> Arnold-Grohmann, *op. cit.*, Taf. 42.

<sup>35</sup> Some of them, fols. 8v, 70r, 167v, were published by R. Ettinghausen in *On some Mongol miniatures*, *Kunst des Orients*, vol. 3, 1959, figs. 6, 7, 8.

<sup>36</sup> *Idem*, pp. 57–60, fig. 11; I. Stchoukine, *Les manuscrits illustrés musulmans de la bibliothèque du Caire*, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, vol. 13, 1935, pp. 140–141.

<sup>37</sup> R. Ettinghausen, *op. cit.*, pp. 60–63, figs. 13, 14, 15, 16, 17.

<sup>32</sup> As stated in R. Ettinghausen, *op. cit.*



difficult to say whether all these miniatures were painted at about the same time but according to different tastes, or whether they show a historical development as a transitional style from the Mongol to the Timurid. It is

hoped that new research in the field of miniature painting will help to increase the numbers of these miniatures available for study so that we can acquire more definite knowledge about this period.







FIG. 1.—FOL. 68v, SHĀH RŪKH STYLE.



هر روزی را از سه در نامی منزلت اول را با مکون دوم چون سوم حاون و دور روز کرد  
نمیدانند و این سه را با و رسد و از بدای که ایشان تصور کرده اند و نشان معروف و مشهور و مستطاب  
که سه اربع و ستمایه بحریات مقابل سال و سال دوم اردو سال و ستمایه هزار و هشتصد  
به هزار و هشتصد و دویست و شصت که مجموع آن شصت و هشت هزار و هشتصد و سی و نه هزار  
است و از بدای که بنا در آن خانه اند تا آن سال که چک چکان و کجا ناکت و سداظ و باز شایع او  
نموده و موافق ستمایه نیم و نیم و ستمایه بحری ده شصت و هشت هزار و هشتصد و هشتاد و نه  
نمودار که در گرفت حکم خای می کرد و با لویه نصیر و نصیر بر کرده و در باب ریح الهانی شد  
انچه در زمین نصیر و ستمایه رفت از شرح و تفصیل و تاریخ اهل خای بدین موجب که شرح داده میشود  
ایضا و کتب بیات کنی که خای از آن طریقت کتب نصیصات و اختصار کرده اند و از آن است

FIG. 2.—FOL. 252r, TIMURID STYLE.





FIG. 3.—FOL. 6v, THRONE SCENE, EDINBURGH MS. 20, MONGOL STYLE.



FIG. 4.—FOL. 27r, THRONE SCENE, ISTANBUL MS. Hz. 1654.





FIG. 5.—FOL. 138v, THRONE SCENE, EDINBURGH MS. 20.



FIG. 6.—FOL. 23r, THRONE SCENE, ISTANBUL MS. Hz. 1654.





FIG. 7.—FOL. 22r, ANNUNCIATION SCENE, EDINBURGH MS. 20.



FIG. 8.—FOL. 31v, ANNUNCIATION SCENE, ISTANBUL MS. Hz. 1654.





FIG. 9.—FOL. 23r, THE SEVEN SLEEPERS (AŞHÂB UL-KAHF), EDINBURGH MS. 20.



FIG. 10.—FOL. 32, THE SEVEN SLEEPERS, ISTANBUL MS. Hz. 1654.



ثم بعد ذلك خرج نكاوند وكان اميرا معتبرا قد خدم السلاطين كثيرا وكان يدخلنا شيئا ما على جين غشلة وانما السلطنة ومما رسلنا  
ومت السلطنة في اهل شه نغ مدينة واقه اعلم بالصواب ٥

### الطبعة

الثانية من الدهر الشايع في خوف الشاي وهي الطبقة  
الاشعة والعشرون من اهل نكاوند وهو السلطان الحكيم  
عش والاميران مع اولاده ع امين عش بن عمر ا  
مار وهدوتون سنة

ولما كان هو واولاده سلاطين في غاية الاعتبار والعظمة قد صدقهم انما في كتب التواريخ كل واحد على هذه الجهة التي ثبتت ٥



FIG. 11.—FOL. 17r, CHINESE EMPERORS, LONDON MS.





FIG. 12.—FOL. 267v, CHINESE EMPERORS, ISTANBUL MS. Hz. 1654.

الطَّيَّةُ

وَهُوَ السَّاطِرُ الْخَارِجُ الْمُدَوَّرُ وَالْمَالِيَهُ  
مَعَ أَوْلَادِهِ سَبْعٌ وَثَلَاثُونَ

بفقهه ۶۰ سنه سنه



اولاده مفصله عربت و ثلثون خرا  
مانا بستون

[illegible]

وكان لهذا جوارك أبت اسمه جيوون وكان رجلاً حليماً كافياً وهو الذي أفتح القفال التي صنفه السلطان الأذل من الطبقة الثانية وكان قد وُصف  
على ثمانية أقسام وكان لا يفرق لصعوبة حملها هو ثمانية في ثمانية ووضع على الربعة وستين قمياً وأحدها وكان من مرتبة السلطنة لكنه من غير عسكرة كان لا يفرق  
نفسه بما جعل لبلده جوارك قائماً معه وكانت أمه أيضاً غاية العقل والذكاء وهو الذي وضع الفسخ وكان في عهد سلطان اسمه وانك في بلدة  
هي على حاك الظرف من نخا بالتي واسمها جيوون فعلم السلطنة ستين سنة فمك في ثلثين منها وأخيرة الظلم التي قد تعذر ذلك مدة ثلثين سنة فمك في ثلثين  
الناس وما يكلك أبادهم ويكوى بالمرء الجناح اسمهم ويكوى بالمرء الجناح اسمهم ويكوى بالمرء الجناح اسمهم ويكوى بالمرء الجناح اسمهم ويكوى بالمرء الجناح اسمهم  
بعوثها وكان صاحب في غابة الشجاعة اسمه اولى فامر ان جمع له في جميع البلاد الشراب الكثر وما اشبهه من المأكلات مثل الطلشون وعقصرها  
عظمها وسمها حاك سكوت معاً قبل الليل الطول وسد جميع فتوحه حتى اظم بالمرء وساد بالليل وكان شغل الشجر الكثيرة في ذلك الضر وبشر  
أبوه من الامه وتوفي بعده هراستار اربعة وكان يقضي عمره على هذه الوثيرة الرديئة ويكره الظلم جيش هراستار وانك فقصه فلما علم وصوله الفرس اعلمه

FIG. 13.—FOL. 9v, CHINESE EMPERORS, LONDON MS.





FIG. 14.—FOL. 259r, CHINESE EMPERORS,  
ISTANBUL MS. Hz. 1654.



FIG. 15.—FOL. 399r, CHINESE EMPEROR, ISTANBUL MS. Hz. 1653.



FIG. 16.—FOL. 11r, CHINESE EMPERORS, LONDON MS.





FIG. 17.—FOL. 262r, CHINESE EMPERORS, ISTANBUL MS. Hz. 1654.





# 'ISHRAT-KHĀNEH AND AK-SARAY, TWO TIMURID MAUSOLEUMS IN SAMARKAND

BY G. A. PUGACHENKOVA

WITHIN THE BRILLIANT CONSTELLATION OF buildings found in Timurid Samarkand two mausoleums, 'Ishrat-khāneh and Ak-Saray, occupy a special place. Their plan, method of construction, and decorative system differ radically from the preceding architectural traditions, yet at the same time logically derive from them. And with all their peculiarities these monuments are quite typical of their time.

Information about 'Ishrat-khāneh and Ak-Saray can be found in scholarly literature from as early as the time of the incorporation of Turkestan within Russian possessions.<sup>1</sup> Precise archaeological and architectural investigations about these monuments, however, were begun only in the early 1920's and elaborated shortly before the last World War, in connection with the preparations held in Uzbekistan for the five-hundredth anniversary of the birth

of Navā'i. The results of these investigations are fairly well known within Soviet literature,<sup>2</sup> whereas foreign information about both monuments is still based mainly on the completely antiquated publications of J. Smolik and E. Cohn-Wiener,<sup>3</sup> in which 'Ishrat-khāneh appears as the suburban palace of Timur and Ak-Saray as the mausoleum of the son (?) of Timur, Muḥammad Sultān. In view of this, the author highly values the opportunity of giving in *Ars Orientalis* the results of the study of these two atypical creations of the architecture of Samarkand, the date of whose construction does not go back to the time of Timur but to the second half of the 15th century.

On the basis of historical and archeological data, the general history of the mausoleum of 'Ishrat-khāneh (*pl. 1*) can be outlined as follows. The monument was begun with a construction in the sixth decade of the 15th century, and in 1464, as the main parts were completed, a *waqf* was established for it. The patron was the eldest wife of Abū Sa'id,

<sup>1</sup> A. Vambéry, *Travels in central Asia*, Russian tr., Moscow, 1867, p. 176; A. P. Fedchenko, *Topograficheskij ocherk Zerafshanskoi doliny*, Moscow, 1870, p. 21; A. L. Kun, *Ocherki Shagrisebzhskogo bekstva*, Zap. Rus. Geogr. Ob., vol. 6, 1880, p. 226; J. Leclerc, *Les monuments de Samarkand*, Bruxelles, 1890, p. 23; V. V. Bartold, *Otchet o poezdke v Sredniuiu Aziiu*, St. Petersburg, 1898, pp. 76-77; V. L. Viatkin, *Materialy k istoricheskoi geografii Samarkandskogo vilayeta*, Spravochnaia knizhka Samarkandskoi oblasti, vol. 7, 1902, pp. 3, 23; H. Krafft, *A travers le Turkestan russe*, Paris, 1902, p. 88; S. M. Dudin, *Ornamentika i oovremennoe sostoianie Samarkandskikh mechetей*, Izv. Arh. kom., vol. 7, 1903, pp. 50-51, 68-69; *idem*, Izv. russkogo komiteta dlia izucheniiia Srednei i Vostovnoi Azii, No. 9, 1909, p. 3; G. A. Pankratev, in *Istoricheskie Pamiatniki g. Samarkanda*, Samarkand, 1910, pp. 16-17; V. V. Bartold, *O pogrebenij Timura*, Zap. Vost. Otd. Russ. Arh. Obsch., vol. 23, 1915, p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> M. E. Masson, *Rezultaty arheologicheskogo nadzora za remontao-issledo-vatelskimi rabotami. . . v 1924 g.*, Izv. Credazkonstarisa, vol. 1, 1926, pp. 82-114; I. K. Mrachkovskij, *Zhivopis mazara Ak-Sarai v Samarkande*, Sbornik TAIMK, 1928, pp. 54-62; G. A. Pugachenkova, *Pamiatniki arhitektury Srednei Aziiy epohi Navoi*, Tashkent, 1957; *Mavsolei Ishrat-hana*, ed. M. E. Masson, Tashkent, 1958; G. A. Pugachenkova and L. Rempel, *Vydaiushchiesia pamiatniki arhitektury Uzbekistana*, Tashkent, 1958, pp. 122-126.

<sup>3</sup> J. Smolik, *Die Timuridische Baudenkmäler in Samarkand aus der Zeit Tamerlans*, Wien, 1928, p. 37; E. Cohn-Wiener, *Turan, Islamische Baukunst in Mittelasien*, Berlin, 1930, pp. 43-44; *ibid.*, *An unknown Timurid building*, The Burlington Magazine, June, 1935, pp. 272-277.

Ḥabibah Sultān Begūm, daughter of Jelāl al-Dīn Firūzshāh, a well-known companion of Timur. It was erected over the tomb of her older daughter, Sultān Khavand Biki, who had died young; but it rapidly became a family mausoleum destined to be used for the burial of women and children from among the Timurids of Samarkand. Little by little, up to 20 tombs were put in the crypt with rich cenotaphs in carved marble.

In the 16th century, when the Shaybānid dynasty took over the rule of Samarkand, 'Ishrat-khāneh lost its significance. The new dynasty created its own burial areas—*dahmah* of the Shaybānids, mausoleum of Kurkungi-kān, also called Chihil dukhtarān—and neglected the mausoleums of its predecessors. As the years went by, people gradually forgot the purpose of the building and the time of its construction. In the 17th century began the pilfering of the neglected monument. The beautiful carvings of the sarcophagi were taken out of the crypt and sold; but the titles and names of the deceased were merely defaced, for today in the cemetery of Abid-Darun one can still see a goodly number of marble panels with excellent carvings; the mosaic tiles of the floor were broken up and the crypt was filled with all kinds of debris. Deformations caused by time and many seismic movements resulted in the collapse of some of the roofings of the mausoleum, and by the end of the 17th century it was already totally abandoned. A building breaks apart and what time does not do, man does; in the 19th century bricks from the mausoleum were used by the surrounding population for their own needs and tiles were taken by tourists. In 1903 the dome and drum fell; a little earlier half of the portal's vault had collapsed, together with its side walls. Such was the shape (*pl. 2*) of the monument at the time of the Revolution, when, together with the other most significant

monuments of the architecture of Samarkand, it was put under state protection.

The mausoleum was built of baked bricks, square in shape (27–29 cm. to the side and 5.5–6 cm. thick); walls and the main elements of the roofing, arches, vaults, pendentives, domes, are all built with these bricks. The bricks are set in mortar of gypsum with the addition of earth (*gach-khaqq*).

The foundations of the portal and of the inner walls of the central hall are extremely massive. They consist of solid stone masonry bound with clay mortar, and they are up to 5.5 meters deep. This great depth for foundations, which is characteristic of all 15th-century monumental constructions in Samarkand, testifies to the empirical knowledge possessed by local artisans of the conditions required for the construction of buildings in areas affected by earthquakes. Thus also one can explain the introduction in the wall masonry, and, especially in the massive central pillars, of thick beams set diagonally or parallel to the main axes. As ties they provided the brick masonry with considerable solidity and, in addition, during construction, their projecting ends could be used for scaffolding.

The floor of the central hall and of the crypt are covered with marble plaques; elsewhere, bricks are laid on their flat sides. The ceilings between floors and the flat roofs on side aisles consist of small discharging arches between and over which is found a filling of beaten dirt with a thin layer of earth and, over it all, a coat of clay.

The plan of the mausoleum is regulated by three transverse axes and one longitudinal one. The main hall is centrally planned; it is a large square, 8 meters to the side, with deep (2.70 m.) niches, giving it a cruciform aspect. On the axis of every niche there is a door and in the east corner of the southeastern niche we find steps leading down into the crypt. This building, highly symmetrical though it may be



on the axis of the façade, has two side aisles, whose internal plans differ considerably.

All the ceilings of 'Ishrat-khāneh are vaulted and based on a system of intersecting arches and netlike ribs. It is worth while to discuss in greater detail the characteristics of this system of construction, for its creation constitutes a most important triumph of engineering thought in the architecture of Central Asia in the second half of the 15th century.

The domical system based on an octagonal transitional zone, which dominated until the end of the 14th century, had already shown its weaknesses under Timur, when the utilization of its constructional and decorative possibilities had been developed in a limited way only. The grandiose decorative cupolas set on squinches and raised on high drums could not but raise the center of gravity of the building, and obviously affected its stability, especially in those areas which were subject to earthquakes. In this sense the example of the congregational mosque of Samarkand, the so-called Bibi Khānūm, is quite telling; its roofs began to collapse soon after it was built, and the same fate overtook the *khāngāh* of Ulūgh-bek with its enormous dome.

Already by the end of the 14th century the technical thought of Central Asian architects was directed toward the search for a system which would make it easier to set the inner dome, and which would lower its diameter as well as the diameter of the outer cupola without thereby decreasing the overall dimensions of the inner space. The traditional octagonal zone of arches and squinches possesses a series of technical limitations. Since the thrusts carried in equal amounts are concentrated on the angles of the octagon and away from the center, they require the elevation of sufficiently strong walls for buttressing. Thence derives the centrally planned enclosed space so typical of most "squinch interiors" of Central Asian architecture. An open interior—which in cer-

tain instances was required by the function of the building—could be achieved only through the development of other constructional systems. The first step in this development consisted of the creation of "shieldlike pendentive nets."<sup>4</sup>

If, between arches perpendicular to each other, one projects curves which cross each other and which are of the same outline, but which in plan form the sides of some polygonal figure inscribed within the original square area, there are formed elongated quadrilaterals which are the "shieldlike nets," for their shape does indeed recall heraldic shields. In contrast to Byzantine pendentives, whose spherical surface filled the whole area between perpendicular arches, the "shieldlike nets" appear merely as sections of such surfaces which, when they join the arches below them, transmit to them the thrust forced upon them by a cupola which then appears as though it had been cut out of a star pattern. With this system the necessity for putting up monolithic walls disappears, since the main pressures are directed toward the corner pillars. In combination with pointed arches these "shieldlike nets" can be used not only with squares, but also with rectangles, since they can form a zone of transition to any kind of regular polygon in which a dome can easily be inscribed.

On the other hand the traditional octagonal squinch system was completely unapplicable to oblong areas. The drawing out of the nets could be done without centering, and the dome set on them could be given an oblong base, thus lowering the center of gravity of the

<sup>4</sup> The Russian text has an expression meaning literally "shieldlike sails (*parusa*).<sup>4</sup> Inasmuch as the expression "squinch net" (Fr. *réseau*) has been introduced by J. Rosintal, *Le Réseau*, Paris, 1937, p. 27, we felt that it would be best suited for the time being as an equivalent for the Russian expression, it being understood that we are dealing with a constructional and not merely a decorative feature. [Ed.]

whole construction and permitting the planning of a second floor over them or a flat roof, with a minimal loss of space between floors.

places, pointed (or ribbed) arches make the transition from a rectangular base to the six-pointed star of the cupola (which in plan ap-

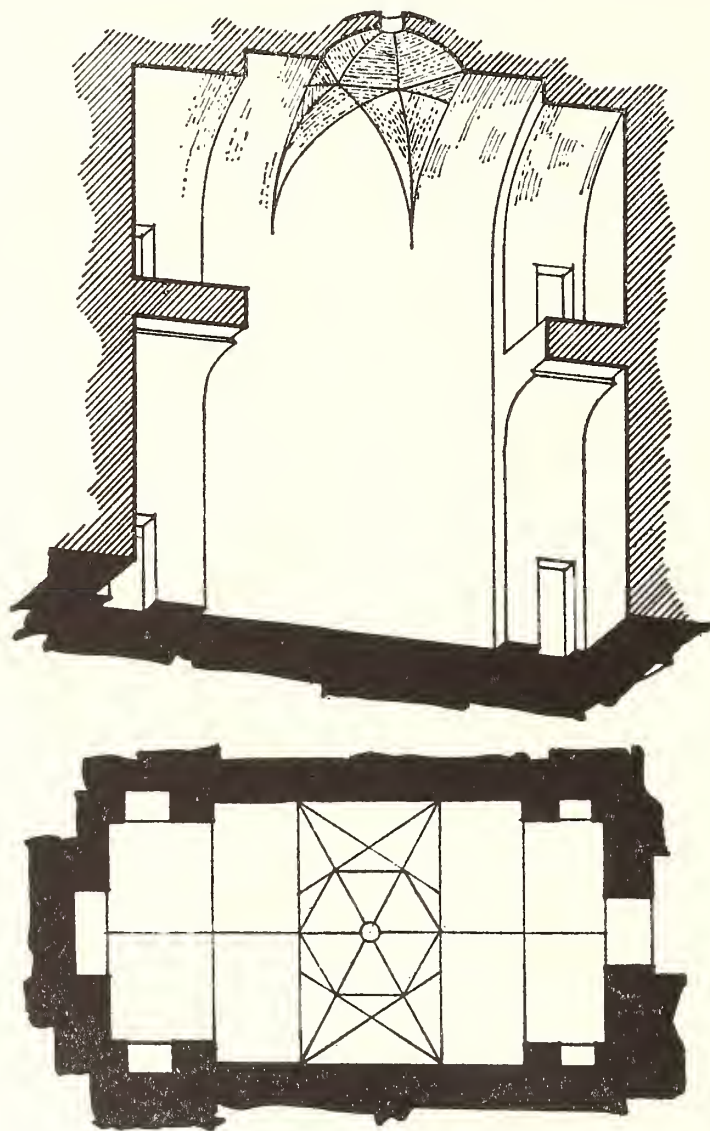


FIG. 1.—MAUSOLEUM OF AḤMAD YASIVĪ, TURKESTAN.  
ROOFING OF ONE OF THE ROOMS.

One of the earliest monuments of Central Asian architecture in which one notices the appearance of new modes of construction is the mausoleum of Hoja Aḥmad Yasivī in Turkestan, built in 1398 (*fig. 1*). There, in two

pears as a hexagon), and the system of forms which surrounds the dome appears as nothing but our shieldlike net.

In the Chehār Tāq built in 1434–35 (*fig. 2*) at the main gate to the Shāh Sindah in



Samarkand, the same motif was also used and, with the underlying arches, makes up a 12-sided transition to the dome. This construction, in directing all thrusts to the corners, allowed the replacement of the usual blind niches on walls with openings which extended to the tops of the arches.

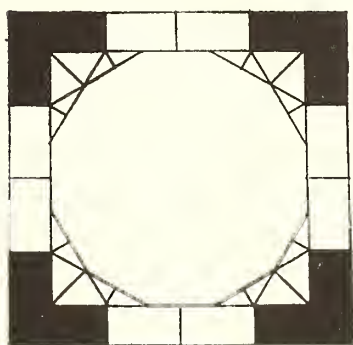
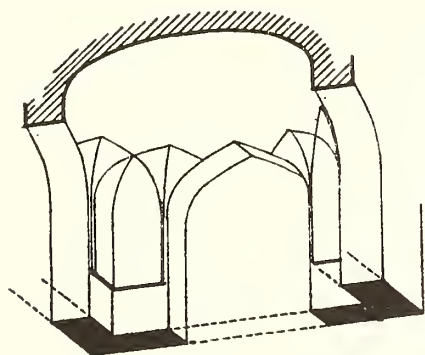


FIG. 2.—SHĀH SINDAH. SYSTEM OF COVERING IN THE CHEHĀR-TĀG.

The search for methods of construction over rectangular plans led also to other solutions, such as the projection of half-arches between the main arches, the number of the former varying with the size and proportions of the building. Thus were created one or several squares, each of which was surmounted by a dome. An example of a single dome supported in this manner is given by the small

mosque of the mausoleum of Yasevi in Turkestan (*fig. 3*). Another strongly elongated space seems to be divided into two parts by one large open arch. Perpendicular to it are found smaller arches which in reality take the whole strength of the thrust. An analogous example

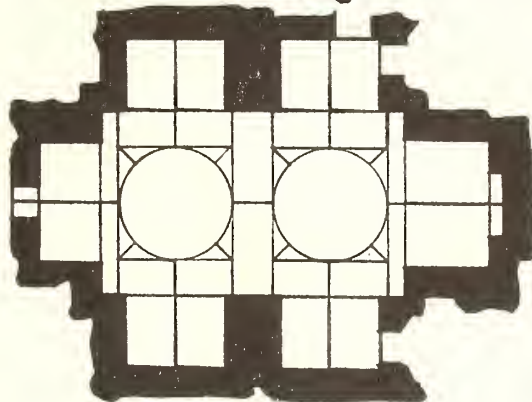
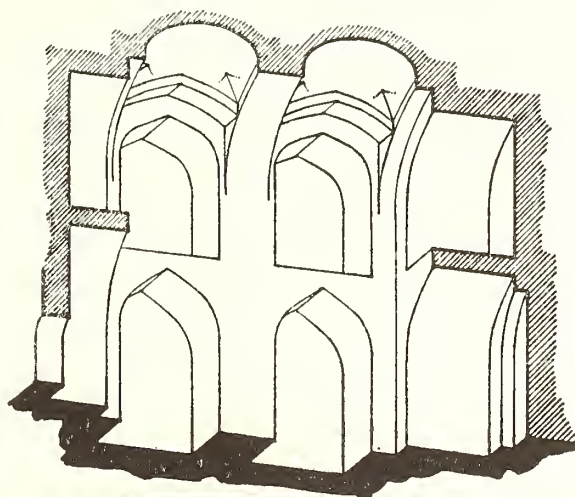


FIG. 3.—MAUSOLEUM OF AḤMAD YASIVĪ. ROOFING OF ONE OF THE ROOMS.

is illustrated by the so-called Tuman-aka mosque from the Shāh Sindah complex (ca. 1405) (*fig. 4*). The elongated character of the area led to the division of the ceiling into three parts covered with small domes set on supporting arches and sections of arches perpendicular to the latter.

But the conclusive step was taken later. The system of intersecting supporting arches appears in a finished form in the mausoleum of Chupan-ata, which crowns the hillock by the same name a few kilometers from Samarkand. The intersection of arches appears here, so to say, in a pure form. The arches are not masked by anything inside, and outside their

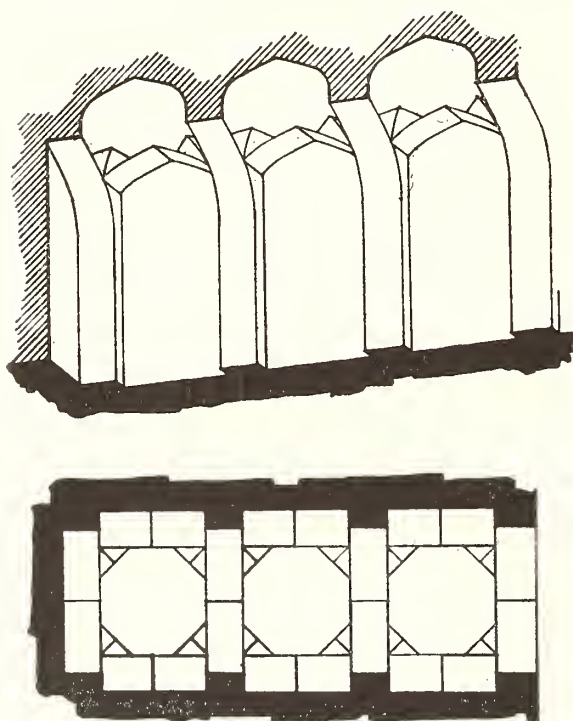


FIG. 4.—SHĀH SINDAH. ROOFING OF THE MOSQUE OF TUMAN-AGA.

pinnacle is visible at a considerable height. These are the arches which take up the whole weight of the crowning dome on a high drum. The mausoleum can be dated in the second or third decade of the 15th century.

At the same time the new system of construction appears in the architecture of Khorasan where it is tied to the name of the remarkable architect Qauvām al-Dīn. In the mausoleum of Gawhar-Shad in the complex of the Herat muşalla, completed in 1432, a cruciform plan is covered with a dome, the passage

to which is effected by four mighty intercrossing arches. A system of shieldlike nets and of complementary intersecting ribs serves as a zone of transition from the square to a 16-sided cupola. An analogous system of roofing appears in the *darskhāneh* of the Khargird *madrasah* (1444), the last building in the construction of which Qauvām al-Dīn participated.

It is, however, in the mausoleums 'Ishratkhāneh and Ak-Saray in Samarkand that this new technique appears with the greatest number of variations.

The constructional advantage of the system of intersecting arches consists in the fact that it lightens considerably the weight of the cupola without affecting the spatial arrangement of the interior. Thanks to the lowering of the center of gravity the construction becomes more solid. The intersection of arches creates an elastic construction which offers much resistance to earthquakes. The thrusts act on supporting arches and can be fully absorbed by the buttressing walls which, in plan, appear as continuations of these arches. As a result, in contrast to the necessarily thick corners of any system of construction based on squinches, here the corners of the square may be "cleaned" of an inert mass of material and can be used for staircases or for small rooms. As to the spatial development of the interior, the side niches become wider and deeper.

The growth of this new system also led to an extensive use of stucco for decorative purposes, first barely hiding the construction behind it, then following it, finally separating itself from it. Thus came into being those star-shaped vaults, whose elements of construction are really decorative forms. They were destined to play such an important role in the whole of late feudal architecture of the Middle East.

In the monumental architecture of Central



Asia in the 15th century, the traditional repertory of basic architectural forms (the *pīshṭāq*, a wall divided up by a high arch and/or by a shallow arcade, and a bulbous dome on a high drum) was fully adopted. The architects almost never went beyond various combinations of these forms, giving them a new aspect only through developments of new proportions or variations in relations between parts, often limiting themselves to the search for successful proportions and decorative variety. On the other hand, a great deal of attention was given to the problem of organizing interior space.

Traditionally the central kernel of the interior of the great halls must remain dark. But in contrast to the static character of interiors in preceding centuries, the interiors of the second half of the 15th century were given tense and soaring curved forms. Whereas the dome on squinches was based on a square space and closed up by walls, the new system of intersecting ribs and arches permitted builders to begin the roofing on the corner supports and thereby give the form of a complex baldachin. At the same time, large and long areas became covered with rows of domes, thereby creating a sort of enfilade of small spatial compartments.

The interiors of monuments built before the middle of the 15th century emphasized the features which separate the walls, the transitional zones, and the domes. After that time one sees only the divisions of the walls which are conceived as richly decorated and upward-moving panels and, above them, a single tectonic complex. The ensuing growth of arches and ribs takes over the whole upper surface, infiltrates it, and eventually emerges as a light cuplike dome. The system of stresses in these elements arranged in fractured planes is in complete contrast with the former symmetry of the squinch type.

Returning now to the description of 'Ishrat-khāneh, it is necessary to emphasize that all

its halls were so covered. In the central room we see a highly organized system of intersecting arches (*pl. 3, A*) and of shieldlike nets creating an elastic transition to the 16-sided star of a flat elliptic dome, whose diameter is two-fifths narrower than the side of the square in which it is found. The thrusts of the inner dome and also of the outer one, which is on a high drum, are concentrated on eight points, the places of intersection of the supporting arches and their crowns. Under an appearance of complexity, the geometry of the ceiling is quite clear; it is essentially a system of regular polygons and stars, whose axes and sides are related to each other at 30°, 45°, and 60° angles (*pl. 3, B*).

Having established the inner diameter of the now disappeared drum of the outer dome of the building, it is easy, on the basis of old photographs and drawings, to reconstruct its height. This dome with its drum is characterized by the lightness and elegance of its outline, but these were also the most vulnerable parts of the construction. Oversize is dangerous in areas subject to earthquakes, for too high a drum raises the center of gravity of the whole building and, at the time of earthquakes, increases the loosening of all vaults related to it.

A system of shieldlike nets, at times in combination with intercrossing arches, was used in all the rooms of 'Ishrat-khāneh (*pl. 4, A*), and it is impossible not to wonder at the number of variations used here for the first time. An intelligent use of stereometric laws permitted the architects to create in a single building more than 10 different types of roofing, all of which basically develop a single structural type.

Part of the southeastern gallery which adjoined the central hall (*mian-saray*) was destined for the last funerary rites before the body was taken down into the crypt; this explains why, like the main hall, it has a particu-

larly formal aspect. Three rooms arranged in a row create a single interior. Its central part (*mian-khāneh*) is on the main axis of the building and appears as a square limited by four arches which, with the help of a shield-like network, create the transition to a dome whose basis is a 12-sided star. The side elements, connected with the *mian-khāneh* by open arches, are rectangular in shape and are covered by domes with a decagonal base, the transition to which is effected by supporting arches fanning out from the corners of the room. This technique made it possible to set the domes of all three parts of the *mian-saray* on the same level. On the side, two spiral staircases fitted into the heavy pillar-walls of the central hall lead to the second floor and to the roof. The very fact of putting staircases in the massive corner walls of a mausoleum was essentially new. It was possible only because of the intersecting arches which created a completely new regrouping of thrust directions.

On the axis of the southeastern gallery there is another square room connected with the *mian-saray* through a narrow entry. Four elliptical intersecting arches and four half-domes fitted between them create a transition to the octagonal base of a flat central dome, whose diameter is half of the side of the square room.

In the northwestern side of the mausoleum there is a mosque. But whereas the *mian-saray* illustrates the architect's attempt to bind together three separate areas, here the opposite is found; a single architectural space is divided into three separate areas through purely constructional and planning means.

The first one, by the *mihrāb*, has a vault masked by a ceiling of *gach*. The central rectangle of the mosque is covered by a dome of a decagonal base created by a system of diagonally set arches, and this is followed by a half-dome whose basis is half of an octagon.

The southwestern *hujrah* is covered by a 12-sided dome, and its corner networks are heavily filled with stucco stalactites.

In the center of the mausoleum there is a crypt (*pl. 4, B*) covered with an elliptical low dome built on a network of arches. The descent into the crypt is made from the central hall and the body of the deceased was brought down through a sloping hatch in the *mian-khāneh*. Three long narrow hatches led from the crypt to the outside, presumably in order to allow for ventilation.

What strikes one in the planning of the mausoleum are the clarity, compactness, planned composition, knowledge of the utilization of every square meter of free space, and the inordinate freedom with which the architect has joined together and subordinated to a system of main axes a series of unrelated rooms. The elevation of the mausoleum is equally well thought out and balanced. The harmonious conception of the portal, the upward movement of the portal's arch, the dome carried on a harmonious drum, the compact and clear silhouettes—such are the main characteristics which define the architectural features of 'Ishrat-khāneh. The tile decoration is carefully adapted to the architectural scheme. In spite of the destruction, even today one is impressed by the harmonious relationship of masses and the discreteness of the decorative designs.

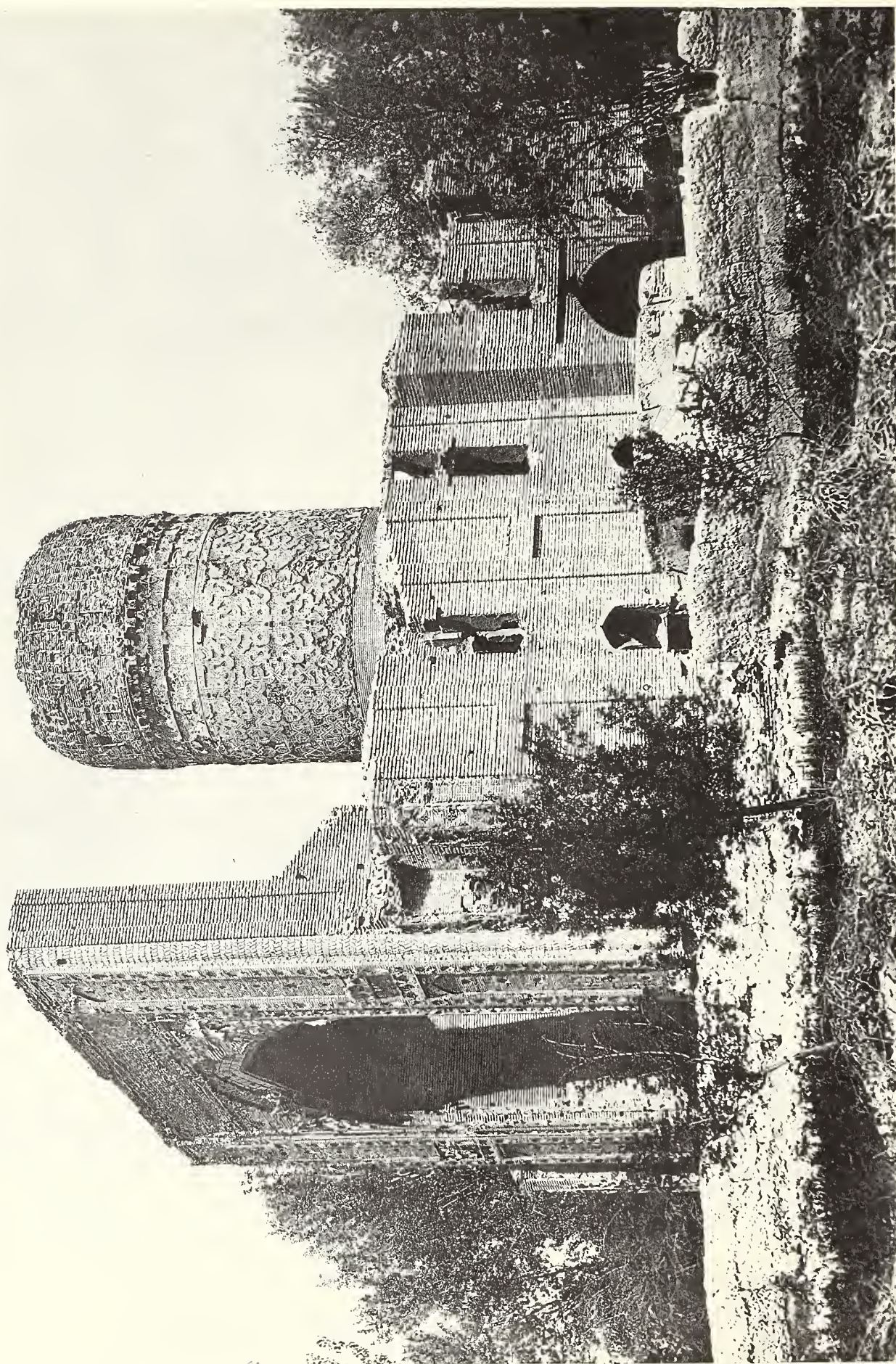
The major tripartite division of the building is emphasized by the main façade. In the center there is a portal (*pl. 5*) which, even though it has lost most of its decorative surface, has kept its principal architectural elements: the arch with tympana and a rectangular surface above, flanked by three-quarter columns, and flat arches on the side within rectangular panels. A linear pattern made up of small, square, colored bricks decorates these panels. The main geometrical lines are underlined by majolica tiles which repeat the same





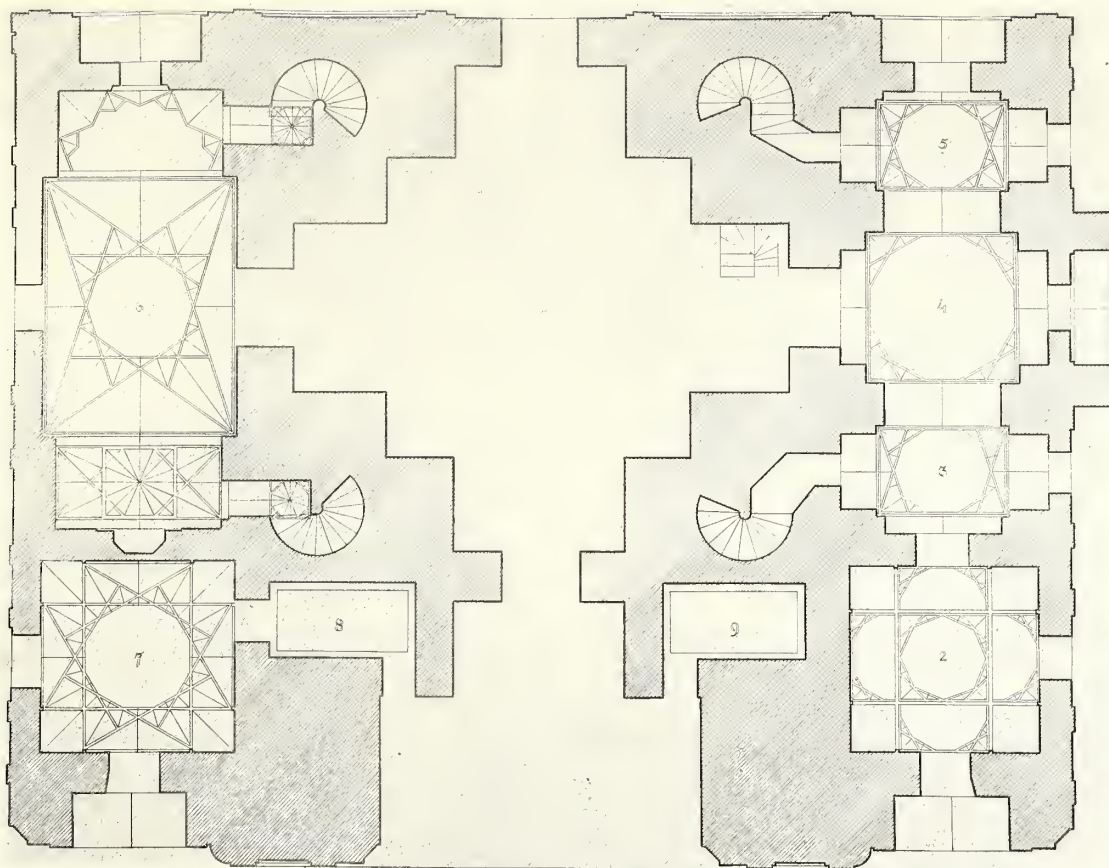
‘ISHRAT-KHĀNEH. PHOTOGRAPH BEFORE 1903 EARTHQUAKE.



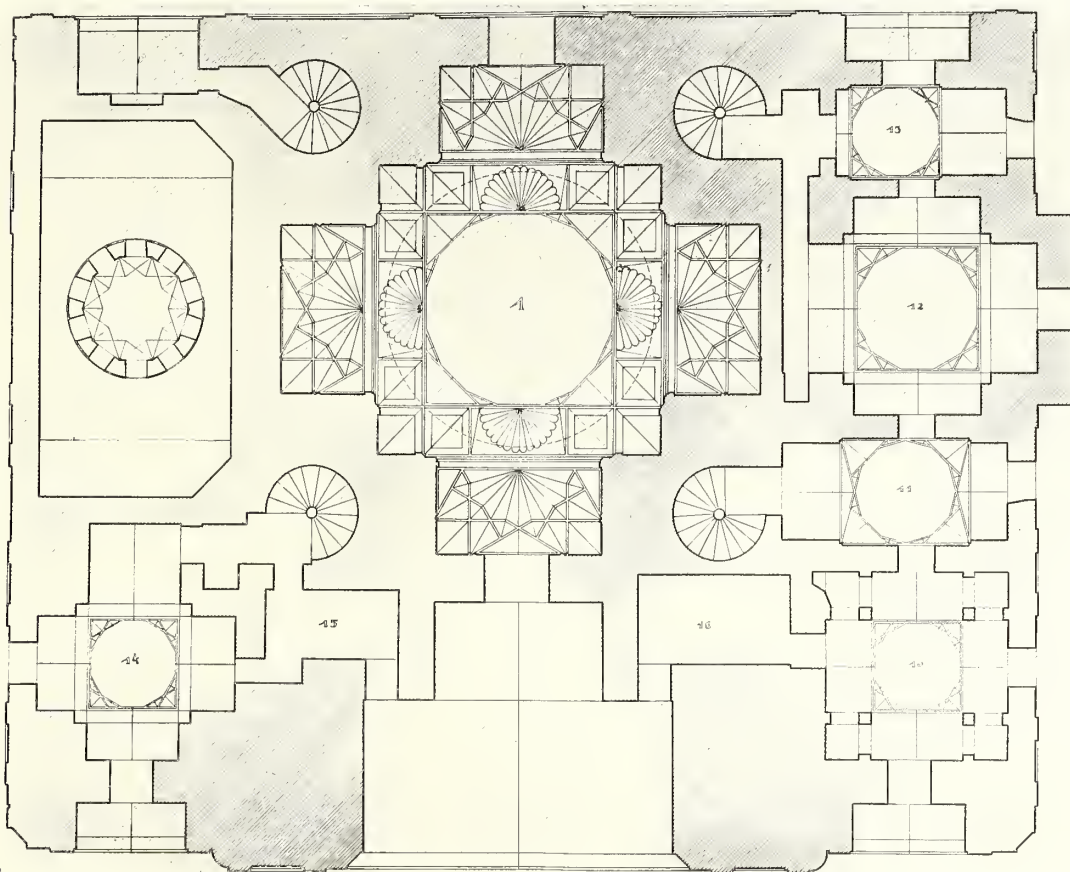


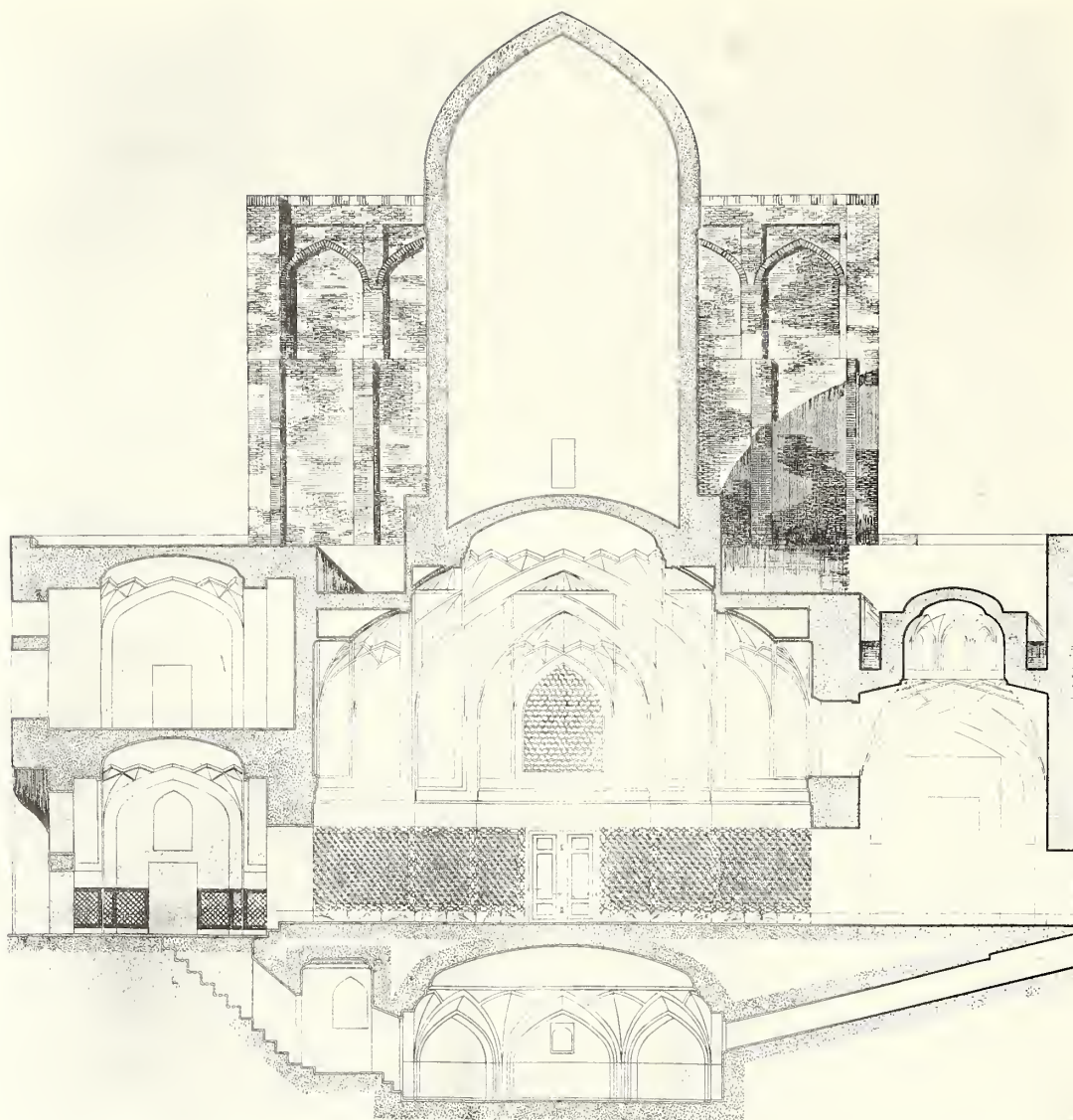
ISHRAT-KHĀNEH, PORTAL TODAY.





A.—PLAN OF FIRST FLOOR.

B.—PLAN OF SECOND FLOOR.  
'ISHRAT-KHĀNEH.

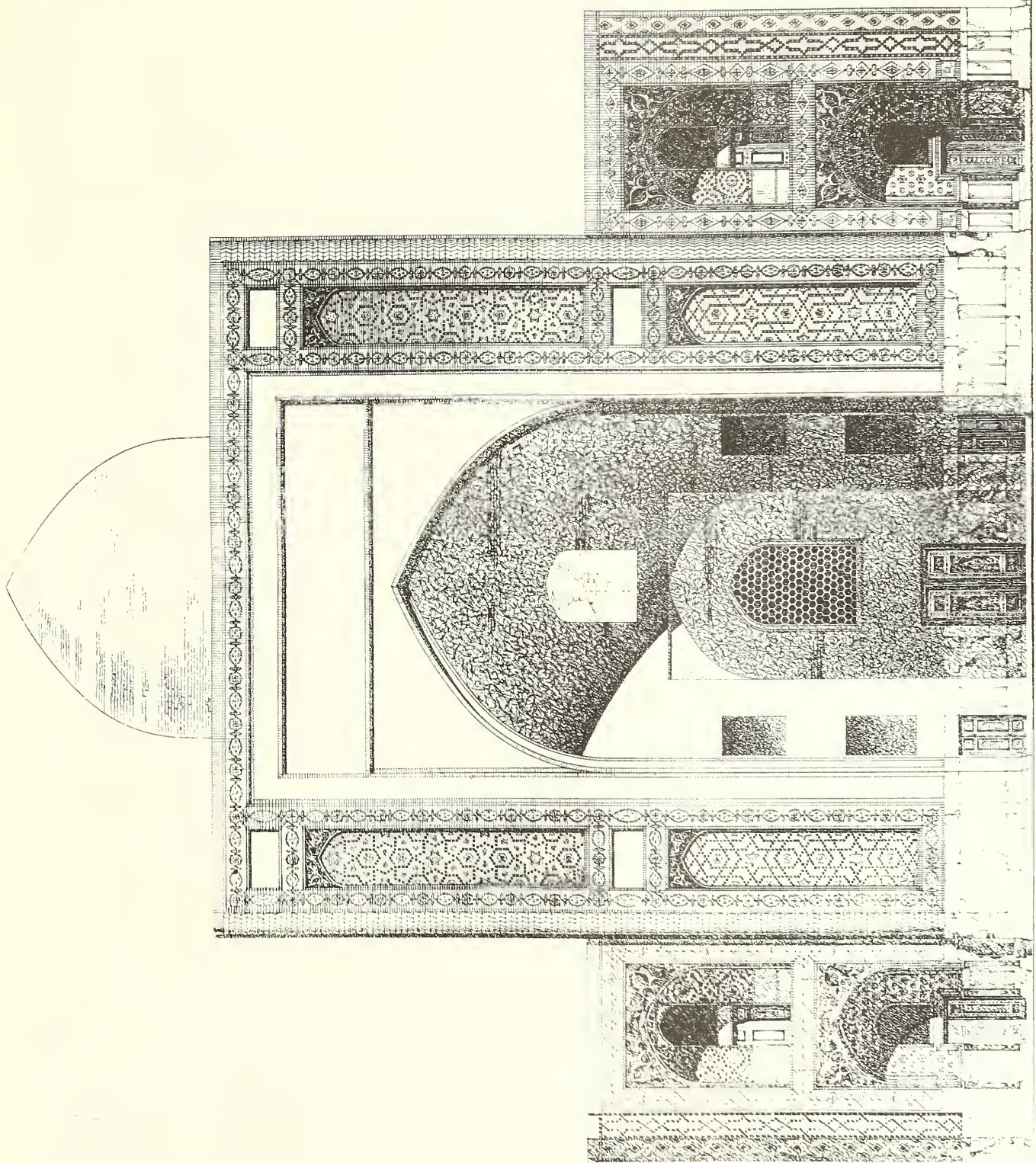


A.—ELEVATION ON MAIN AXIS, RECONSTRUCTION.



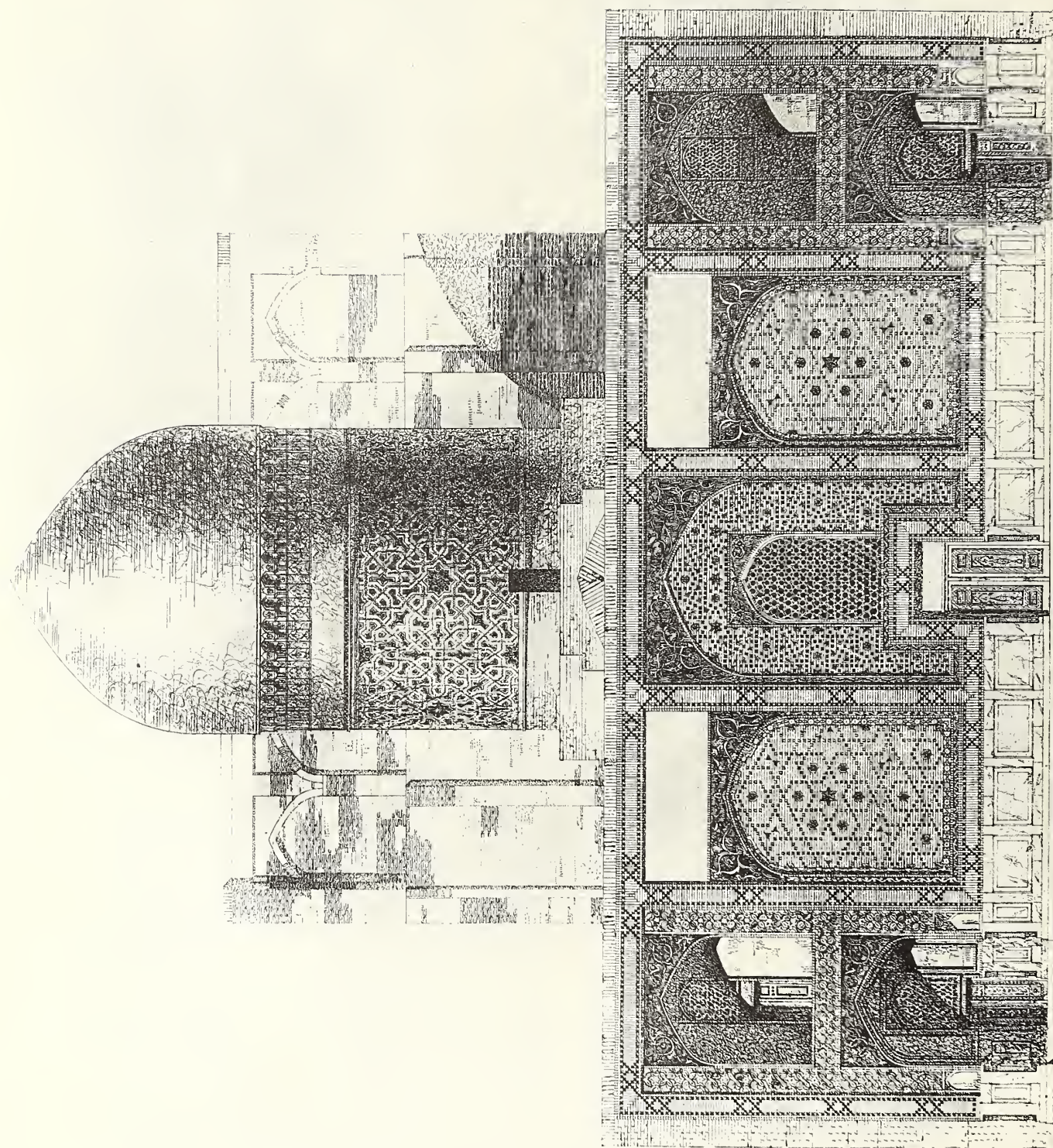
B.—CRYPT BEFORE EXCAVATION.  
'ISHRAT-KHĀNEH.





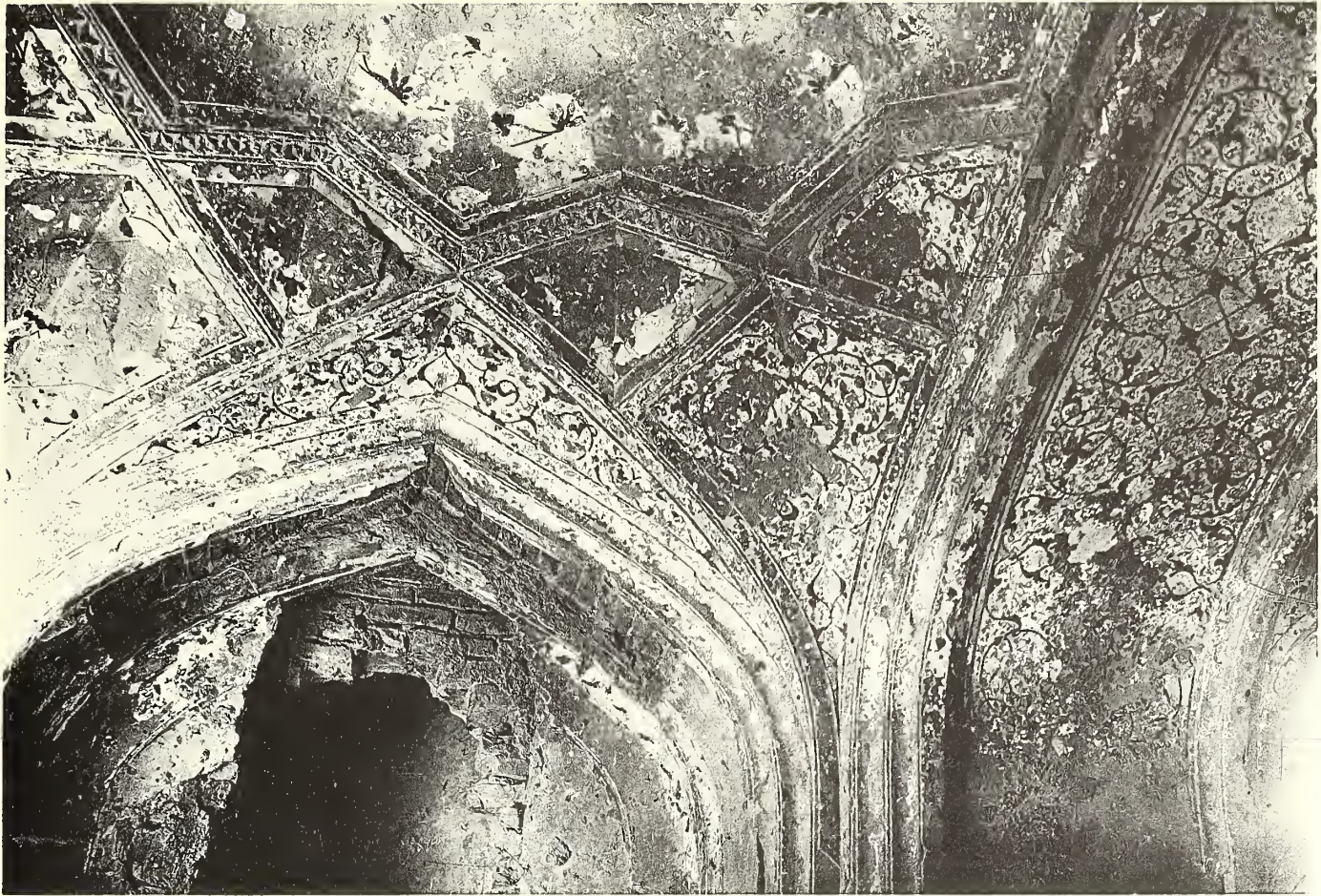
†TSHRAT-KHĀNEH. RECONSTRUCTION OF MAIN FAÇADE.



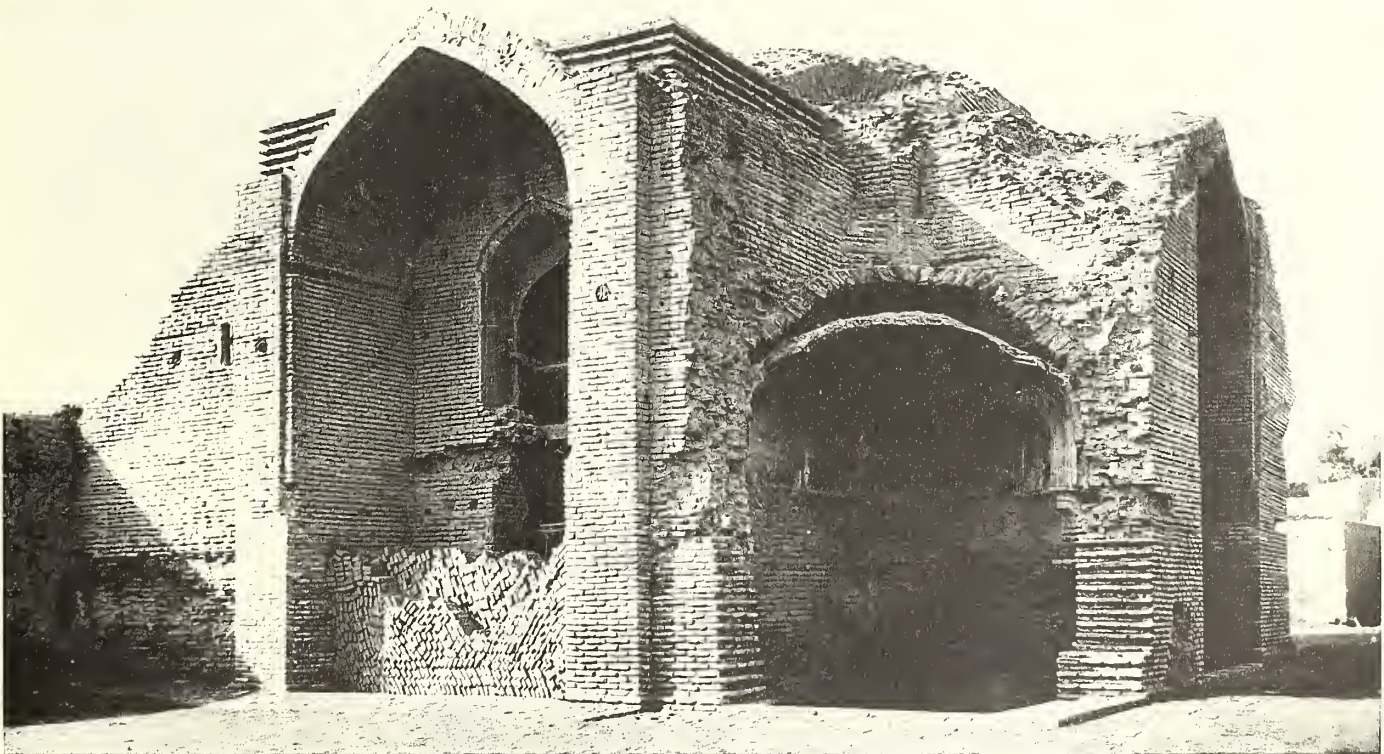


TSHRAT-KHĀNEH. RECONSTRUCTION OF SOUTHEASTERN FAÇADE.



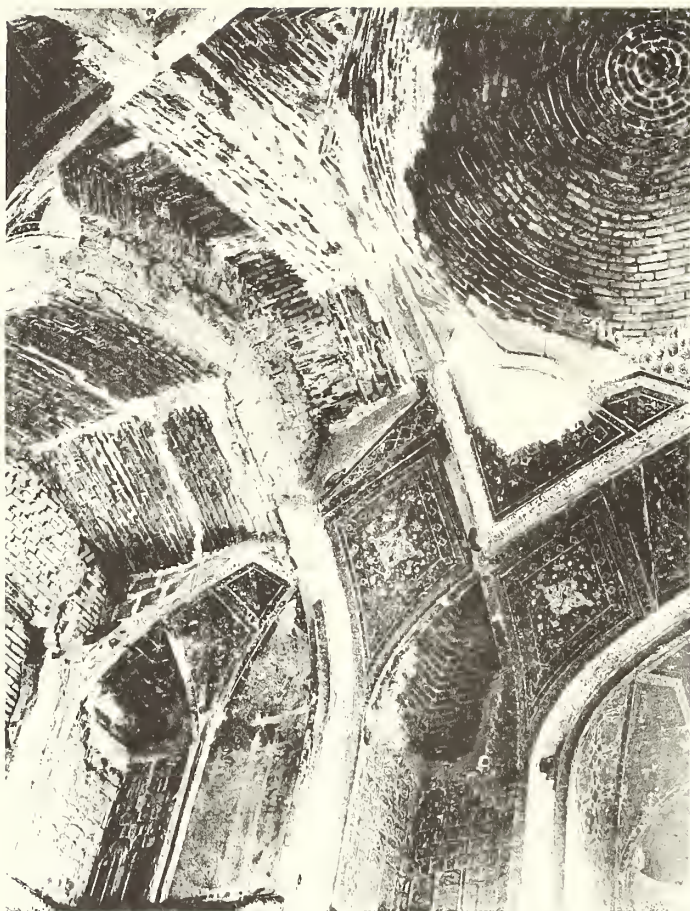


A.—ISHRAT-KHĀNEH. DETAIL OF ROOFING IN THE *miān-saray*.

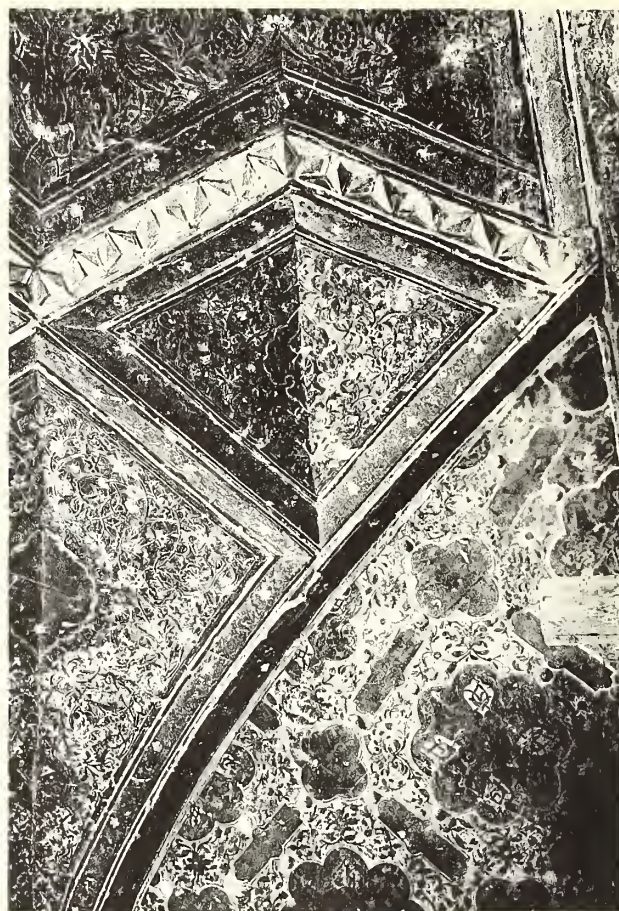


B.—MAUSOLEUM OF AK-SARAY. GENERAL VIEW.

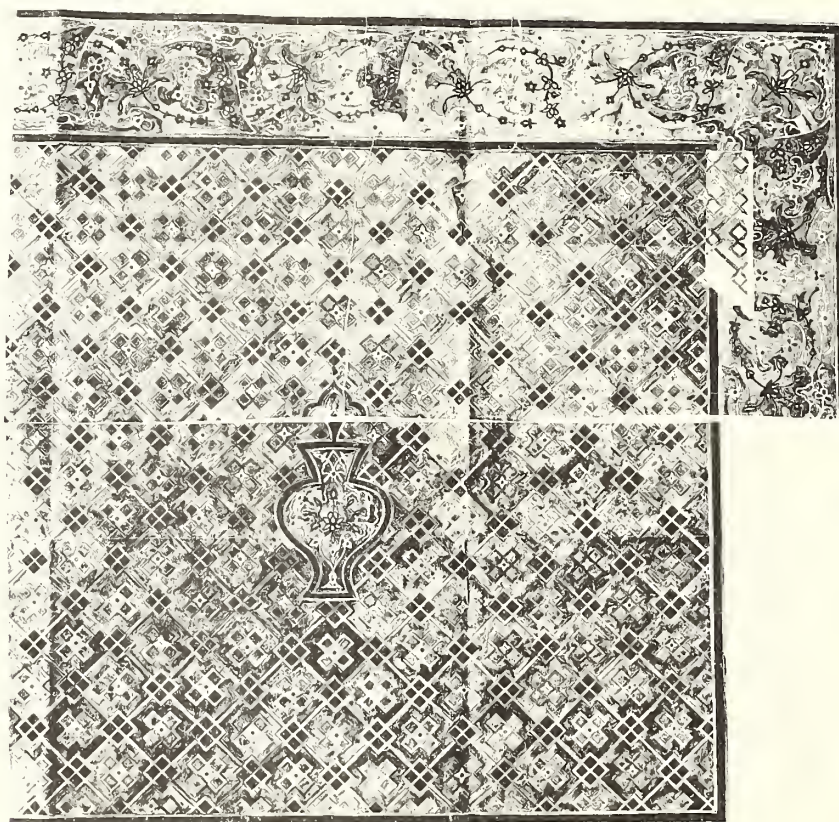




A.—NETWORK OF ARCHES UNDER THE DOME.



C.—RECONSTRUCTION OF MOSAIC PANEL.



B.—“NETWORK” AND PAINTING.  
AK-SARAY.



patterns. The borders of all the major parts of the portal are enlivened with mosaiclike designs in medallions. Each brick is framed by the intrusion of narrow light or dark blue tiles between bricks.

The side aisles of the main façade of 'Ishrat-khāneh are made in the shape of loggias on two levels, whose axes are, in plan, slightly off the axes of the side galleries. Their arches are decorated in the same manner as that of the main portal.

The northeastern façade is less imposing than the main one in massiveness but is striking for the original character of its architectural parts (*pl. 6*). The surface of the walls is divided into five well-limited parts, as though reflecting the inner plan of the mausoleum. Three of these correspond to the main hall, and the central one appears as a sort of fake portal with its high arch, while the side elements comprise ornamental panels with pointed arches. The side aisles, like the one on the main façade, consist of two loggias, one above the other. The decorative system of the flat areas is geometrical, while the tympani of the arches are covered with a mosaic of vegetal elements.

The architectural scheme of the sides is almost the same on both sides. The flat surface of the walls is divided into two superposed panels, which are long and narrow. Almost nothing is left of their decoration. The outer cupola of 'Ishrat-khāneh on its drum is quite elegant. Its calotte was covered with blue tiles, while the ornamentation of the drum followed a geometrical system based on the axes of a series of centrally placed eight-pointed stars.

In his decoration of all outer surfaces the builder used mostly, as a general color background, the roughly hewn brick, enlivened with glazed squares, majolica, and mosaic plaques with designs or, in the more significant and more visible places, whole mosaic panels. Here

appeared new trends in architectural decor in reaction to the excessive pompousness and polychrome oversaturation of the constructions from Timur's or Ulughbeg's time.

This sobriety of the external decor of 'Ishrat-khāneh contrasts with the magnificence of the formal rooms, the central hall and the *mian-khāneh*. The discreet outer elegance of the building merely foreshadows the profound artistic effect of the tomb, which was reserved to the small aristocratic circle of the members of the dynasty and their relations.

First we find on the walls of the main hall a high (2.20 meters) mosaiclike panel consisting of blue, green, and dark blue units, on which elegant vegetal forms are drawn in thin lines of gold. Above begins a complex system of stucco networks, vaults, stalactites, and cupolas, covered with vegetal and epigraphic paintings in the technique known as *kundal*, which in itself was one of the characteristic qualities of the new architectural style.

The essence of *kundal* is that it gives an effect of relief to the stucco work through the introduction of a special preparation of red clay (*kizil kissak*) with a mixture of plaster and vegetal glue. Here the surface is covered with a thin sheet of gold used as background on which the design was drawn with compact brushes, somewhat in the manner of tempera. For the painting of flowers, stems, and inscriptions, white lead was introduced which, together with the previously mentioned colors, gave pink, light blue, pale green, lilac, and other such hues.

This technique opened up many decorative possibilities for the artists. The soft vibration of gold next to pastel-like blues and grays is quite effective visually (*pl. 7, A*). And the technique as such makes possible a more precise ornamentation. At the same time the decoration remains strongly tied to the architectural forms they cover. Nets, stalactites, soffits of niche arches, each of these and other

forms has its own ornamental vocabulary. The themes are predominantly vegetal or epigraphic. (The inscriptions are mostly variations of *naskhi* and *thuluth*.) Only the larger areas are filled with geometrical designs consisting of frames, medallions, cartouches, but even they are in turn filled with vegetal elements. Fancy scrolls faithfully follow the lines of the shieldlike networks; stalactites, in miniature applied vaults, have their own design, laconic and self-sufficient, without large color spots. A thin, impetuously developed vegetal ornament fills the thin borders.

Excavations carried out in 1940 have established that the windows of the main hall of 'Ishrat-khāneh were filled with colored glass. This fact is quite important, for it poses anew the problem of the lighting of Central Asian interiors in the 15th century. That this was not a unique instance is demonstrated by the discovery of fragments of glass from windows during archeological work on the spot of the palaces of Ulūghbek, Chihil Sutūn, and at Gūr-i Amīr. The glass from 'Ishrat-khāneh is quite thin and transparent. Its main colors are purple-red, light blue, dark green, yellow, and violet-blue. Patches of multicolored light must have given to the formal interiors a peculiarly enchanting aspect.

While investigating the monument, the author found it possible to establish certain specific laws and proportions in the composition of the façade. For instance, the construction of the portal arch was composed according to the principles of an elliptical curve, the span of which was 12 *gaz*. The *gaz* did not have any absolute value and its dimensions varied from one time to another or from one area to another, although generally it was between 60 cm. and 1.10 m. In architecture it appeared as the module on which the rest of the construction was composed. The *gaz* of 'Ishrat-khāneh was equal to 73.5 cm.

An analysis of the proportions of the plans

and façades of 'Ishrat-khāneh establishes that they can be measured according to a system of *gaz*, in which all elements are expressed in rational numbers. At the same time, the division of the façade follows a geometrical composition in which appear triangles with 30°, 45°, and 60° angles, a fact which testifies to the introduction of irrational proportions alongside of simple arithmetical relations expressed in whole numbers.

Stylistically, 'Ishrat-khāneh is quite close to another monument of Timurid Samarkand: Ak-Saray (*pl.* 7, *B*), which is found in a heavily populated district, a few hundred steps to the southwest of Gūr-i Amīr. It is a small mausoleum which gives the outer effect of not having been completed. Four high arches with niches on the façades, of which one is completely enclosed by a large number of contemporary constructions; three half-destroyed corner halls revealing the elegant modeling of inner decorative star-shaped cupolas; the flat cut of the covering in the main hall; the total lack of decorative covering of walls—all these features create a bare skeleton of a construction hardly likely to attract the attention of the wandering visitor.

It has been suggested that this building was a mausoleum over the tombs of the wives of Timur or the *khāngāh* in which, as we know from historical sources, were kept the sarcophagi of Timur and of his nephew Muḥammad-Sultān before their transportation to the Gūr-i Amīr.

Historical and archeological sources make it clear that Ak-Saray was erected in the seventh decade of the 15th century.

Already under Abū Sa'id, in the second half of the century, the mausoleum of Gūr-i Amīr, which in Ulūghbek's idea, should have become and did become a family mausoleum for the Timurids, was full. When he moved his capital to Herat it is hardly likely that Abū Sa'id worried much about the matter of



creating in Samarkand a new family mausoleum. But the problem had to come up for his lieutenants in Samarkand.

It was with this aim in mind that under Sulṭān Aḥmad (1469–94) was built Ak-Saray, intentionally put near the main mausoleum of the dynasty. The construction went fast and the general arrangement of the interior was hurriedly attempted before the building of the cupola. As soon as the crypt and rooms were completed, the mausoleum began to be filled up. First was moved into the crypt the body of the son and murderer of Ulūghbek, 'Abd al-Laṭīf, whose headless skeleton was discovered in the central burial vault.

The unfinished quality of the outer architecture could be related to the general historical situation of Central Asia in the second half of the 15th century. This was the period of the cruel dictatorship of the "village *shaykh*," Khoja-Ahrar, in whose hands the half-literate Timurid Sulṭān-Aḥmad-Mirza, who spent his 45 years on the Samarkand throne in endless drunkenness and in punctual observance of religious practices, was nothing but an obedient puppet.

The material of construction is baked brick, with a dimension of 27–28 by 5.5–6 cm., set on a solid mortar of plaster. The building is not large (15.80 by 19.00 m. on the outside). It consists of a large central hall, cruciform in plan through the deep niches found on its axes. The outward composition, within a general balance of parts, shows a certain freedom; the main axes of the northern, western, and eastern façades are created by niches which are of varying depth and not necessarily on the axis of symmetry of the façade. The main façade seems to have been to the south. There we see the *mian-saray* in the form of three rooms in one row.

The corners of the main square, which comprises the central cruciform hall (fig. 5), are freed of undue massiveness by the creation

in three of them of a small room and in the fourth one of a staircase. Two of these rooms are octagonal, the other two square. The former may have been *hujrahs* for Koran readers, or perhaps places where, on memorial days, important visitors would come.

Under the floor of the main hall there was an octagonal crypt covered with a low cupola and filled with many tombs. As in 'Ishrat-

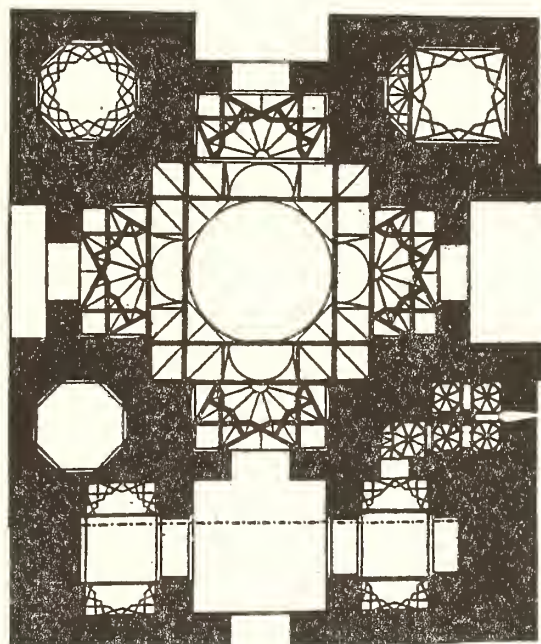


FIG. 5.—MAUSOLEUM OF AK-SARAY. PLAN.

*khāneh*, for the lowering of the bodies there was a sloping hatch opening in the *mian-khāneh*, whose opening, apparently, could be closed by a slab and was opened only on days of burial ceremonies. For the entry of visitors there was a narrow stair with concealed small steps in the south niche of the main hall.

The main cruciform hall at Ak-Saray is covered with a dome set on a system of four powerful intercrossing arches and in between the arches a shieldlike network of ribs. The brick construction (fig. 6) is masked by a complex applied stucco ornamentation of small

domes, stalactites creating an effective ensemble of crisscrossing decorative ribs delineating regular plane figures. One interesting fact emerges: if one superposes the plans of 'Ishrat-khāneh and Ak-Saray drawn on the same scale, the contours of the walls and the complicated vaulting system almost coincide. But in 'Ishrat-khāneh, with all the variations of covering found in the smaller *hujr*, the

great empty space between the constructional brick dome and the decorative stucco one. The latter holds only through its juncture to the wall at its lowest surface. Here we see prefigured those decorative star-shaped domes which reached such a fantastic development in the 16th-century architecture of Bukhara.

Outside, the building not only did not have any completed surface decoration, but even its

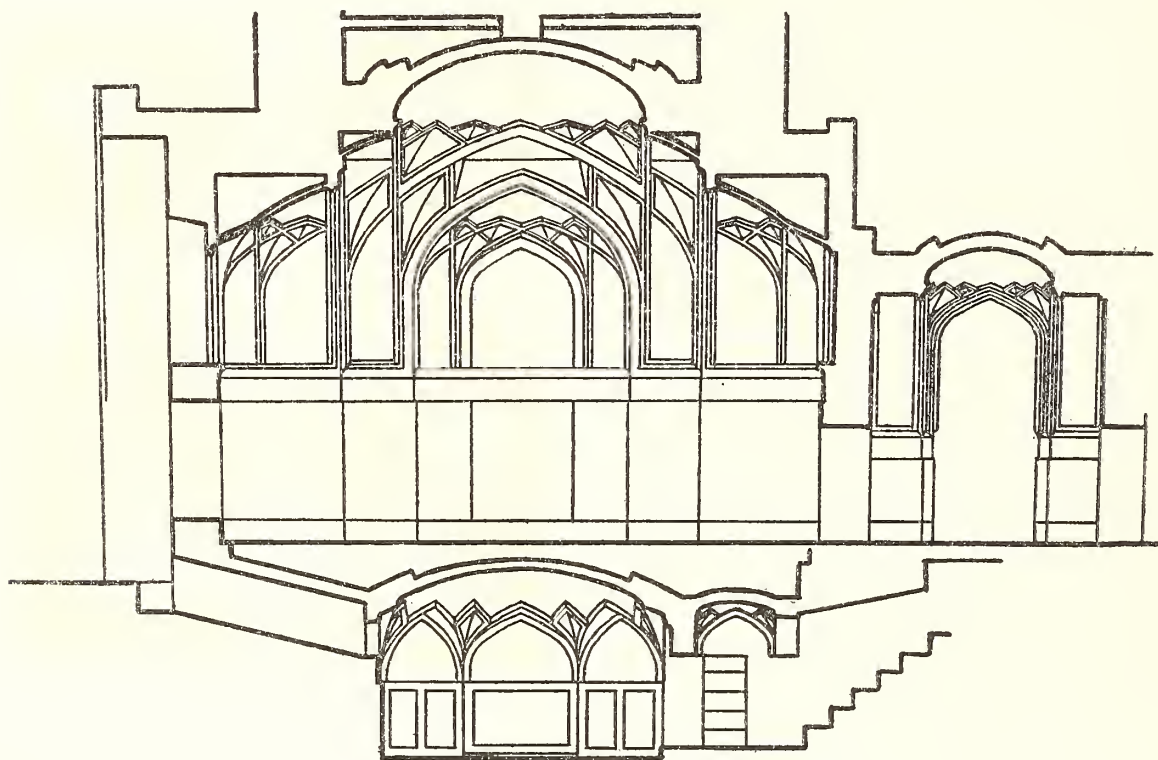


FIG. 6.—MAUSOLEUM OF AK-SARAY. ELEVATION.

*mian-saray*, and other rooms, there are no ceilings so original as those of the corner rooms at Ak-Saray. Here are used decorative cupolas of stucco, conceived in a most complex manner and based on a system of entwined 12- and 16-sided stars. The stucco work no longer follows the system of construction; it merely forms itself around it and really exists by itself and for its own sake. Through partly destroyed roofs one can see (*pl. 8, A*) the

construction does not seem to have been finished; the outer dome on a drum, typical for the 15th century, was not erected, although its octagonal base had been built.

The interior, however, was provided with an impressive decorative system, especially in the official central room.

At the lowest level we see high panels (2.20 m.) of thin glazed mosaic (*pl. 8, B*); it is almost a jeweler's work, recalling the



technique of incrustation, in which some of the more complex items of design are no wider than 1.5–2 mm. The colors are dark blue, light blue, green, white, yellow, with an overglaze of gold paint. The panels fit with the contours of the walls; projecting corners are emphasized by small columns. The main element of design consists of a net of diagonally set dark blue squares. In the middle of each rectangle we find an elegant vase with stylized floral designs. The wide border is composed of a confused vegetal motif, in which, in the midst of entwined thin stalks and flowers appears a continuous flamelike band of yellow-orange colors, at times covered with gold.

Above these panels the surface is entirely covered in *kundal* (pl. 8, C). The ornament is mostly vegetal, but partly also epigraphical. The motifs are most varied: in only one of the nets one can count 67 different types of flowers. The general style is identical to the one found at 'Ishrat-khāneh. On a glittering gold background appears a multicolored ornamentation.

We can judge of the decor in the *mian-khāneh* only on the basis of a few remaining fragments; it was on a white background and much more modest than in the mausoleum proper. But there also everything was cov-

ered, walls, borders, and coverings. The walls of the crypt were covered with marble panels.

Stylistically, Ak-Saray is very close to 'Ishrat-khāneh, but in certain ways the engineering thought here goes even farther. The construction of the ceilings of the side rooms in Ak-Saray has almost reached the stage of an ingenious system of geometric ornamentation. While in the *madrasah* of Khargird (1444) and at 'Ishrat-khāneh (1464) we find only staircases in the corner masses, at Ak-Saray there are whole apartments.

The similarity of constructional and decorative features in the architecture of Ak-Saray and 'Ishrat-khāneh are such that one may wonder whether the same masters did not work on both mausoleums. In any case, it is quite certain that they belong stylistically and chronologically to the same school of Timurid Samarkand. They are both among the more remarkable monuments of Central Asian architecture. Created in years of political upheaval, they characterize the highly creative quest and the remarkable production of the nameless masters of Samarkand who, dissatisfied as they were with the traditional architecture under the hard feudal rule, sought for new ways and new developments for local architecture.





# NEUE ARBEITEN ZUR TÜRKISCHEN KERAMIK

VON KURT ERDMANN

DIE FOLGENDEN AUSFÜHRUNGEN HABEN EINE Vorgeschichte, die ich nicht übergehen kann. 1953 dachte ich daran, einen Aufsatz "Studien zur frühosmanischen Keramik" zu schreiben.<sup>1</sup> Ich verschob die Ausführung, als ich hörte, dass das Buch von Frau Otto-Dorn<sup>2</sup> bald erscheinen werde, und ich gab sie auf, als mir Arthur Lane im Februar 1955 schrieb, er denke an einen Aufsatz über osmanische Keramik. Ich habe ihm damals von meiner Absicht nichts mitgeteilt, denn ich war glücklich, das Thema in so viel besseren Händen zu wissen. Ich freue mich, dass die bescheidenen Beiträge, die ich ihm in meinen Briefen zur Verfügung stellen konnte, zum grossen Teil seine Beachtung und Zustimmung gefunden haben. Leider erschien sein Buch,<sup>3</sup> was bestimmt nicht so gedacht war, vor seinem grundlegenden Aufsatz.<sup>4</sup> Da ich die Besprechung

des Buches<sup>5</sup> nicht hinausschieben wollte, habe ich in ihr unter Hinweis auf diese Stelle, das Kapitel *Turkish pottery* nur referiert. Ich muss daher nachholen. Ob der dabei gewählte Weg, die Ausführungen von Frau Otto-Dorn zunächst mit denen A. Lane's zu vergleichen, um dann, wo es gegeben scheint, eigene Bemerkungen anzufügen, glücklich ist, bezweifle ich ein wenig. Ich wusste keinen anderen, wenn ich vermeiden wollte, Dinge zweimal schreiben zu müssen.

Frau Otto-Dorn hat sich mit türkischer Keramik schon einmal beschäftigt in einer eingehenden Studie, *Untersuchungen zur Iznik-Keramik*,<sup>6</sup> die in einigen Punkten über die bis dahin beste Zusammenfassung von Migeon-Sakisian<sup>7</sup> hinausführte.<sup>8</sup> Damals ging sie, wie es die Problemstellung nahelegte, deduktiv vor, indem sie zunächst die *Einwandfrei gesicherte Iznik-Ware* (die sogenannte "Rhodos-Ware") behandelte, dann die *Vermutlich in Iznik hergestellte Keramik* (die sogenannte frühe "Kütahya" und "Goldene Horn-Ware") besprach und endlich die *Nicht sicher bestimmbare osmanische Keramik* (die sogenannte "Milet"- und "Damaskus-Ware") diskutierte. In ihrem Buch, das ja keine kritische Studie,

<sup>1</sup> K. Erdmann, *Beobachtungen auf einer Reise in Zentral-Anatolien im Juli 1953*, Archäologischer Anzeiger 1954, Sp. 205, Anm. 79 und 83.

<sup>2</sup> K. Otto-Dorn, *Türkische Keramik*, Veröffentlichungen der Philosoph. Fakultät der Universität Ankara No. 119, 1957, 4°, VIII + 194 S. mit 106 einfarbigen Abbildungen (die vorgesehenen farbigen Abbildungen sollen nachgeliefert werden). Die auf S. 182–3 verzeichneten farbigen Abbildungen wurden nachgeliefert bzw. können von jedem Besitzer des Buches beim Verlag F. Steiner, Wiesbaden, Bahnhofstrasse 39, kostenlos angefordert werden. Von den vorgesehenen 31 Abbildungen auf 15 Tafeln sind allerdings nur 29 zur Ausführung gekommen, davon 17 farbig, 12 schwarz-weiß. Weggefallen sind: 2b, 5a, 8. Einfarbig sind: 1,2,2c,2e,3a,7,7a,10a,13a,14a, 14b,15a.

<sup>3</sup> A. Lane, *Later Islamic pottery*, London, 1957, S. 37–67 mit 58 einfarbigen Abbildungen und einer Farbtafel. (Im Folgenden als Lane, vol. 2, zitiert.)

<sup>4</sup> A. Lane, *The Ottoman pottery of Iznik*, *Ars Orientalis* II, 1957, S. 247–281, mit 48 Abbildungen (im Folgenden als Lane, vol. 1, zitiert).

<sup>5</sup> *Bibliotheca Orientalis* XVI, 1959, S. 79–81.

<sup>6</sup> K. Otto-Dorn, *Das Islamische Iznik XI*. Untersuchungen zur Iznik-Keramik. *Istanbuler Forschungen*, Band 13 (Berlin, 1941), S. 109–164 mit einem Anhang von R. Anhegger: XII. Quellen zur osmanischen Keramik das. S. 165–195 (im Folgenden als *Iznik* zitiert.)

<sup>7</sup> G. Migeon-A. Sakisian, *La Céramique d'Asie-Mineure et de Constantinople du XIV<sup>e</sup> au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, *Revue de l'Art Ancien et Moderne*, vol. 44, 1923.

<sup>8</sup> Lane's Urteil (Lane, vol. 2, S. 44, Anm. 1) erscheint mir etwas zu hart.

sondern eine umfangreiche und umfassende Monographie ist, baut sie auf den damals erzielten Ergebnissen auf, wählt aber selbstverständlich eine historische Anordnung des Stoffes, der ausserdem um ein Kapitel über die vorosmanische Keramik bereichert ist (S. 5–50). Bei der osmanischen Keramik (S. 51–169) werden Fayencemosaik (S. 57–60) und Glasurfarben-Fayencen (S. 60–70) in eigenen Abschnitten behandelt. Es folgen die Kapitel *Kütahya-Ware* (S. 71–76), *Goldene Horn-Ware* (S. 77–80), *Milet-Ware* (S. 80–89) und erst dann der Hauptabschnitt *Rhodos-Ware* (S. 95–148). Dadurch wird das Kapitel *Damaskus-Ware* (S. 149–160) ein wenig abgesprengt. Neu sind, da zum Thema der früheren Untersuchung nicht gehörend, die kurzen Abschnitte über die Keramik des 18. Jahrhunderts (S. 160–162) und *Kütahya* (S. 163–165).

Lane's beide Arbeiten entsprechen in gewissem Sinne, wenn auch nicht in so weitem zeitlichen Abstand von einander, den beiden Arbeiten von Frau Otto-Dorn. Auch er legt in seinem Aufsatz die Grundlage, auf der er in seinem Buch das Kapitel *Turkish pottery* aufbaut, wobei er mit einer, allerdings wichtigen, Abweichung zu einer ähnlichen Anordnung des Stoffes kommt wie Frau Otto-Dorn. Seine Kapitel sind: *Seldjuk tile-work and pottery: thirteenth century*, *Early Ottoman pottery and tile-work: fifteenth century*, *Isnik pottery I: "Abraham of Kütahya" style: about 1490–1525*, *Isnik pottery II: the "Damascus" style: about 1525–1555*, *Isnik pottery III: the "Rhodian" style: about 1555–1700*, *Later imitations of Isnik pottery*, *Syrian pottery of the Ottoman period: about 1560–1700*, *The Armenian potters of Kütahya: mainly eighteenth century*, *Chanak Kalé pottery: nineteenth century*, *Turkish porcelain: nineteenth century*.

Frau Otto-Dorn kannte, als sie ihr Buch schrieb, die beiden Arbeiten von Lane nicht.

Das war zweifellos ein Vorteil. Die beiden unabhängig voneinander entstandenen Darstellungen ergänzen sich, auch da, wo sie zu abweichenden Ergebnissen kommen, auf die glücklichste Weise. Lane schrieb ein Handbuch der *Later Islamic Pottery*, in dem der türkischen Keramik ein Kapitel gewidmet ist, Frau Otto-Dorn eine Monographie der türkischen Keramik. Lane ist Museumsmann, er kennt zwar die noch *in situ* befindliche Baukeramik von gelegentlichen Besuchen in der Türkei, aber natürlich nicht so gut wie Frau Otto-Dorn, die viele Jahre im Lande war und wieder ist. Sie wiederum kennt die europäischen und amerikanischen Museen und Sammlungen nicht so gut wie er. So steht in ihrem Buch die Baukeramik im Vordergrund, in seinem die Gefässkeramik. Aus dem gleichen Grund gibt Lane präzisere technische Angaben als Frau Otto-Dorn. Ihr Buch ist eine breit angelegte, flüssig und vielfach vor den Originalen geschriebene Darstellung, bei der die Einfügung der von R. Anhegger gesammelten Quellen und Urkunden, die 1941 als Anhang erschienen waren, in den Text ein glücklicher Gedanke ist. Lane's Kapitel ist in seiner räumlichen Beschränkung eine Meisterleistung komprimierter Zusammenfassung. In der Fülle des Gebotenen gehen seine 30 Seiten bei etwa gleichem Satzspiegel über die 169 Seiten des anderen Buches hinaus. Seine Material- und Literaturkenntnis ist souverän, seine Diktion von bewunderungswürdiger Präzision, wobei ihm die englische Sprache zur Hilfe kommt, die eine dichtere Aussage erlaubt als die deutsche. Aber damit schaltet er das Buch von Frau Otto-Dorn nicht aus. Ich bin überzeugt, er wird es selber mit Vergnügen lesen und das sollte jeder tun, der an dem Thema interessiert ist, wobei es ihm überlassen bleibt, ob er mit Lane's Synthese beginnt, um sich dann in den Gefilden des Buches von Frau Otto-Dorn zu "erholen" oder ob er mit ihrem Buch beginnt, um sich dann in Lane's Kapitel zu "sammeln."



Damit könnte ich eigentlich mein Referat schliessen, nur, meine alte Freundin, Frau Otto-Dorn, ist als ausgesprochen streitfreudig bekannt und auch mein noch älterer Freund Lane würde, glaube ich, enttäuscht sein, wenn ich nur lobte, da beide, wie ich, von einer Besprechung Bereicherung erwarten. Das wird mir allerdings nur in bescheidenem Umfang möglich sein. Die folgenden "spot notes" mögen sie daher mit Nachsicht aufnehmen.

Frau Otto-Dorn beginnt nach einer kurzen historischen Einleitung ihre Darstellung mit der *Baukeramik* der seldschukischen Zeit (S. 15–44), wobei zunächst der Sakral-, dann der Profanbau behandelt wird. *Ziegel- und Fayencemosaik* (S. 15–30), bilden den Anfang. Beide Begriffe sind ja nicht ganz präzise. Das Fayencemosaik ist, worauf Lane (vol. 2, S. 39) hinweist, keine Mosaikarbeit im eigentlichen Sinne, sondern eine Art *opus sectile*. Aber dieser Terminus wird sich nicht mehr korrigieren lassen. Anders ist es beim Ziegelmosaik, einen Terminus, den Frau Otto-Dorn für jede Art von Ziegelornament verwendet. Vielleicht wäre es richtiger, ihn für glasierte Ziegel zu reservieren. Beim Fayencemosaik spricht sie vom Herausschneiden der einzelnen Teile, Lane (vol. 2, S. 39) von Sägen. Wir sahen in Isfahan einen anderen Vorgang: die auf Papier in Originalgrösse gezeichnete Vorlage wird zerschnitten und der einzelne Musterteil auf eine der verschieden glasierten quadratischen Fliesen aufgeklebt und dann mit einer kleinen Hacke, deren Schneide etwa 5 cm breit ist, ausgeschlagen, wobei die Seitenflächen leicht abgeschrägt werden. Die Zusammensetzung erfolgt, wie Lane (vol. 2, S. 39) es schildert, durch Hintergiessen mit einem Gipsbrei. Daneben muss es aber in Anatolien im 13. Jahrhundert ein anderes Verfahren gegeben haben, bei dem die ausgeschlagenen Teile in ein Gipsbett eingelegt werden. Dieses Verfahren kam da zur Anwendung, wo, wie etwa am *mihrāb* der Külük Cami in Kayseri

(Abb. 1) grössere Partien des Gipsgrundes sichtbar blieben, also kein *opus sectile*, sondern eine Art Intarsia gewollt war. Gelegentlich wird auch, etwa an der Türbe des Fahr eddin Ali an der Laranda Cami in Konya, bei einzelnen, meist kleinen Teilen das Ornament aus der einfarbigen Glasur ausgekratzt, eine Technik, die man als "falsches Fayencemosaik" bezeichnen könnte.<sup>9</sup>

Die Frage nach der Provenienz der Fayencemosaik-Technik wird von Frau Otto-Dorn nur gestreift (S. 19). Lane (vol. 1, S. 248) ist hier ausführlicher. Er diskutiert die von Wilber nachgewiesene Priorität der anatolischen Arbeiten, wobei er aber betont, dass der zur Verwendung kommende Ton in seiner Zusammensetzung dem persischen entspricht, was kaum von den anatolischen Töpfern unabhängig erfunden sein könne. Man käme also statt eines *aut-aut* zu einem *et-et*: die anatolischen Töpfer lernten von ihren persischen Kollegen die neue Tonzusammensetzung (vielleicht in Verbindung mit einfachen Formen des Fayencemosaiks) kennen und entwickelten ihre Muster schon in den ersten Jahrzehnten des 13. Jahrhunderts zu einem Reichtum, den man in Persien erst später erreichte. In diesem Zusammenhang spielt bei beiden Autoren die Signatur des Muhammad, Sohn des Muhammad, Sohn des Uthmān, des Baumeisters aus Ṭūs an der Sirçeli Medrese in Konya aus dem Jahre 1242–43 eine grosse Rolle, nach meinem Gefühl nicht ganz zu Recht. Diese Signatur besagt doch nur, dass der Grossvater des Künstlers aus Ṭūs stammte, von wo er offenbar nach Konya gekommen war. Das kann sehr wohl Jahrzehnte früher geschehen sein,

<sup>9</sup> Diese Technik wird gelegentlich auch bei Künstlersignaturen verwendet, so z.B. bei der des Aḥmad ibn Bakr al Marandi an der Türbe im Imaret des Kaikaus I. in Sivas und bei der des Muḥammad ibn Mahmud al Errani über dem *mihrāb* in der Burmalı Minare Cami in Amasya.

und wir müssen damit rechnen, dass sein Enkel in Konya aufgewachsen ist.<sup>10</sup>

Zu der eingehenden, lebendig geschriebenen Besprechung der einzelnen Monumente, die Frau Otto-Dorn (S. 16–31) gibt, habe ich nur wenige Notizen hinzuzufügen.

S. 16: Die Melik Gazi Türbe liegt nicht "in der Nähe von Kayseri," sondern mehr als 60 km östlich Kayseri bei Pinarbaşı.

S. 21: Der *mihrāb* der Hekim Bey Cami in Konya wurde Anfang dieses Jahrhunderts abgerissen. Es existiert ein Photo von Berggren, das ihn in halb zerstörtem Zustand zeigt. Seine Teile tauchten im Istanbul Handel auf und gelangten von dort im Laufe der Jahre in verschiedene europäische Museen, so nach London,<sup>11</sup> Paris,<sup>12</sup> und Berlin.<sup>13</sup> Die Cami enthält heute noch im Scheitel der Kuppel ein schönes Medaillon aus Fayencemosaik. In Konya gibt es ausser den von Frau Otto-Dorn genannten sieben Beispielen<sup>14</sup> Fayencemosaik noch in folgenden Bauten: Iplikçi Cami (Reste des *mihrābs*), Şeih Sadr eddin Konevi Cami (*mihrāb*), Bulgur Tekkesi Cami (*mihrāb*), Tahir ve Zühre Mesçit

(*mihrāb*) und Güneş Hatun Türbe auf dem Nordfriedhof (*İwān-Fassade*).

S. 22: Ausserhalb Konyas wären im Westen ausser der Taş Medrese in Çay und der Seyit Mahmud Hayrani Türbe in Akşehir, die Frau Otto-Dorn anführt, noch folgende Beispiele von Fayencemosaik zu nennen: in Akşehir die Agia Sofia Mesçit (schöner Flechtkufi-Fries am Tambur der Kuppel); in Aksaray das Kizil Minare, der Stumpf eines kleineren Minars, die Ibrahim Bey Medrese und die Reste einer kleineren Medrese im Ostteil der Stadt; in Kirşehir die Türbe an der Çaça Bey Medrese; in Eğridir die Taş Medrese.

S. 23: Die von Halil Edhem publizierte<sup>15</sup> Türbe auf dem Erwal Tepe bei Aksaray (nicht "Ervah Tepe in Konya") ist, wenn seine Ortsangabe richtig ist, auch dort nicht mehr vorhanden. Hier hätte die Kirk Kizlar Türbe in Niksar, von der Halil Edhem ausgeht, Erwähnung verdient.

S. 23ff.: Mit Recht widmet Frau Otto-Dorn dem *mihrāb* der Arslan Hane Cami in Ankara einen längeren Abschnitt. Die Kombination von Stuck und Keramik kommt auch sonst gelegentlich vor, so mit Fliesen am *mihrāb* der Tahir ve Zühre Mesçit in Konya und der Ulu Cami in Ermenek und, später in osmanischer Zeit, mit Gefässscherben an den Kaminen in der Yilderim Cami in Edirne (Abb. 2) und in der Yilderim und Yeşil Cami in Brussa.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Bei der Seltenheit solcher Signaturen sei auf die des Kerim eddin Erdishah an der Fassade der Alā eddin Cami in Konya hingewiesen, die, da sie auf einer Fliese angebracht ist, doch wohl einen Keramiker meint, der Technik nach eher den Meister der Schriftfliesen an der Türbe als den des *mihrābs*.

<sup>11</sup> Victoria and Albert Museum. A. Lane, *Guide to the Collection of Tiles*, London, 1929, S. 9, pl. 8a. Im Folgenden als Lane, *Tiles* zitiert.

<sup>12</sup> Musée des Arts Décoratifs. R. Koechlin, *L'Art de l'Islam*, [I] La Céramique, Paris, 1928, Abb. 56.

<sup>13</sup> Unveröffentlicht.

<sup>14</sup> Frau Otto-Dorn nennt: Sirçali-Medrese, Kara Tay Medrese, Alā eddin Moschee, Hekim Bey Mesçit, Laranda Moschee, und Has Bey Moschee.

<sup>15</sup> Halil Edhem, *Einige islamische Denkmäler Kleinasiens* in Studien zur Kunst des Ostens, S. 24ff., Taf. 28, 1.

<sup>16</sup> Über andere Beispiele von Keramiken in Verbindung mit Stuckdekorationen vergl. neuerdings



S. 26: Im östlichen Städtebogen wären Fayencemosaiken nachzutragen: für Sivas in der Türbe an der Barudjird Medrese und in der Torhalle der Çifte Minare Medrese, für Amasya der Rest eines nicht bei Gabriel verzeichneten Iwans (Medrese?) am Wege zur Gök Medrese Cami, für Tokat die Abū al-Qāsim Türbe (aus unter der Glasur bemalten Fliesen ausgeschnitten) (Abb. 3), für Turhal die Muhammed Dede Türbe (Tür), für Niksar die leider kürzlich zerstörte Sunguriye Türbe, endlich ein Fragment im Museum von Alaça Hüyük (Abb. 4), das wie man uns im Museum sagte, aus Gerddek Kaja stammen soll, was aber kaum richtig sein kann, da die dortige Ruine (O.I.C. 14, 1933, S. 118) byzantinisch ist. Wahrscheinlich kommt sie aus dem nahe bei Alaça gelegenen Kalehisar, wo noch heute die Ruinen einer Medrese und eines Bedestans vorhanden sind und der Boden reiche Scherbenfunde des 13. Jahrhunderts, darunter auch Fliesenreste, ergeben hat.<sup>17</sup>

K. Otto-Dorn, *Seldschukische Holzsäulenmoscheen in Kleinasien* in *Aus der Welt der Islamischen Kunst*, Festschrift für Ernst Kühnel, Berlin, 1959, S. 72ff. Bei dieser Gelegenheit könnte man auf das Einlegen von einzelnen Fliesen, meist türkisglasierten, in das Mauerwerk von Gebäuden hinweisen, wie es besonders in Brussa beliebt war (vergl. A. Gabriel, *Une capitale turque. Brousse. Bursa*, Paris, 1958, vol. 1, S. 92f., Abb. 38, der in ihnen Steinmetzzeichen vermutet). Vielleicht denkt Tahsin Öz an sie, wenn er (*Les Fayences Turques*, Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society, 1933–34, S. 49) schreibt "earthenware tiles were set amongst stonework."

<sup>17</sup> K. Erdmann, in *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, vol. 6, 1955, S. 37–40 und 122–124; vol. 8, 1958, S. 142–143.

S. 27: In der Osttürkei kommt Fayencemosaik ausser in Van und Malatya auch am *mihrāb* der Arabşah Türbe in Kharput (Abb. 5) vor.<sup>18</sup>

S. 30f.: Dass bei den Sechseckfliesen mit Goldmalerei diese in einem zweiten Brande festgehalten wird, glaube ich nicht (s.a. Lane, II, S. 39 "in unfired gold"). In Konya konnte ich es nicht untersuchen, aber Direktor Mehmet Önder bestätigte es mir. Bei den frühosmanischen Beispielen in Edirne, Brussa und Istanbul ist es nicht der Fall. Das Gold lässt sich stets leicht entfernen und ist daher bei Fliesen an exponierten Stellen meist ganz verschwunden.

Im Profanbau (S. 31–44) kommt Fayencemosaik anscheinend nicht vor. Die keramische Ausstattung, wenn eine vorhanden ist, besteht aus Fliesen, meist in Kreuz- und Sternform, eine Dekorationsart, die, im Unterschied zu Persien, wo sie auch im Sakralbau verwendet wird, in Anatolien auf den Profanbau beschränkt gewesen zu sein scheint.<sup>19</sup> Sowohl Frau Otto-Dorn wie auch Lane beginnen mit den Fliesen vom Kiosk in Konya. So nahe es liegt, vom Bekannten auszugehen, in Zukunft wird es besser sein, die erst seit kurzem bekannten, älteren Fliesen aus Kubadabad, Kubadiye, Aspendos, Antalya und Alanya an den

<sup>18</sup> Eine auf den Ergebnissen unserer gemeinsamen Exkursionen beruhende Liste von Baukeramik gibt O. Aslanapa bei E. Diez-O. Aslanapa, *Türk Sanati*, Istanbul, 1955, S. 221ff. Bei seiner Angabe "1160, Konya, Alaettin Köskü" ist unklar, was gemeint ist. Die Menteşoğlu Cami in Söke ist mir unbekannt. In der Hatuniye Medrese in Karaman sind nach meinen Notizen nur Sechseckfliesen, aber Lane bildet (*Tiles*, pl. 7c und 8c) Fayencemosaikfragmente ab, die nach seiner Angabe aus Karaman stammen.

<sup>19</sup> Dazu K. Erdmann, *Seraybauten des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts in Anatolien*, *Ars Orientalis* III, 1959, S. 77–94.

Anfang zu stellen. Für Konya haben neue Funde auf dem Burgberg das Material bereichert, so dass die Ausführungen Sarre's,<sup>20</sup> der auch die Stücke, die ehemals im Tschinili Kösk ausgestellt waren, nicht kannte, teilweise überholt sind. Im Tschinili Kiosk notierte ich 1937<sup>21</sup> drei weitere Fragmente von dem Panneau mit den Achtecksfeldern<sup>22</sup> und zwar No. 2809: Vorderteil eines Reiters nach links, No. 2808: Reste eines Reiters nach rechts, Ohne No.: Kruppe und Schwanz eines nach links stehenden Pferdes. Andere Stücke sind im Museum in der Karatay Medrese in Konya. Im Tschinili Kiosk befand sich damals auch ein Rest der um einen mittleren Stern angeordneten rauten- und schildförmigen Fliesen<sup>23</sup> mit sechs der rautenförmigen Fliesen im originalen Gipsbett (No. 2829) (*Abb. 7*). Danach ist die heutige Anordnung der Panneaus in Berlin (*Abb. 6*) und Paris irreführend, die Rekonstruktion, die Sarre gibt,<sup>24</sup> falsch. In Wirklichkeit durchdringen sich die Gruppen, woraus sich eine reichere Zeichnung ergibt (*Abb. 8*). Reines Minai kommt, soweit ich sehe, vorwiegend<sup>25</sup> bei Sternfliesen mit weissem Grund vor, während die kreuz- und rautenförmigen Fliesen nur Überglasurfarben verwenden. Lüster, und zwar goldener wie silberner, findet sich vereinzelt. Interessant ist in Konya eine grosse Relieffliese mit blauem Naskhi auf einem Lüstergrund, der ungeschickt die typischen Blattformen der Lüsterware von Kaschan nachahmt.

<sup>20</sup> F. Sarre, *Der Kiosk von Konya*, Berlin, 1936, S. 14–35.

<sup>21</sup> Diese bedeutendste Sammlung islamischer Kunst in der Türkei ist weggeräumt worden, als das Gebäude 1953 in ein Fatih Museum umgewandelt wurde. Es ist mir in den fast acht Jahren, die ich in Istanbul war, nicht gelungen, sie zu sehen.

<sup>22</sup> A. Anm. 20 a. O., Taf. 5.

<sup>23</sup> Das. Taf. 6 unten rechts und Taf. 7.

<sup>24</sup> Das. S. 20, Abb. 16.

<sup>25</sup> Eine Ausnahme bildet eine Sechsecksfliese im Ethnographischen Museum in Ankara (No. 11 481).

Das kleine Museum im Amerikan Kiz Koleji in Arnavutköy bei Istanbul besitzt acht Fliesen aus Konya, von denen einige als "from Dr. Dodd's hospital grounds" beschriftet sind. Es handelt sich um drei Kreuzfliesen (Dm. 8,7 cm, 11 cm und 11,3 cm). Zwei sind dunkelblau glasiert, davon eine ein Fehlbrand,<sup>26</sup> die dritte ist rot lüstriert. Ferner zwei fragmentarische Sternfliesen (Dm. 18 bzw. 21,5 cm), beide lüstriert, zwei türkis glasierte Sternfliesen von 13 cm Durchmesser und eine sechseckige Fliese von 11,7 cm Durchmesser, die auf hellrotem Grund dunkelrote gegiebelte Arabeskenblätter zeigt. Auffallend ist, dass diese Fliesen zum Teil ein grösseres Format zeigen als die sonst in Konya verwendeten.

Nicht ganz klar wird, ob Frau Otto-Dorn S. 36 meint, dass alle auf dem Burgberg gefundenen Fliesen von dem doch recht bescheidenen Kösk stammen, dessen Reste das Einzige sind, das vom Seray Bezirk geblieben ist. Nach ihrer Zahl und Fundlage wird man doch wohl damit rechnen müssen, dass sie auch von anderen Bauten des Seray's stammen können, der nach den Angaben Texier's aus einer "Reihe von pavillonartigen Gebäuden, unter denen das hauptsächlichste einen grossen Empfangsraum mit einer reichen Dekoration im Innern enthielt" bestand.<sup>27</sup>

S. 36–40 sind den *Fliesen aus dem Seray in Kubadabad* gewidmet, deren künstlerische Qualität Frau Otto-Dorn sehr hoch einschätzt, während Lane von ihnen sagt (vol. 2, S. 40), sie seien "in a rather poor technique" gemacht. Es ist zu bedauern, dass bei der Aufdeckung anscheinend keine genaueren Beobachtung über die Fundlage gemacht worden, so dass eine übersichtliche Anordnung des reichen Materials kaum noch möglich sein wird, es sei denn, es gelänge Mehmet Önder bei der für

<sup>26</sup> In Konya ist eine dunkelblau glasierte, rautenförmige Fliese Fehlbrand.

<sup>27</sup> Sarre a. Anm. 20 a.O., S. 9.



den Herbst 1958 geplanten Nachgrabung Anhaltspunkte zu finden. Die Mehrzahl des Materials besteht aus Kreuz- und Sternfliesen in drei verschiedenen Grössen, also von drei verschiedenen Panneaus. Die Randleisten wechseln in der Breite, sind aber alle einfarbig türkis glasiert. Die Kreuzfliesen zeigen meist schwarze Arabesqueblattranken unter türkisfarbener Glasur, gelegentlich kommt das gleiche Muster auch in Lüster auf auberginefarbener, seltener dunkelblauer Glasur vor. Der Lüster ist meist stumpfgrün oder stumpfgelb, nur in seltenen Fällen metallisch reflektierend, also nicht von erster Qualität. Die Sternfliesen zeigen ebenfalls Unterglasurmalerei oder Lüsterierung, doch ist die Zahl der lustrierten Stücke grösser als bei den Kreuzfliesen, wobei als Glasur nur Weiss vorkommt. Der Lüster wechselt von Gelb zu Dunkelbraun, bei einer kleinen Gruppe ist er blassgrün. Seine Qualität ist besser als bei den Kreuzfliesen, aber mit guten Stücken anderer Manufakturen, etwa Rakkas, nicht zu vergleichen. Minai-Technik kommt nicht vor. Bei den lustrierten Sternfliesen dominiert die menschliche Figur, bei den unter der Glasur bemalten die Tierfigur, doch kommen in beiden Gruppen auch ornamental bemalte Stücke nicht selten vor. Die Qualität der Zeichnung ist unterschiedlich, im allgemeinen derb, doch finden sich vereinzelt auch ausgezeichnete Stücke. Offenbar haben wir mit einer grösseren Zahl von "Meisterhänden" zu rechnen. Die Frage, woher diese kamen berührt Frau Otto-Dorn nur kurz, während Lane sehr richtig beobachtet, dass in Kubadabad überall da, wo in Rakka Unterglasurrot verwendet sein würde, ein blasses, oft ausgelaufenes Aubergine auftritt, ein Beweis, dass es sich nicht um importierte Ware handelt. Auch die Motive und die Art der Zeichnung weisen, wie Frau Otto-Dorn richtig betont, stärker nach Syrien als nach Persien. Beide Autoren erwähnen nicht die Fragmente eines eigenartigen, offenbar grossen Panneaus,

dessen Muster aus mit Tierfiguren oder Ornamenten gefüllten verflochtenen Kreisen besteht, deren breite Bänder schwarze Naskhi-Inschriften auf weissem Grund unter farbloser Glasur tragen. Im Depot des Museums finden sich auch Fragmente ohne Inschriften in den Kreisbändern, die vielleicht von einem anderen, ähnlichen Panneau stammen. Leider ist kein Fragment so erhalten, dass sich die Fliesenform ausmachen lässt. Kreuz- oder Sternform hatten sie jedenfalls nicht. Übrigens irrt Frau Otto-Dorn, wenn sie S. 37 schreibt, dass unter der in Konya gefundenen Keramik Lüsterfliesen nicht festzustellen seien. Abgesehen von dem im Vorangehenden erwähnten Lüsterfliesen in Istanbul sind zwei der von Sarre publizierten Fliesen vom Kiosk lustriert<sup>28</sup> und das Museum in Konya besitzt eine Türkisfliese mit einem Vogel in silbernem Lüster (No. 649).

*Die seldschukischen Einbauten im Theater von Aspendos* (S. 40–42) sind seit Lanckoronski bekannt.<sup>29</sup> In beiden Treppenhäusern war

<sup>28</sup> Das. S. 19, J. 935 (Abb. 15) und J. 1369 (Vergl. meine Besprechung des Buches *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 1936, Sp. 2181). Eine Sternfliese mit Lüster über blauer Glasur aus der Gegend von Turhal (!) erwähnt R. M. Riefstahl, *Turkish Architecture in Southwestern Anatolia*, Cambridge, 1931, S. 52.

<sup>29</sup> K. von Lanckoronski, *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens*, Wien, 1890–92. Band I., S. 116, heisst es "An der Scenae frons entdeckten wir in einer der oberen Nischen eine kaum handgrosse Fläche mit glasierten Fliesen bedeckt. Es sind drei kleine Platten von 2 cm Dicke, mit blauem Farbenüberzug. Zwei derselben zeigen die Spuren eines schwarzen Ornamentes von mehr orientalischer als griechischer Zeichnung." Dazu Anm. 1, "Nach dem Ausspruch des Professors Otto Donner von Richter . . . sind dieselben asiatische Fliesen von besonders schöner, durch Beimischung von Kupferoxyd hergestellter Färbung und vorzüglicher Ausführung der Email- oder Glasflussdecke. Die schwarze Farbe der Ornamente liegt unter der oberen Glasur, die Masse, aus welcher die Fliesen bestehen, ist auffallend leicht und porös, hergestellt durch Mischung von Tonerde mit Bimsstein-

das Zimmer des dritten Geschosses mit Fliesen ausgestattet, deren Bettung z.T. noch vorhanden ist.<sup>30</sup> Bei den vor einigen Jahren vorgenommenen Aufräumarbeiten sollen die im Schutt gefundenen Reste in das Museum von Antalya gebracht worden sein. Fliesenabdrücke finden sich auch in den Nischen des sogenannten Nymphaeums auf dem Hügel oberhalb des Theaters.<sup>31</sup> An der scenae frons habe ich nichts mehr entdecken können. 1953 zeigte man uns im Museum in Antalya eine Kiste mit Fliesenfragmenten, von denen einige mit den von Riefstahl 1931 publizierten<sup>32</sup> identisch waren. Nach seinen Angaben sind diese vor 1925 in einem Garten in Antalya zum Vorschein gekommen und von Fikri Erten, dem damaligen Direktor des Museums, übernommen worden, was uns Fikri Erten 1953 im Gespräch bestätigte. Andere sollen, wie man uns im Museum sagte, von der Zindjir Qyran Tübe oberhalb der Yivli Minare Cami stammen. 1953 waren die beiden Gruppen nicht getrennt, hoben sich aber einigermaßen voneinander ab. Nach den Angaben von Frau Otto-Dorn hat der neue Direktor des Museums, Herr Ismet Ebçioğlu, die beiden Gruppen jetzt getrennt. Nach seinen Feststellungen, den sich Frau Otto-Dorn anschliesst, stammt die von Riefstahl beschriebene und z. T. abgebildete Gruppe aus dem Theater von Aspen-

pulver, sowie mit verbrennbaren Stoffen, welche nach dem Brennen leere Räume in der Masse zurückliessen. Das geringe Gewicht und die Zerreibbarkeit des Materials ist sehr auffallend neben der Härte des Kalkmörtels, welcher zum Einsetzen der Fliesen verwendet wurde und dessen Spuren an denselben sich finden."

<sup>30</sup> Darüber konnte ich nichts bei Lanckoronski finden.

<sup>31</sup> Das. S. 101, "Ferner ist zu bemerken, dass in den Wölbungen der Nischen sich die Reste eines Mörtelüberzuges befinden und in diesem Mörtel die Abdrücke kleiner, sechsseitiger Platten, mit denen also die Nischengewölbe bekleidet waren."

<sup>32</sup> Riefstahl, a. Anm. 28 a. O., Abb. 97-98.

dos, während die andere Gruppe aus der Zindjir Qyran Türbe kommt. Ich war längere Zeit nicht in Antalya und kann nicht beurteilen, ob die Trennung zuverlässig gelungen ist; ebenso wenig weiss ich, worauf die Provenienzanangaben beruhen. Jedenfalls scheint mir die Lage kompliziert zu sein. Dass die 1377 datierte Türbe, ein sorgfältiger Marmorbau, mit Fliesen ausgestattet war, halte ich für ausgeschlossen, ganz abgesehen davon, dass die Fliesen der zweiten Gruppe nicht in das Ende des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts datiert werden können. Für die der ersten Gruppe haben wir die eindeutige Aussage Riefstahls und Fikri Ertens, dass sie vor 1925 in Antalya gefunden seien. Es ist doch kaum denkbar, dass Fikri Erten, der sie damals für das Museum, dessen Direktor er war, übernahm, nicht gewusst haben soll, dass sie aus Aspendos kamen, wo ausserdem die Aufräumarbeiten erst um 1950 begannen. Einleuchtender wäre, dass die zweite Gruppe, von der Riefstahl noch nichts wusste, die also erst in späterer Zeit in das Museum kam, aus Aspendos stammt. Das müsste eigentlich dort bekannt sein. So wie die Lage heute ist, bleiben, soweit ich sehe, für die Trennung der beiden Gruppen, vorausgesetzt, dass es sich nur um zwei Gruppen handelt, auf der einen Seite die Angaben Riefstahls, auf der anderen Seite die geringen Reste, meist Glasursplitter, die man heute noch in der Schutthalde vor der Fassade des Theaters in Aspendos auflesen kann.

Riefstahl bildet 22 Stücke ab, darunter sechseckige und sternförmige Fliesen. Technisch unterscheidet er:

1. Blue and black underglaze decoration on white ground.
2. Luster decoration:
  - (a) Purple luster on turquoise ground.
  - (b) Purple luster on cobalt ground.
  - (c) Olive green luster on manganese purple ground.
  - (d) Olive luster on ground partly turquoise, partly manganese purple.



3. Black decoration under turquoise greenish glaze.
4. Luster and cobalt blue on white ground.

In Aspendos fanden wir Reste mit Unter-glasurmalerei auf weissem Grund in Schwarz, Schwarz und Türkis, Schwarz und Blau, ferner Schwarz unter Türkisglasur und einfarbige Glasuren in Türkis, Blau und Aubergine. Ausser bei einer 48 mm grossen quadratischen Fliese mit auberginefarbener Glasur war in keinem Fall die Form der Fliese bestimmbar, doch ist anzunehmen, dass es sich um Panneaus aus Kreuz- und Sternfliesen mit rechteckigen, türkisch glasierten Randleisten, von denen eine ja noch *in situ* ist, handelte. Lüsterfragmente fanden wir nicht. Nach meinen Notizen aus dem Jahre 1953 würden diese Funde in Aspendos nicht dagegen sprechen, dass die zweite Gruppe von Fragmenten im Museum von Antalya aus dem Theater stammt.

Dass, wie Frau Otto-Dorn vermutet, die Einbauten im Theater aus der Zeit des Sultans Alaeddin Kaikobad I. stammen, wird durch seine Brücke über den Eurymedon bei Aspendos nahegelegt. Die Zickzackmuster der Wandbemalung sehen mir allerdings wenig seldschukisch aus. Ich möchte sie lieber den Jahren zuschreiben, in denen die Lusignans die Antalya Ebene beherrschten (1361–73). Leider ist von dem Wappen, das Lanckoronski erwähnt,<sup>33</sup> nichts mehr zu sehen.

Eine Bestätigung des oben Gesagten könnte man darin sehen, dass auch in *Alanya* Fragmente von Fliesen dieser Gruppe zum Vorschein gekommen sind. Wir fanden Reste von Kreuzfliesen mit schwarzem Arabeskdékor unter Türkisglasur auf der İç Kale.<sup>34</sup> Ich glaube,

<sup>33</sup> A. Anm. 29 a. O., S. 119, "Stellenweise ist der Bewurf mit einem grossen Zickzack-Ornament in roter Farbe bemalt, welches auch an den Aussenwänden des Bühnenhauses auftritt. Das Ornament und der schwache Rest eines gemalten Wappens an der nördlichen Paraskenionswand deuten auf das spätere Mittelalter."

<sup>34</sup> s.a. S. Lloyd-D. S. Rice, *Alanya* ('Alā' iyya),

eine Suche nach dem Seray würde besser dort anzusetzen sein als, wie Frau Otto-Dorn meint, bei der frühosmanischen Akşa Türbe. Gleiche Fragmente fanden D. S. Rice auf der Kale von Alara<sup>35</sup> und ich in einem Kiöskartigen Bau an der Strasse Alanya-Anamur. Auch die landeinwärts in Richtung Obaköy liegenden ähnlichen Kiöske haben nach Ibrahim Hakki Konyali<sup>36</sup> Fliesenreste dieser Art ergeben.

In *Kubadiye* (S. 44) sind bisher nur geringe Fliesenfunde gemacht worden. Das Bruchstück einer rechteckigen Fliese mit Flechtwerk in Unter-glasurmalerei fällt aus dem Rahmen der Seray-Keramik, ist aber sonst bekannt. Fliesen, bzw. Fliesenbruchstücke dieser Art kommen an den Kenotaphen in der Türbe der Alaeddin Cami in Konya und des Imarets des Kaikaus I. in Sivas vor, wo sie n.b. auch an anderen Stellen des Baus vermauert sind,<sup>37</sup> was Riefstahl eigenartigerweise übersehen hat.<sup>38</sup>

Die *seldschukische Gefässkeramik* (S. 45–48) ist immer noch ein schwieriges Kapitel, aber Frau Otto-Dorn hat recht, wenn sie meint, dass das Dunkel sich zu lichten beginne. Weder sie noch Lane scheinen Riefstahl's

London, 1958, S. 33, leider ohne nähere Angaben über die Art ihrer Funde.

<sup>35</sup> Lane, vol. 2, S. 40, Anm. 3.

<sup>36</sup> Ibrahim Hakki Konyali, *Alanya*, Istanbul, 1946, S. 338ff.

<sup>37</sup> In der Türbe sind zwei der grosser Kenotaphe mit Fliesen dieses Typs (weisses Flechtwerk mit Füllungen in Dunkelblau, Türkis und Aubergine) verkleidet.

<sup>38</sup> Zerschnittene Fliesen diese Typs sind in rautenförmiger Anordnung von je acht schmalrechteckigen Stücken an der Unterseite zweier Gurtbögen des Umgangs am Hof verwendet. Weitere Fragmente zeigen die Mukarnasnischen im Iwan der linken Hofseite. Die von Riefstahl, a. Anm. 28 a. O., S. 52 erwähnte Schriftfliese über dem *mihṛāb* der Sadr eddin Konevi Cami in Konya ist sicher syrisch, ebenso die ähnliche Fliese über dem Fenster im Südloch des Westriwaks der Ulu Cami in Adana.

wichtige Arbeit "Remarks on the glazed pottery fragments at the Alishar mound"<sup>39</sup> zu kennen, in der er zu dem Ergebnis kommt, dass offenbar die flüchtig geritzte "byzantinische" Ware mit einfarbigen oder Überlaufglasuren in seldschukischer Zeit weiterbestanden habe. Das war von der byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte schon früher behauptet worden.<sup>40</sup> Dem schliesst sich Frau Otto-Dorn, die 1941 diese Ware, was in Iznik ja nahelag, für byzantinisch hielt,<sup>41</sup> jetzt an. Tatsächlich überwiegt diese Ware an allen Fundorten, an denen man mit Scherben des 12.–14. Jahrhunderts rechnen kann, durchaus.<sup>42</sup> Im allgemeinen sind die Scherben so klein, bzw. die Muster so grob und flüchtig, dass es schwer ist, sich ein Bild vom Charakter der Ornamentik zu machen. Neuerdings sind im Burghügel in Konya einige intakte oder fast intakte Gefässe dieser Art zum Vorschein gekommen, von denen einzelne Muster zeigen, die seldschukisch oder, vorsichtiger gesagt, nicht mehr byzantinisch sind. In diesem Zusammenhang möchte ich mit Frau Otto-Dorn gegen Lane<sup>43</sup> dem arabischen Sgraffito auf einer in Iznik gefundenen Scherbe, zu dem zwei Gegenstücke

unter den Alishar-Funden sind,<sup>44</sup> doch dokumentarischen Wert beimessen.<sup>45</sup> (Die beiden Schalen der Sammlung Ferid Celal Güven (S. 47) kenne ich nicht. Wenn sie aus Tarsus stammen, das damals kleinarmenisch war, ist es eigentlich nicht wahrscheinlich, dass sie seldschukisch sind.)

Neben der geritzten Ware kommen verhältnismässig häufig einfarbige Glasuren vor, vor allem Türkis in verschiedenen Nuancen, gelegentlich auch mit schwarzer Unterglasurmalerei. Grün glasierte Scherben finden sich überall, lassen sich aber nicht sicher datieren. Unikum und wahrscheinlich importiert ist das Randstück einer Schale von Burghügel in Konya, das aussen türkis glasiert ist, innen auf braunrotem Grund ein schwarzes Flechtband mit weissen Punkten zeigt. Wenn die Qualität auch oft nicht schlecht ist, als "Luxusware" kann man diese Keramik kaum bezeichnen. Gefässscherben oder Gefässe mit Lüstrierung oder Minai-Bemalung sind auch mir nie begegnet, doch bildet Lane<sup>46</sup> zwei Fragmente mit gelbbraunem Lüster auf weisser Zinnglasur ab, die er für anatolisch hält. Heranzuziehen wären endlich die Gefässe, die als architektonischer Schmuck dienen. Diese "bacini," die besonders in Südostanatolien beliebt sind, stammen zwar meist aus späterer Zeit, es gibt aber auch seldschukische Beispiele, wie die

<sup>39</sup> Bei H. H. von der Osten-W. M. Krogman, *The Alishar Hüyük seasons 1930–32*, Part 3, Chicago, 1937, S. 205–210.

<sup>40</sup> G. E. Hudson, *Note on Antiquities of the Turkish period found on the site of the Hippodrome*. Preliminary Report upon the Excavations carried out in and near the Hippodrome of Constantinople in 1927. S. a. D. T. Rice, *Byzantine glazed pottery*, Oxford, 1930, S. 51.

<sup>41</sup> *Iznik*, S. 156.

<sup>42</sup> Ich habe an fast hundert Stellen Anatoliens islamische Scherben gesammelt, muss aber die systematische Auswertung dieses Materials auf später verschieben. Nur gelegentliche Auswertungen waren bisher möglich (s. o. Anm. 17, "Zu den Scherben von Kalehisar"). Einen interessanten Schalenboden mit einem Vogel an Blüten aus Alt-Malatya bildet I. Kiliç Kökten im *Belleten des Türk Tarih Kurumu* XI, 1947, S. 466, Taf. XCV ab.

<sup>43</sup> Lane, vol. 1, S. 250, Anm. 18.

<sup>44</sup> A. Anm. 39 a. O., fig. 228, No. 3122a. S. a. J. J. Gelb, *Inscriptions from Alishar and vicinity*, Oriental Institute Publications, vol. 27, 1935, S. 78, No. 99 (in shā 'Allah) und No. 100 (bin). Ein weiteres Beispiel, bei dem aber die eingeritzten Schriftzeichen den Dekor bilden—also kein eigentliches Sgraffito—befindet sich im Museum von Konya (No. 609). Ein Schalenfragment mit Naskhi-Schriftzeichen in Unterglasurmalerei fand ich in Kalehisar (*Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, vol. 8, 1958, S. 143. Dasselbst auch ein Fragment mit Sgraffitorest, S. 142).

<sup>45</sup> Lane denkt wohl an die auf rein byzantinischer Ware häufigen ornamental verwendeten kufischen Schriftzeichen, die natürlich nichts beweisen.

<sup>46</sup> Lane, vol. 1, S. 250, pl. I, fig. 1, No. A und B.



türkis glasierten Schälchen (nur Reste), in der Emir Kamar Türbe in Divriği und in der Agia Sofia Mesçit in Akşehir (gut erhalten).

Über die *Fayencekunst der frühen Emiratszeit* (S. 49–50) ist nicht viel zu sagen. In der Eşrefoğlu Cami in Beyşehir wäre noch der Fayencemosaikdekor der Eingangswand und in Birge die Kuppel der Aidinoğlu Türbe von 1334<sup>47</sup> zu nennen gewesen. Eine Abbildung des *mihrābs* in der Gaferyat Cami bei Karaman findet sich bei O. Aslanapa.<sup>48</sup> Dass der *mihrāb* der Misir Cami in Afyon Karahisar so spät ist, kann ich mir nicht vorstellen. Der grossartig gezeichnete Flechtkeuf-Fries über der Nische hat seine nächste Parallele an den *mihrābs* in der Külük Cami in Kayseri (unsere Abb. 1) und in der Alaeddin Cami in Konya und lässt wie diese grössere Partien des Gipsbettes frei. Er ist zu gross für die Stelle, an der er heute angebracht ist, so dass man sich fragen muss, ob er evtl. anderswoher stammt. Tatsächlich ist der *mihrāb* in seinem heutigen Zustand zusammengestückt. Vielleicht war er ursprünglich grösser, womit der Fries zugehörig sein könnte. Für ein frühes Datum spricht auch die plastisch aufgelegte polygonale Leiste an der Innenseite des äusseren Rahmenwerks.—Die Develi Ulu Cami in Kayseri kenne ich nicht, wohl aber die Ulu Cami in Develi, 40 km südlich Kayseri. Ein gutes Beispiel für eine kleine Nische im *mihrāb* bietet die Ulu Cami in Niksar, die der Tradition nach aus dem zwölften Jahrhundert stammen soll. Wenn das auch kaum richtig ist, spätes 13. oder gar 14. Jahrhundert ist sie bestimmt nicht. Dieses Motiv scheint also für eine Spätdatierung nicht geeignet.

Die Betrachtung der *Osmanischen Keramik* beginnt Frau Otto-Dorn mit dem *Fayencemosaik des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts* (S. 57–

60), wobei aus dem 14. Jahrhundert allerdings nur Ziegelmosaik bekannt ist. Warum sie bei den Fayencemosaiken des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts die wichtigen Beispiele in der Yeşil Cami und Türbe in Brussa nicht erwähnt, ist nicht recht verständlich. Lane nennt sie. In der Moschee sind die Decken der unteren Logen (Abb. 9) und die Brüstung der oberen Loge, in der Türbe die Decken der Fensternischen in dieser Technik gefertigt, während die anderen Teile Glasurfarben-Fayencen verwenden. Man benutzte also offenbar die Mosaiktechnik wegen ihrer stärkeren Farbigkeit für die weniger gut beleuchteten Stellen. Interessant sind die Türpfosten der Türbe, deren Muster im unteren geraden Teil in Fayencemosaik gemacht ist, während es am oberen geschwungenen Teil in Glasurfarbenmalerei weitergeführt ist (Abb. 10). Hier waren es technische Gründe, die den Wechsel verursachten. Bei der Moschee Murad's II. in Brussa (S. 58) hiesse es besser "zwei der vier Tympana." In Verbindung mit dem Çinili Kiösk und der Mahmud Paşa Türbe in Istanbul wäre auf das Portal des Hoça Han in Brussa und das Panneau an der Türbe gegenüber der Beylerbey Cami in Edirne zu verweisen gewesen.

Der Abschnitt *Glasurfarben-Fayencen* (S. 60–70) unterscheidet eine frühe und eine späte Gruppe. Den Ausgangspunkt der frühen Gruppe bilden die Yeşil Cami und Türbe in Brussa. Der eingehende, lebendig geschriebene Text erwähnt die "Meister aus Täbriz," Mohammed el Mağnun, den Holzschnitzer 'Alī ibn Hacı Ahmed aus Täbriz, nicht aber den Leiter der Arbeiten, 'Alī ibn İlyas 'Alī, der in Brussa geboren, 1402 von Timur nach Samarkand gebracht wurde, wo er, wie Lane richtig bemerkt, offenbar den timuridischen Fayencestil kennen lernte. Er wird die "Meister aus Täbriz" mitgebracht haben, als er nach Brussa zurückberufen wurde, vermutlich von dem aus Tokat stammenden 'İvaz Paşa, von

<sup>47</sup> Riefstahl, a. Anm. 28 a. O., S. 29.

<sup>48</sup> O. Aslanapa, *Karaman Devri Sanatı*, Istanbul, 1950, S. 110, fig. 153.

dem es heisst, er habe als erster aus anderen Ländern Künstler und Meister nach Rum gebracht. Frau Otto-Dorn erwähnt das Vorkommen von schwarzen und roten "toten Rändern,"<sup>49</sup> ohne auf ihre Verteilung einzugehen. Nach meinen Beobachtungen kommen rote Ränder—übrigens auch beim *mihrāb* aus Karaman im Çinili Kiosk in Istanbul, nicht dagegen beim *mihrāb* der Murad II Cami in Edirne—nur da vor, wo weisse Glasur nach dem Brand vergoldet worden ist bzw. werden sollte; gelegentlich auch bei gelber Glasur, aber offenbar auch nur da, wo, was selten gewesen zu sein scheint, Vergoldung vorgesehen war. Überall sonst sind die "toten Ränder" schwarz.<sup>50</sup> Daneben kommt rot als Flächenfüllung vor und zwar nicht nur (wie Anm. 118 zu meinen scheint) in Bozüyük, sondern auch in der Yeşil Cami und Türbe in Brussa, bei den *mihrābs* sogar in recht grossen Partien. Beim Fayencemosaik werden für diese roten Stellen, wie schon in der Taş Medrese in Cay, rote Steine verwendet.<sup>51</sup> Bei den Glasurfarben-

Fayencen werden diese Partien unglasiert gelassen, nach dem Brand engobiert und rot bemalt. Gebrannt sind diese Stellen, da sich die Farbe immer leicht abkratzen lässt, nicht. Wie sollte das auch technisch vor sich gegangen sein? Dass die Glasur, wie Lane (vol. 1, S. 276) schreibt "has been scraped off after firing, and painted with an unfired color" habe ich nicht beobachtet. So weit ist der Befund klar: man wünschte sowohl beim Fayencemosaik wie bei den Glasurfarben-Fayence einen roten Farbton, konnte ihn aber als Glasur nicht herstellen und behalf sich, sei es durch Einlagen in anderem Material, sei es durch Bemalung. Die Frage, ist nun: sind die "toten Ränder" in roter Farbe, die ja zweifellos gebrannt sind und dabei ihre Farbe, wenn auch ohne Leuchtkraft, bewahrt haben, ein Vorstufe des späteren Unterglasur- (Bolu) Rot's das in der Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts die osmanische Keramik revolutionierte? In einem Brief vom 10. April 1953 schrieb mir Lane: "At Brussa, I had myself noted the curious dry red on the tilework. It must be the so-called 'Armenian bole' that occurs as underglaze colour on the later 'Rhodian' wares;

<sup>49</sup> Lane nennt nur schwarze Ränder. Was er vol. 1, S. 276, meint mit "matt red lines laid over the black" ist mir nicht klar. Dass, wie Frau Otto-Dorn S. 61 schreibt "in einer etwas komplizierten Variante Fäden eingelegt werden (sogenannte cuerda secca Technik), wobei sich im Brand Stege bilden," ist mir für Brussa neu. Lane spricht (vol. 2, S. 42) von "a dark greasy pigment which burned dry" und meint, wo er cuerda secca schreibt, offenbar immer "tote Ränder." In Persien wird heute für diese eine fein gemahlene, dunkle Erde, die mit Wasser vermischt wird, verwendet. Ich habe Proben mitgenommen, konnte sie aber noch nicht untersuchen lassen.

<sup>50</sup> Das Nationalmuseum in Kopenhagen besitzt einige Fliesen, die von der Expédition scientifique française en Asie centrale (Ujfalvy) aus Khiva mitgebracht sind und 1882 vom Trocadéro überwiesen wurden. Sie zeigen rote Ränder bei weisser Glasur mit Resten von Vergoldung, also die gleiche Technik wie in Brussa. Fliesen aus Samarkand daselbst, zeigen rote Ränder neben schwarzen auch bei anderen Glasuren und bei Weiss ohne Vergoldung sowie schwarze Ränder bei weisser Glasur.

<sup>51</sup> In der Türbe liegt das Fayencemosaik im

oberen, geraden Abschluss der Fensternischen, nicht "around the windows" (Lane, vol. 1, S. 276, Anm. 68). In der Moschee liegen die Decken der Logen zu hoch, um Genauerer sagen zu können. Sicher ist nur, dass die roten Stellen stumpf, also nicht glasiert sind, Lane erwähnt (vol. 1, S. 276, Anm. 68) "red glass in a tile-mosaic fragment from Persia" und (*Tiles*, S. 9f.) ebenfalls bei einer persischen Fliese im Victoria and Albert Museum "a red produced by unfired painting on the exposed plaster." Das findet sich in Isfahan überall, meist nur in kleinen Partien. Manchmal, wie in der Mesdjid i Shah sind an exponierten Stellen diese Partien heute weiss, wohl weil das nur aufgemalte Rot abgewaschen ist. Besonders eigenartig sind am Portal dieser Moschee die "Nägel" am Zusammentreffen von vier quadratischen Fliesen mit Glasurfarbenmalerei, auch sie aus Gips und rot bemalt. Im achtzehnten Jahrhundert tritt an die Stelle des gemalten Rots eine zunächst mattbraune, dann blassrosa Glasurfarbe.



but the potters of Brussa could not get it to melt into a glaze like the other colours, because of its earthy consistency." In seinem Buch kommt er nicht darauf zurück. Ich bin mir der Sache nicht ganz so sicher. Eine Entscheidung liesse sich wohl nur durch chemische Analyse fällen.

Endlich noch einige Bemerkungen zum Text von Frau Otto-Dorn:

- S. 65 Die Kâsim Paşa Cami in Bozüyük ist 935=1528/9 datiert. Ihr Fliesenschmuck gehört also in den nächsten Abschnitt.
- S. 65f. Die beiden Tympana in der Vorhalle der Fatih Cami in Istanbul zeigen, wie Frau Otto-Dorn jetzt<sup>52</sup> richtig angibt, Unterglasurmalerei.<sup>53</sup> Sie sind sozusagen Unterglasurmalerei-Kopien von Glasurfarben-Fayencen. Ist das in der Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts denkbar? Die beiden Tympana in Unterglasurmalerei im Hof der Üç Serefli Cami in Edirne<sup>54</sup> sehen ganz anders aus. Da ist keine Verbindung möglich. Ich neige immer noch zu der Annahme, dass die beiden Tympana der Fatih Cami beim Neubau nach den alten Glasurfarben-Vorlagen kopiert wurden. Aber warum nur zwei? Auch gebe ich zu, dass ihre Qualität für das späte 18. Jahrhundert erstaunlich hoch ist.

Dem Abschnitt *Spätgruppe der Glasurfarben-Fayencen* (S. 67–70) ist kaum etwas hinzuzufügen. Wie schon gesagt, wäre der Zyklus in der 1528/9 datierten Kâsim Paşa

<sup>52</sup> *Iznik*, S. 155, Anm. 1, hatte Sie sie für Glasurfarben Fayencen gehalten.

<sup>53</sup> Lane irrt, wenn er (vol. 2, S. 253, Anm. 32) von "cuerda-secca"—Technik schreibt. Er muss meinen Hinweis in einem Brief vom 14.7.1952 übersehen haben.

<sup>54</sup> Das eine zeigt im Feld Schrift und Ranken aus dunkelblauem Grund ausgespart. Die weisse Randleistenranke ist aus einem matt auberginefarbenen Grund ausgespart. Türkis kommt nur in einem schmalen Begleistreifen vor. Das andere hat weissen Grund. Die Malerei ist blau oder (die Schrift) türkis. Auch die Randleiste ist weiss mit blauer Unterglasurmalerei. Türkis kommt auch hier nur in einem Begleistreifen vor.

Cami in Bozüyük hier zu besprechen gewesen. Im Innern der Moschee sind die 26,5 x 26,5 cm grossen Fliesen<sup>55</sup> ausser an der Loge und am Mimber (*Abb. 13*) auch am Kursi und an dem bekannten Viersäulenbaldachin aus Hama verwendet, an den beiden letzten Stellen offenbar als spätere Zutat. Die rechteckigen Felder über fünf der Fenster wirken so unorganisch, dass man sich fragt, ob die Fliesen nicht auch ursprünglich für einen anderen Platz bestimmt waren. Aufgemaltes Rot kommt nur bei den Fliesen in der Moschee vor. Die beiden Bogenfelder in der Vorhalle zeigen an seiner Stelle eine blasse, auberginefarbene Glasur. Die verwandten Fliesen im und am Arz Odasi des Top Kapi Saray (*Abb. 14*) nur in einer Anmerkung zu nennen (133), wird deren Bedeutung nicht ganz gerecht. Heute sind an der ursprünglichen Stelle nur noch Reste *in situ*, aber in späterer Wiederverwendung finden sie bzw. engverwandte sich an verschiedenen Stellen des Saray's, so an der Eingangswand des Sünnet Odasi und im Baghdad Kiosk. (s.u.) Warum Lane (vol. 1, S. 274, Anm. 55) die grossartige Fliesenausstattung der Şahzade-Türbe in Istanbul als "minor work" bezeichnet, verstehe ich nicht recht.<sup>56</sup>

Der folgende Abschnitt *Blauweiss-Keramik* (s. 70–89) scheint mir nicht ganz glücklich angeordnet zu sein. Die Bezeichnung: *Sogenannte Kütahya-Ware* (s. 71–77) ist ungünstig. Lane's "Abraham von Kütahya Ware"<sup>57</sup> nach dem signierten, 1510 datierten Krug in der Godman Collection, um den man diese Gattung gruppiert, ist glücklicher. Und warum

<sup>55</sup> Daneben kommen auch sechseckige Fliesen vor.

<sup>56</sup> Ihrer Liste fügt Lane (vol. 1, S. 274, Anm. 55) noch die Ibrahim Paşa Cami in Istanbul hinzu. Ich habe einen weiteren Nachtrag: vier auffallend kleine, hellgrüne Tympana mit gelbem Arabeskenkandekor und dunkelblauen (!) Füllungen finden sich, offenbar in Wiederverwendung, im Sünnet Odasi des Top Kapi Saray's.

<sup>57</sup> Vol. 1, S. 254ff., vol. 2, S. 43ff.

stellt Frau Otto-Dorn die nur sehr cursorisch behandelte Gefäßkeramik<sup>58</sup> voran, was den Anschluss an die frühere Entwicklung erschwert? Bei den Fliesen wären er leichter zu finden gewesen, allerdings nicht mit den Daten und der Anordnung, die sie gibt. Ihre Folge: Fliesen an den Kenotaphen in der Yeşil-Türbe in Brussa (nach 1421), Türben der Prinzen Mahmud (um 1429), Mustafa (1474–75) und Çem (um 1429) daselbst, Tympana im Hof der Üç Şerefli Cami in Edirne (1437–47), Fliesen in der Moschee Sultan Murad II. daselbst (1436), Tympana der Valide Cami in Manisa (1522) und Fliesen in der Türbe des Çoban Mustafa Paşa in Gebze ("beginnendes 16. Jahrhundert," richtig 1520) ergibt kein Bild der Entwicklung. Da ist Lane's Datierung und Anordnung: Edirne, Murad II. Cami (1433 sic!), Brussa, Yeşil-Türbe (nach 1421), Edirne, Üç Şerefli Cami (vor 1447), Brussa, Türbe Prinz Mustafa (1474–75), daselbst Türben der Prinzen Mahmud und Mustafa (um 1513), Gebze (1520), Manisa (1522–23) entschieden vorzuziehen, wobei er natürlich nur die späteren Beispiele zur "Abraham von Kütahya Gruppe," die er 1490–1525 datiert, rechnet.

Bei den Fliesen in der Yeşil Türbe in Brussa habe ich das Gefühl, dass sie z.T. "Restbestände" der Ausstattung der Murad II. Cami in Edirne sind. Die Bogenfelder der Üç Şerefli Cami kann man, was Lane auch nicht tut, ebenso wenig zur Blau-Weiss-Keramik rechnen wie die Randleisten in der Çem Türbe (Abb. 11), deren nächste Parallele die Leisten in der 1429 datierten Şah Melek Paşa

Cami in Edirne (Abb. 12) bilden. Die Sechsecksfliesen mit Unterglasurmalerei in den Tympana der Türbe des Prinzen Çem (Abb. 16), bei denen sich Frau Otto-Dorn an Edirne erinnert fühlt, während Lane sie sehr richtig als "exceptional" bezeichnet, scheinen mir syrische Arbeiten zu sein.<sup>59</sup> Sie fallen ganz aus dem Rahmen. Die von O. Aslanapa abgebildete,<sup>60</sup> angeblich aus Kütahya stammende Fliese mit dem Muster der Randleisten in der Mustafa Fatihoglu Türbe in Brussa (Lane, vol. 1, S. 254, Anm. 38) befindet sich im Top Kapi Saray Museum, wo über ihre Herkunft aus Kütahya nichts bekannt ist. Die Tympana in Manisa (Abb. 15) schätzt Lane (vol. 1, S. 255) richtiger ein als Frau Otto-Dorn, wenn er schreibt: "The makers were obviously more familiar with narrow friezes and had not mastered the problem of designing for a wider space." Interessant ist Frau Otto-Dorn's Beobachtung, dass sich in Gebze (Abb. 17) Elemente der "Abraham von Kütahya" Gruppe neben solchen der "Goldenen Horn-Ware"<sup>61</sup> finden. Dasselbe hat Lane bei einem Krug im Victoria and Albert Museum festgestellt (vol. 1, S. 260). Zu seiner Bemerkung, dass sich Spuren des "Abraham von Kutahya" Stils noch bei Gefäßen finden, die nach 1550 gemacht sein müssen, da sie schon Bolusrot enthalten (vol. 1, S. 255, Anm. 52) passt gut das Vorkommen von Formelementen dieser Gruppe bei einzelnen Fliesenpanneaus der nach 1561 gebauten Rüstem Paşa Cami in Istanbul (Abb. 18, 19).

Das wichtigste Monument für die Entwicklung der osmanischen Keramik im fünfzehnten Jahrhundert ist die Fliesenausstattung der Murad II. Cami in Edirne. Die Sechsecksfliesen der Wandverkleidung sind von verschiede-

<sup>58</sup> Hier bieten Lane's eingehende Ausführungen eine gute Ergänzung. Wichtig sein Hinweis auf die engen Beziehungen der Gefäßformen zum Metallgerät und die Feststellung, dass der Dekor nicht eigentlich für Keramik geeignet sei und vielleicht mit Metallgravierung, eher wohl noch mit Buchilluminiierung zusammenhänge. Die Bedeutung chinesischer Einflüsse schätzt er mit Recht nicht sehr hoch ein.

<sup>59</sup> Vergl. dazu Lane, *Tiles*, Taf. 12 J.

<sup>60</sup> O. Aslanapa, *Osmanlılar Devrinde Kütahya Çinileri*, Istanbul, 1949, S. 51, Abb. 43.

<sup>61</sup> Diese in den äusseren Rahmenleisten.



ner Qualität, die besseren sind den Fliesen in der al Tawrîzi Türbe in Damaskus,<sup>62</sup> den angeblich aus der Grossen Moschee daselbst stammenden Fliesen im Victoria and Albert Museum<sup>63</sup> und den Panneaus im Museum of Islamic Art in Kairo überlegen. Gleicher Blau-Weiss-Dekor, hier auch in ausgesparter Zeichnung, kommt am *mihrâb* der Moschee vor, der sich von den drei anderen Glasurfarben-*mihrâbs* in Brussa und aus Karaman auch darin unterscheidet, dass er keine roten, sondern nur schwarze "tote Ränder" hat und wie auch der *mihrâb* aus Karaman im Çinili Kiösk in Istanbul auf gemalte rote Partien verzichtet. An ihrer Stelle wird eine violette Glasur von sehr verschiedener Tönung verwendet. Blauweisse Unterglasurmalerei zeigen die Mukarnasnischen, bei denen in den Zwickeln auch schwarze Bemalung unter Türkisglasur vorkommt, ferner die die Nische rahmende Leiste, das reliefierte geometrische Flechtwerk und der innere Begleistreifen der Mukarnasleiste des äusseren Rahmenwerks,<sup>64</sup> wobei an dieser Stelle Glasurfarben und Unterglasurmalerei an dem gleichen Werkstück auftreten.<sup>65</sup> Nach der Meinung Lane's sind die Hersteller der Blauweiss-Fliesen in Edirne aus Syrien gekommen. Frau Otto-Dorn nimmt mit R. M. Riefstahl persische Künstler an. Das liegt nahe, da ja die Hersteller der Glasurfarben-Fliesen, mit denen sie so eng zusammenarbeiten, nach den Inschriften in der Yeşil Cami in Brussa Perser waren.<sup>66</sup> Die Entstehung

des "Abraham von Kütahya" Stils ist mit diesen Hinweisen allerdings nicht geklärt. Die Umsiedlung von Handwerken aus Täbrîz im Jahre 1514 erfolgte jedenfalls zu spät, als dass sie Einfluss gehabt haben könnte (Lane, vol. 1, S. 263). Zu seinen Ausführungen über den osmanischen Besitz an chinesischen Porzellanen (das.) vergleiche man den Aufsatz von P. Kahle, *Chinesisches Porzellan in den Ländern des Islam*.<sup>67</sup>

Zum Text von Frau Otto-Dorn:

Anm. 136 Nach Lane (vol. 1, S. 258) stammen aus der Türbe Bayasids II. nicht zwei, sondern vier Moscheelampen.

Anm. 137 vermisst man J. A. Pope, *Fourteenth century blue-and-white: A group of Chinese porcelains in the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, Istanbul*, Washington, 1952.

Anm. 153 Der Name 'Alî's beweist allein noch nichts für die schiitische Konfession des Töpfers, wohl aber wenn er, wie Lane genauer schreibt (vol. 1, S. 264) nur in Verbindung mit Allah und Mohammed ohne einen anderen Kalifennamen auf drei (nicht einer) Moscheelampen vorkommt.

Anm. 160 Zu dem Buch von O. Aslanapa (nicht A. Oktay) *Osmanlılar Devrinde Kütahya Çinileri*, Istanbul, 1949, das Lane zwar kennt (vol. 1, S. 254, Anm. 38), mit dem er sich aber nicht weiter auseinandersetzt, habe ich mich im Archäologischen Anzeiger, 1955, Sp. 204, Anm. 78, geäussert. Die Bedenken, die Frau Otto-Dorn äussert, sind berechtigt.

Was die sogenannte "Goldene Horn-Ware" (S. 77-86) anlangt, sind Frau Otto-Dorn und Lane der gleichen Meinung: Sie muss in enger Verbindung mit der "Abraham von Kütahya Ware" in Iznik entstanden sein. In der Datierung weichen sie aber erheblich voneinander ab. Frau Otto-Dorn denkt an ein Nebeneinander der beiden Gruppen und da

S. 14), dass es Perser waren, die die Blau-Weiss-Technik nach Syrien brachten.

<sup>67</sup> Wissenschaftliche Annalen, vol. 2, 1953, S. 179-192.

<sup>62</sup> Ars Islamica, vol. 4, 1937, S. 278, fig. 25.

<sup>63</sup> Lane, *Tiles*, Taf. 12, und vol. 2, Taf. 13 B.

<sup>64</sup> Die einzelne Fliese hat eine Breite von 27 cm und enthält jeweils zwei ganze und zwei halbe Mukarnas-Nischen mit den dazugehörigen Teilen der Begleistreifen.

<sup>65</sup> Danach berührt es leicht komisch, wenn Frau Otto-Dorn S. 85 meint, es habe "eine gewisse Wahrscheinlichkeit," dass man die in verschiedener Technik dekorierten Teile des *Mihrâbs* "an ein und demselben Ort in Auftrag gab."

<sup>66</sup> Schliesslich nimmt ja auch Lane an (*Tiles*,

sie unter "Kütahya-Ware" die gesamte Blau-Weiss-Keramik versteht, kommt sie (S. 79) zu einer Datierung der "Goldene-Horn-Ware" in die Zeit vom ersten Drittel des 15. bis zum beginnenden 16. Jahrhundert. Lane dagegen lässt sie auf die "Abraham von Kütahya"-Gruppe, die er 1490–1525 ansetzt, folgen und behandelt sie als eine Untergruppe der "Damaskus-Ware," die er 1525–55 datiert. Er stützt sich dabei auf eine 1529 datierte Flasche der Godman Collection. Dass sich diese kleine, sehr homogene Gruppe über ein Jahrhundert verteilt, ist ausgeschlossen. Sie muss in einem verhältnismässig kurzen Zeitraum entstanden sein. Lane denkt an "um 1530." Dem widerspricht die Beobachtung Frau Otto-Dorn's, dass die Panneaus in der Türbe in Gebze Randleisten mit den Spiralranken der "Goldene-Horn-Ware" haben. Um 1520 muss es das Muster dieser Ware, wenn auch vielleicht erst in Ansätzen, gegeben haben. Die Henkelkanne im Victoria and Albert Museum (Lane, vol. 1, fig. 29), bei der sich eine ähnliche Formenmischung findet, gehört zu den späten Arbeiten der "Abraham von Kütahya-Ware" und wird von ihm 1520/1525 datiert. So wirkt seine Einordnung der "Goldene-Horn-Ware" zwischen die "Abraham von Kütahya"- und die "Damaskus-Ware," die Frau Otto-Dorn in ganz anderem Zusammenhang bespricht (s.u.), überzeugend, wobei man die Jahre 1520–40 in Vorschlag bringen könnte. Zu den von Lane (vol. 1, fig. 45) gebrachten Beispielen von Einflüssen dieser Ware auf die europäische Keramik sei auf eine venezianische Schüssel (*Abb. 20*) mit dem Allianzwappen der Augsburger Familien Hörlin und von Stöten im Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe zu Hamburg (1889, 323) verwiesen. Sie wird um 1526 datiert, was den vorgeschlagenen früheren Ansatz der "Goldene-Horn-Ware" bestätigt. Übrigens irrt sich Lane, wenn er (vol. 1, S. 272) schreibt, es existiere "a set of rectangular tiles" dieser Ware. Berlin besitzt nur

ein Fragment.<sup>67a</sup> Andere sind mir nie begegnet. Der bei ihm vol. 2, Tafel 29, abgebildete Henkelkrug der Kelekian Collection befindet sich heute im City Art Museum in Cincinnati (1952, 260).

Als letzte Gruppe der Blau-Weiss-Keramik bespricht Frau Otto-Dorn die "sogenannte Milet-Ware" (S. 86–89), wobei nicht ganz einzusehen ist, warum sie diese, wie sie selber angibt, früheste Gruppe an das Ende stellt. Sie betont "gewisse Reminiszenzen an die gröbere Keramik byzantinischer Zeit," die aber nicht den Dekor betreffen, der nach ihrer Meinung "eine von einheimischen Töpfern verfertigte Nachahmung des auf persische Fayence-Meister zurückgehenden, weit qualitätvolleren Blau-Weiss" ist. Für die Lokalisierung dieser Ware greift sie auf die Milet-Theorie Sarre's zurück. Lane datiert die Gruppe (vol. 1, S. 251) "in the second half of the fourteenth century and perhaps for a little longer. . .," lehnt die Milet-Theorie ab und kommt zu dem Ergebnis, dass ". . . neither in style nor technique has it anything in common with the later Isnik painted pottery." Vol. 2, S. 40 f. modifiziert er seine Ansicht ein wenig "It should date mainly from the first half of the fifteenth century, hardly earlier. A purely Islamic provincial type, showing no traces of Byzantine influence in style, it disappears abruptly without any relation to the fine pottery developed at Isnik towards the end of the fifteenth century." Die Meinungen gehen also ziemlich auseinander.

Zunächst zum Datum: Die meisten Stücke dieser Ware sind in Istanbul zum Vorschein gekommen, wo neben den von Frau Otto-Dorn, Anm. 173, genannten Fundstellen neuerdings noch die Irenenkirche und das Forum Tauri

<sup>67a</sup> Das 21 cm<sup>2</sup> grosse 5 mm starke Fragment ist in der Breite erhalten. Die linke Kante ist Aussenkante, glasiert und mit zierlichen blauen Ornamenten versehen.



getreten sind. Auch an der Seemauer wurden bis vor kurzem nicht selten Scherben angespült. Die Ware muss also nach 1453 noch gemacht worden sein. In Milet dürfte die osmanische Eroberung von 1424 einen terminus ergeben. In Brussa kamen Scherben beim Orhan Hamam und im Imaret der Yilderim Cami heraus, was u. U. für ein noch früheres Datum sprechen könnte. Dahin weist auch die Häufigkeit dieser Ware in Karaçahisar bei Eskişehir.<sup>68</sup> Man käme also zu einer Datierung vom Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts bis zum Dritten Viertel, wenn nicht Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts.

Dass sie in Milet gemacht wurde, wird schon durch den *terminus post quem* 1424 ausgeschlossen. Milet ist sicher ein bedeutendes keramisches Zentrum, aber seit der frühgriechischen Zeit zeigen alle dort gefertigten Gefässe einen roten Ton mit geringen Goldeinsprengungen. Dieser Ton kommt auch bei den unglasierten Gefässen vor, die das islamische Milet ergab. Die "Milet-Ware" hat einen anderen Ton, kann also nicht dort entstanden sein. Einzelstücke dieser Ware fanden wir in Yalova, Edirne, Athen, Afyon, Karahisar, Seyitgazi, Selçuk, Silifke, Antalya, am İnçir Han, in Malatya und Antalya (Abb. 22). Auch unter den Funden von Alishar sind zwei Beispiele. Die Ware war also über ganz Anatolien, aber wohl nur in dünner Schicht verbreitet. Bedeutendere Funde ergaben neben Istanbul und Milet Iznik, Brussa, Karaçahisar und Konya. Dass unter den umfangreichen Scherbenfunden in Kalehisar<sup>69</sup> bei Alaça Hüyük, die sich mit ziemlicher Sicherheit in das dreizehnten und frühe vierzehnten Jahrhundert datieren lassen, kein Beispiel ist, könnte dafür sprechen, dass der Schwerpunkt der Produktion im fünfzehnten Jahrhundert lag. Dass Füstât, soweit ich sehe, keine Beispiele dieser Ware ergeben hat, mag daran liegen,

dass sie für den Export zu wertlos war. Auf Rhodos sollte man sie erwarten, aber unsere Scherbenausbeute dort war zu gering, um Rückschlüsse zu erlauben. Alles in allem scheint das Produktionszentrum im Westen, vielleicht im Nordwesten Anatoliens gelegen zu haben. Ohne dass ich Beweise in Händen hätte, halte ich die alte Bezeichnung "Inselware" für gar nicht so abwegig.

Gewiss ist die "Milet-Ware" Bauernware, aber nur, wenn man sie mit der "Abraham von Kütahya-Ware" vergleicht, mit der sie, darin stimme ich Lane voll zu, nichts zu tun hat. Mit den anderen Erzeugnissen des späten 14. und frühen 15. Jahrhunderts verglichen, kann man sie nur so bezeichnen, wenn man die ganze Keramik der "interim period"<sup>70</sup> als Bauernware betrachtet, was wohl doch nicht angeht. Bessere Stücke der "Milet-Ware" (Abb. 23) haben eine Leichtigkeit der Pinselführung, die aegaeisch anmutet.

Da sie sie für Erzeugnisse einer Istanbuler Manufaktur hält, bespricht Frau Otto-Dorn die "Damaskus-Ware" erst nach der "Rhodos-Ware" (S. 148–160). Selbst wenn diese Lokalisierung richtig wäre, hätte sie das nicht tun sollen, denn, gleichgültig wo sie gemacht wurde, diese Ware schliesst in ihren frühen Stücken, jedenfalls in der Gefässkeramik, deutlicher an die "Abraham von Kütahya-Ware" an als die "Rhodos-Ware." Sie hätte unter allen Umständen, wenn das Bild der Entwicklung nicht empfindlich gestört werden sollte, im Anschluss an die Blau-Weiss-Keramik behandelt werden müssen, wobei das Problem

<sup>70</sup> G. Reitlinger, *The interim period in Persian pottery: an essay in chronological revision*, *Ars Islamica*, vol. 5, 1938, S. 158–178. Vergl. dazu auch eine Schale aus Bala Hisar bei Balkh (D. Schlumberger, *La prospection archéologique de Bactres* [printemps 1947] *rapport sommaire*, *Syria*, vol. 26, 1949, S. 173ff.), fig. 4, und J.-C. Gardin, *Céramiques de Bactres*, Paris, 1957, pl. XIX, 1.

<sup>68</sup> A. Anm. 42 a. O.

<sup>69</sup> A. Anm. 39 a. O.

ihrer Lokalisierung und Datierung dann immer noch hätte diskutiert werden können.

“Die Mehrzahl der uns bekannten Beispiele der ‘Damaskus-Fliesen’ ist an den Baudenkmalern in Damaskus erhalten” so beginnt sie (S. 150) ihre Darlegungen. Das ist gewiss richtig und wird von ihr durch eine eingehende Besprechung der dortigen Zyklen<sup>71</sup> erhärtet, aber was beweist das für ihre These, dass diese Ware in Istanbul, wo sich keine einzige Fliese dieser Art erhalten hat, gefertigt ist? Wie soll man sich eine Fliesen-Manufaktur in der Zentrale Istanbul vorstellen, die vorwiegend, wenn nicht sogar ausschliesslich für den Export, und zwar speziell für den Export nach Syrien arbeitete, während die eigenen Moscheen aus Iznik versorgt wurden? Da liegt es doch näher, die Fliesen in Damaskus für lokale Produktion zu halten, besonders, da wir wissen, dass Damaskus vor der osmanischen Eroberung eine eigene Fliesenproduktion hatte, die wir heute bis in das dritte Jahrzehnt des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts verfolgen können.<sup>72</sup> Zweifellos bringen die Fliesen der Sulaymaniye in Damaskus (1554–60) einen neuen, eben den hochosmanischen Stil, aber müssen sie deswegen in der Türkei, geschweige denn in Istanbul, gemacht sein? Dass die Fliesenausstattung ein Geschenk des Sultans ist, sagt doch nichts über den Ort ihrer Fabrikation aus. Und wie verhält sich diese von ihr für Istanbul postulierte Fliesen-Manufaktur zu ihrer Feststellung (S. 111), dass die “Fliesen vom Konstantinopeler Typ,” die nach den Abrechnungslisten in der Suleymaniye in Istanbul unter anderem am Minar zur Verwendung kamen . . . “ohne Frage das ein-

fachere, meist türkis glasierte Fliesenwerk” seien, “das heute noch als Minaret-Schmuck erhalten ist.” “Diese bescheidenere Fliesengattung,” so fährt sie fort, “ist demnach also nicht in Iznik, sondern in den Istanbuler Töpfer-Werkstätten hergestellt worden.”

Aber das Problem der “Damaskus-Ware” ist komplizierter. Bei dieser Bezeichnung wird jeder zunächst an die Gefässkeramik dieser Gruppe denken, die nach Lane (vol. 2, S. 49 ff.) den Höhepunkt in der Entwicklung der osmanischen Keramik darstellt. Dass die Gefässkeramik in Damaskus entstanden ist, wird heute niemand mehr annehmen. Also lag ihr Zentrum vielleicht in Istanbul? Frau Otto-Dorn, die das 1941 noch zögernd andeutete, behauptet es heute mit grosser Bestimmtheit. Aber worauf stützt sie sich dabei? Wesentlich auf Evliya Celebi’s Angaben aus den dreissiger Jahren des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts, also aus einer Zeit, die mindestens zwei Menschenalter später ist als es die Keramiken, um die es sich hier handelt, sein können. Ton und Glasur der “Damaskus-Ware” sind dieselben wie bei der “Abraham von Kütahya-Ware” und bei der “Goldene Horn-Ware,” deren Entstehung in Iznik für beide Autoren sicher ist. Die Beziehungen zur “Rhodos-Ware” hat Frau Otto-Dorn 1941 betont. Zu dieser bestehen auch in der Zeichnung enge Verbindungen. Das spricht doch alles dafür, auch die “Damaskus-Ware” nach Iznik zu lokalisieren, was Lane denn auch in überzeugender Form tut. Die Fliesen im Yeni Kaplica Hamam in Brussa (*Abb. 47–49*),<sup>73</sup> die zweifellos zur “Damaskus-Ware”

<sup>71</sup> Nachzutragen wären die beiden Panneaus in der Nordwand der Sheih Muhi eddin Cami, von denen das eine 1174=1760–61 datiert ist, das andere die Signatur Al Fakir Muhammed al Qadri trägt. Die Fliesen der benachbarten Türbe sind noch späteren Datums.

<sup>72</sup> S. u. s. 212.

<sup>73</sup> Die Angabe bei H. Wilde, *Brussa*, Berlin, 1909, S. 101 (*Abb. 47*), “Es kommt also auf jede Nische ein Muster” ist irreführend, denn die acht Muster, von denen die nicht bei Wilde gezeichneten No. 7 und 8 (*Abb. 48, 49*) Variationen über das gleiche Thema sind, verteilen sich ohne ein klares System über die Nischen, den Eingangsraum und den rechten Nebenraum. Die Farbtafel IV das. gibt einen falschen Eindruck. Was dort als Bolusrot erscheint,



gehören, kann man doch nicht als Gegenbeispiel anführen, da wir keinerlei Anhaltspunkte haben, dass sie nicht in Iznik gemacht sind. Ausserdem hat Lane (vol. 1, S. 268 f.) mit Hilfe einer Lesung von P. Wittek nachgewiesen, dass die bekannte, 1549 datierte Moscheeampel aus dem Felsendom in Jerusalem, die sich heute im Victoria and Albert Museum befindet, an ihrem Fuss neben der Signatur des Künstlers eine Anrufung des Eşrefzade, des Lokalheiligen von Iznik, unter Nennung dieses Ortsnamens enthält. Ein vollgültiger Beweis ist das natürlich auch nicht, aber es spricht doch sehr dafür, dass die "Damaskus-Ware," zu der die Ampel zweifellos gehört,<sup>74</sup> nach Iznik zu lokalisieren ist. Nicht zuletzt wäre darauf hinzuweisen, dass Scherben der "Damaskus-Ware" in Iznik nicht selten sind, was—warum sollte man bei der reichen eigenen Produktion importieren?—kaum der Fall wäre, wenn diese nicht dort gemacht ist. So wird man in diesem Punkt Lane folgen, der diese Ware in Iznik zwischen 1525 und 1555 entstanden sein lässt und als eine Übergangsgruppe von der "Abraham von Kutahya"-Ware zur "Rhodos-Ware" betrachtet, wobei er die "Goldene Horn"-Ware als Untergruppe der "Damaskus-Ware" behandelt.

Sehr richtig ordnet er (vol. 1, S. 266, S. 277, Anm. 74) die Sechsecksfliesen am (nicht im) Beschneidungszimmer (Sünnet Odasi) des Top Kapi Saray's (Abb. 25)<sup>75</sup> hier ein, während sie Frau Otto-Dorn immer noch 1641 datiert (S. 132), obwohl sie schon 1941

bemerkte,<sup>76</sup> dass Sechsecksfliesen eine in früh-osmanischer Zeit beliebte Form seien, und sich bei den grossen Panneaus an die Meisterleistungen des sechszehnten Jahrhunderts erinnert fühlt. Lane, der den Zyklus (Abb. 24) nur aus Abbildungen kennt, sieht, dass die Sechsecksfliesen und die rechteckigen Friesen gleichen Stils früher sein müssen und datiert sie "about 1530–40." Besonders freue ich mich, dass er meinem Vorschlag, auch die berühmten grossen Fliesen mit den Khilins in das 16. Jahrhundert zu setzen, zustimmt, wobei er eine Datierung in die Mitte des Jahrhunderts gibt. Er hat sehr recht, wenn er das Ganze als "patchwork" bezeichnet.<sup>77</sup> Den meisten Platz nehmen vier Panneaus aus Sechsecksfliesen (Abb. 25, 29) ein. Die einzelne Fliese misst 18 x 24 cm. Die Bemalung verwendet nur Dunkel- und Hellblau. Die dreieckigen Zwischenstücke sind dunkelblau glasiert und zeigen noch Spuren von nicht aufgebrannter, schablonierter Vergoldung.<sup>78</sup> Die Rahmenleisten haben im Hauptstreifen feine Spiralranken mit Blütenwerk oder Kartuschen mit aus dunkelblauem Grund ausgesparten Wolkenbändern (Abb. 26, 27). Ihre Begleitstreifen zeigen auf hellblauem Grund dunkelblaue fortlaufende Ranken mit Rosettblüten, in denen etwas Weiss und Türkis vorkommt. Drei Panneaus haben flächenfüllende Wolkenbänder in zwei verschiedenen Grössen (Abb. 28). Am Rahmen der Tür alternieren Achtpässe (Abb. 30) mit gegiebelten Kartuschen (Abb. 31). Ein Panneau links der Tür besteht aus sech-

ist in Wirklichkeit ein Manganviolett von sehr verschiedener Tönung.

<sup>74</sup> Frau Otto-Dorn rechnet sie (S. 137) zur "Rhodos-Ware."

<sup>75</sup> Die folgenden Ausführungen sind in leicht veränderter Form in der Festschrift für Ernst Kühnel *Aus der Welt der islamische Kunst*, Berlin, 1959, S. 144–153 erschienen. Die Abbildungen verdanke ich meinem Schüler Cemal Aksay, dessen Arbeit ich auch die Masse entnehme.

<sup>76</sup> *Iznik*, S. 138.

<sup>77</sup> Tahsin Öz schreibt (*Turkish Tiles*, Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society, 1933–34, S. 58) ohne nähere Angaben "from different periods." In seinem kürzlich vom Turkish Press, Broadcasting and Tourist Department ohne Datum herausgegebenen Buch *Turkish Ceramics* heisst es S. 36 "belong to various periods including the XVth century, which is represented by darkblue gilded tiles."

<sup>78</sup> Das Muster scheint dem von Lane *Tiles*, Tf. 12 D wiedergegebenen ähnlich gewesen zu sein.

zehn Glasurfarben fliesen im Stil der am Arz Odasi verwendeten (*Abb. 32*).<sup>79</sup> Es wird flankiert von je einer der vier 126–127, 5 cm hohen Fliesen mit den beiden Khilins (*Abb. 34*). Das andere Paar flankiert rechts der Tür ein hochosmanisches Fliesenfeld mit Blütenbäumen (*Abb. 24*).<sup>80</sup> Alt ist noch eine etwa ebenso hohe, aber statt 47–48 cm nur 34 cm breite Fliese mit nicht ganz so gut gezeichneten Blattranken und Vögeln (*Abb. 37*), die unten statt der Khilins eine Vase hat. Alle anderen Fliesen sind jüngeren Datums, stammen aber auch nicht aus einer Zeit und sind wohl, jedenfalls zum Teil, wiederverwendet, doch kommen an der gegenüberliegenden Aussenwand des Hirka-i Saadet Dairesi, das die Reliquien des Propheten enthält, vereinzelt ältere Fliesen vor (*Abb. 33*). Wann diese Fliesendekoration zusammengesetzt wurde, muss offen bleiben. Ich halte es nicht für sicher, dass das 1641, also zur Zeit der Einrichtung des Beschneidungszimmers,<sup>81</sup> geschah.<sup>82</sup>

Das das Muster der letzten Fliese (*Abb. 37*) auf den Panneaus des 1639 errichteten Baghdad Kiosks (*Abb. 38*) wiederkehrt, ist seit langem beobachtet. Das bedeutete natürlich eine gute Stütze für die späte Datierung der grossen Fliesen am Sünnet Odasi,<sup>83</sup> wobei man allerdings nicht hätte übersehen sollen, dass die Fliese des 1641 datierten Sünnet Odasi stilistisch früher ist als die 1639 datierten Panneaus im Baghdad Kiosk und offensichtlich das Vorbild für diese abgegeben hat.

<sup>79</sup> S. *Abb. 14*. Da dort nur Reste der aussen angebrachten Wandverkleidung vorhanden sind, ist es möglich, dass sie von dieser Stelle stammen.

<sup>80</sup> Hier sind die verbleibenden Zwischenräume mit zerschnittenen hochosmanischen Fliesen ausgefüllt.

<sup>81</sup> Es ist nicht sicher, dass diese Bezeichnung richtig ist.

<sup>82</sup> Die Fliesen im Innern des Zimmers passen zum Datum, verwenden aber auch (s. o. Anm. 56) ältere Stücke.

<sup>83</sup> Aus den in Anm. 77 zitierten Äusserungen von Tahsin Öz geht nicht hervor, wie er diese ansetzt.

Lane ist nur konsequent, wenn er schreibt: "These tiles, too, may well have been brought from an earlier building, for the decoration of the Baghdad Kiosk also include cuerda secca tiles which are obviously not contemporary" (vol. 1, S. 266). Tatsächlich sind im Baghdad Kiosk die Rückseiten und Seiten aller Wandnischen mit Glasurfarbenfliesen der gleichen Art wie am Sünnet Odasi, also vom Typ des Arz Odasi, ausgestattet, die dabei z.T. arg zusammengestückelt werden mussten.<sup>84</sup> Das stellt gewiss eine weitere Verbindung mit der Aussenwand des Sünnet Odasi (*Abb. 24*) her, aber genügt sie, um die Panneaus im Baghdad Kiosk auch in das sechzehnte Jahrhundert zu datieren? Die Angaben in der Literatur über die Fliesenausstattung des Kiosks (*Abb. 35, 36*) sind ungenau. Er enthält sieben solcher Panneaus (*Abb. 38*), ein achttes befindet sich im nicht zugänglichen Südanbau. Von den sieben im Hauptraum befindlichen sind vier von Diwanen verstellt, so dass nur der obere Teil zu sehen ist, der dem der drei voll sichtbaren ähnlich ist, so dass man annehmen musste, dass das gleiche Muster verwendet sei. Auch ich war dieser Meinung, bis es mir einmal gelang,<sup>85</sup> die Diwane entfernen zu lassen. Die Überraschung war gross: der untere, bisher nicht sichtbare Teil von drei Panneaus zeigt die beiden Khilins in genau der gleichen Zeichnung wie am Sünnet Odasi (*Abb. 40, 41*).<sup>86</sup> Der Baghdad Kiosk hat also drei Khilin-Panneaus, dazu vier, mit dem im Ne-

<sup>84</sup> Das Muster dieser Fliesen ist aber etwas anders komponiert, wobei das Gelb vergoldet ist, was bei den Resten am Arz Odasi nicht vorkommt. Es handelt sich also um Reste eines anderen Zyklus, von dem wir nicht nachweisen können, ob er auch aus dem Arz Odasi stammt.

<sup>85</sup> Ich möchte hier meinen Schülern Hadi Altay und Can Kerametli, die heute im Top Kapi Saray Müzesi arbeiten, für ihre Hilfe danken.

<sup>86</sup> Das scheint nicht nur allen bisherigen Besuchern, sondern auch Tahsin Öz entgangen zu sein, jedenfalls kann ich nirgends etwas darüber finden.



benraum fünf, Panneaus, mit einer Vase. Die Verbindung zwischen den beiden Zyklen ist mithin noch enger, als bisher angenommen wurde. Trotzdem glaube ich nicht, dass Lane mit seiner Spolientheorie recht hat, und ich bin überzeugt, er würde sie, wenn er die Möglichkeit hätte, vom Sünnet Odasi zum Baghdad Kiosk zu gehen—es sind nur wenige Schritte, aber dazwischen liegt eine Tür, die sich schwer öffnen lässt—sofort fallen lassen. Die Fliesen am Sünnet Odasi haben ein tiefes Dunkelblau (das Photo *Abb. 34*) ist zu blass geraten, mit hellblauen, fast türkis wirkenden Reserven von wunderbarer Klarheit. Das Weiss des Grundes ist leuchtend rein und die Zeichnung von äusserster Präzision. Die Panneaus im Baghdad Kiosk haben ein mattes, stumpfes Hellblau, die Reserven ein flaes Grün, das Weiss des Grundes ist unsauber, die Zeichnung fahrig, vielfach überdetailliert und in dieser Detaillierung typisch 17. Jahrhundert. Hier und da sind die Farben ausgelaufen, so dass die Konturen unscharf geworden sind. Es ist gar kein Zweifel möglich, die Panneaus im Baghdad Kiosk sind Kopien nach den älteren Fliesen am Sünnet Odasi. Als solche können sie sehr wohl 1639 angefertigt sein. Dann gewinnt auch an Bedeutung, dass sie nicht aus einem Stück, sondern aus sieben breitrechteckigen Fliesen zusammengesetzt sind,<sup>87</sup> wobei man sich nicht scheute, auch im Brand nicht gut gelungene Fliesen zu verwenden. Das spärliche Vorkommen von Bolusrot—in jedem Vasen-Panneau zeigt der Schnabel von einem oder zwei der acht Vögel diese Farbe<sup>88</sup>—das natürlich, wie Lane betont, auch für die Zeit um 1550–55 sprechen kann, würde in diesem Fall auf das allmähliche Zurück-

treten dieser Farbe um 1640 deuten, wobei ich aber auf diesen Punkt keinen besonderen Wert legen möchte, denn eines ist eindeutig: die Panneaus im Kiosk sind nicht nur in der Zeichnung, sie sind auch in der Farbgebung von den Fliesen am Sünnet Odasi abhängig, wobei hier noch stärker als dort der Abstand von Vorbild und Nachbild deutlich wird.

Dass die Zusammenhänge nur so zu deuten sind, ist mir sicher, unsicher, wie sie sich erklären. Wo faren die Fliesen, die heute am Sünnet Odasi versetzt sind, vorher? Wann und warum wurden sie dort angebracht und warum wurden sie erst jetzt beachtet und führten zur "Renaissance" eines lange verlorenen Stils, die vielleicht über den Einzelfall des Baghdad Kiosks hinausging? Das ist ein fruchtbares Feld für Theorien, das ich lieber einem anderen überlassen möchte.

Es ist nur folgerichtig, wenn Lane (vol. 1, s. 266) die Frage stellt, ob eine Serie von Sechsecksfliesen mit Enten und Blattwerk in Blau und Türkis (vol. 1, fig. 36) nicht zur Gruppe der Sünnet Odasi-Fliesen gehören kann. Nach dem eben Ausgeführten bliebe natürlich auch die Möglichkeit, dass sie zur "Renaissance"-Gruppe gehören. Das kann nur vor dem Original entschieden werden. Dass die Panneaus des Baghdad Kiosks nicht unbeachtet blieben, beweist eine Kopie in der 1669 datierten Moschee Aqsunqur al Fāriqānī al-Habashlī in Kairo (*Abb. 39*).<sup>89</sup> Lane erwähnt (vol. 1, S. 266) den Teller mit einem Pfau im Louvre, der natürlich nichts mit dieser Gruppe zu tun hat.<sup>90</sup> Dagegen scheint mir bei den drei untereinander eng verwandten Tellern im Victoria and Albert Museum (*Abb.*

<sup>87</sup> Die Fliesen der Vasen Panneaus messen 32 x 59 cm, die der Khilin-Panneaus 31 x 44 cm.

<sup>88</sup> Tahsin Öz schreibt a. Anm. 77, a. O., S. 58, fälschlich "their beaks are red." Die zehn Vögel der Khilin-Panneaus zeigen kein Rot, dagegen bei einem die Zungen der Khilins.

<sup>89</sup> Da unsere eigene Aufnahme unzureichend war, besorgte uns die Abteilung Kairo des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts freundlicherweise das hier wiedergegebene Photo.

<sup>90</sup> Was er auch nicht meint, er nennt den Teller nur als Beispiel für das Vorkommen einer Tierfigur.

45) in der Wallace Collection (*Abb. 44*) und in Sèvres (*Abb. 43*)<sup>91</sup> eine Beziehung zu den genannten Fliesen zu bestehen, die untersucht zu werden verdiente und vielleicht für die oben gestellte Frage von Bedeutung werden könnte.

Lane sieht auch klar das Problem, das, wie ich vermute, Frau Otto-Dorn neben anderem veranlasst hat, die "Damaskus-Ware" nach Istanbul zu lokalisieren, die Frage nämlich, wie es zu erklären ist, dass diese in ihren Gefässen zweifellos grossartigste Keramik der Werkstätten von Iznik nach der Entdeckung des Bolusrots in so kurzer Zeit so gründlich von der neuen "Rhodos-Ware" abgelöst werden konnte. Eine solche Frage ist aus dem Abstand von 400 Jahren kaum zu beantworten. Wenn meine Beobachtungen richtig sind, gab es in der türkischen Keramik seit dem dreizehnten Jahrhundert so etwas wie ein Ringen um die rote Farbe.<sup>92</sup> Wie es gelang, das Problem zu lösen, werden wir vielleicht nie erfahren, aber dass, als es gelang, eine leuchtende rote Unterglasurfarbe zu erzielen, diese Lösung eine Revolution bedeutete, die selbst eine so hochwertige Keramik wie die "Damas-

kus-Ware" entthronen konnte, könnte ich mir vorstellen.<sup>93</sup>

Einen Abschnitt über *Die syrische Keramik in osmanischer Zeit* bringt das Buch von Frau Otto-Dorn nicht, da sie die ganze Gruppe zur "Damaskus-Ware" rechnet und als Import aus Istanbul ansieht. Lane sondert eine eigene syrische Gruppe aus, deren Zentrum er in Damaskus annimmt. (vol. 1, S. 272–274; vol. 2, S. 61–63). Nach Wulzinger-Watzinger<sup>94</sup> ist in Damaskus zwischen 1423 (Fliesen im Hof der Suleyman Cami) kein Fliesendekor erhalten. Lane versucht diese Lücke zu schliessen durch den Hinweis auf die den Tawrizi Fliesen ähnlichen Fliesen im Victoria and Albert Museum (vol. 2, *Abb. 13 B*), die aus der Grossen Moschee in Damaskus stammen sollen und auf einige Blauweiss-Fliesen des fünfzehnten und sechzehnten Jahrhunderts in Kairo (vol. 1, S. 273). Das Museum of Islamic Art in Kairo besitzt mindestens<sup>95</sup> sechs Panneaus aus Sechsecksfliesen, von denen drei den Tawrizi-Fliesen nahestehen, während die drei anderen zwar in der Musterung gelegentlich noch Anklänge zeigen, die Farbskala aber um ein helles Grün und ein bräunliches Aubergine bereichern. Bei dieser Gruppe kommen auch quadratische und fünfeckige Fliesen vor. In Damaskus sind im Hof der Dervishiye Cami von 1574 ältere Sechsecksfliesen vermauert,<sup>96</sup> z. T. im Tawrizi-Stil, z. T. mit sternförmigen Mustern, die einen etwas jüngeren Eindruck machen. Ähnliche Fliesen kommen in Diyarbakir an den Panelen der Fatih Paşa Cami (1522) (*Abb. 51, 52*) der Safa Cami (1532),

<sup>91</sup> Einen anders komponierten, qualitativ geringeren Teller dieses Stils im Museum Benaki in Athen bildet Tahsin Öz ab (*Turkish ceramics*, pl. LXXV, No. 142). Vergl. auch den Teller No. 16358 im Museum of Islamic Art in Kairo (*Abb. 46*).

<sup>92</sup> S. o.: rote Steineinlagen in Fayencemosaik in der Taş Medrese in Çay und in der Yeşil Türbe, vielleicht auch in der Yeşil Cami, in Brussa und in den Pendentifs der *mihřeb*-Kuppel in der Isa Bey Cami in Selçuk; rote Bemalung auf Gipsgrund an den *mihrebs* in der Yeşil Cami und Türbe in Brussa, in der Cami auch in den Schriftfriesen der Seiten-Iwane, und in Bozüyük. Es wäre eine reizvolle Aufgabe, zu verfolgen, ob von diesen roten Steineinlagen in Fayencemosaik über die rotbemalten unglasierten Partien bei Glasurfarben-Fayencen ein Weg führt zu den roten "toten Rändern" dieser Technik und von diesen—das wäre der entscheidende Schritt, nein Sprung—zum ersten Unterglasur-Bolusrot der "Rhodos-Ware."

<sup>93</sup> S. a. die ausgezeichneten Ausführungen bei Lane, vol. 1, S. 276.

<sup>94</sup> *Damaskus. Die islamische Stadt*, Berlin, 1924, S. 14.

<sup>95</sup> Ob weitere im Depot vorhanden sind, konnte ich nicht erfahren. Auch Photos waren nicht zu bekommen.

<sup>96</sup> A. Anm. 94, a. O., Taf. 38–39.



und der Ali Paşa Cami (1534) vor.<sup>97</sup> Sie dürften Import aus Damaskus sein und würden die dort bestehende Lücke weiter schliessen. Auch die zweite Gruppe von Sechsecksfliesen im Hof der Dervishiye Cami, von der sie Abb. 84 eine gute Wiedergabe bringt, hält Frau Otto-Dorn für wiederverwendet, was gewiss richtig ist. Die Zeichnung dieser Fliesen steht den Gefässen der "Damaskus-Ware" so nahe, dass man in Import denken könnte, aber die Farbgebung ist geringer in der Qualität und der vereinzelt vorkommende stehende Vogel hat deutlich syrischen Charakter. Mit den Fliesen der Suleyman Cami (1554–60) beginnt ein neuer Stil, der sicher auf einen Anstoss von aussen zurückgeht. Es handelt sich bei diesem grössten Zyklus der hochosmanischen Zeit in Damaskus um 33 Bogenfelder im Hof. Das Muster<sup>98</sup> kommt alternierend in grösserem und kleinerem Format vor. Nur zwei Felder im Nordriwak haben andere Zeichnung. Der Grund ist immer ein dunkles Blau, das Muster zeigt neben Weiss und Hellblau ein Hellgrün, das manchmal schmutzig wirkt, ein Aubergine in sehr verschiedenen Nuancen, endlich Schwarz für die Konturen. Das "warme, saftige Gelb," das Frau Otto-Dorn (S. 150) erwähnt, ist mir entgangen, aber ich stimme ihr zu, dass die Farbstellung dieser Tympana (auch ohne das Gelb) an die Glasurfarben-Fayencen der späteren Gruppe erinnert, deren letztes Istanbuler Beispiel, die Ahmet Paşa Cami von 1555, ja gleichzeitig ist. Nur das mittlere Bogenfeld im Nordriwak hat statt des Aubergine Bolusrot, das auch bei den zwölf gleich gemusterten Tympana im Innern der Moschee vorkommt. Ich hatte keine Gelegenheit, diese 13 Felder

näher zu untersuchen, doch schienen sie mir spätere Nachahmungen zu sein. Lane bringt (vol. 1, S. 273f.) das plötzliche Auftreten des hochosmanischen Stils in Damaskus in Zusammenhang mit der 1545–46 auf Befehl des gleichen Sultans begonnenen Neuausstattung des Aussenbaus des Felsendoms mit Fliesen an Stelle der schadhaft gewordenen Mosaiken. In Aleppo tritt dieser Stil aber etwas früher auf, nämlich bei den Tympana der 1536–37 gebauten Khusrev Paşa Cami.

Das Buch Frau Otto-Dorn's geht von der "Milet-Ware" direkt zur Besprechung der "Rhodos-Ware" über, die das Hauptkapitel (S. 91–139) bildet. Es beginnt mit einer ausführlichen Zusammenstellung der 1941 von R. Anhegger gesammelten Urkunden und Quellen.<sup>99</sup> Die Darstellung der Monumente geht von den Fliesen aus und folgt im grossen und ganzen der Anordnung von 1941. Der Text ist mit gründlicher Sachkenntnis lebendig geschrieben, so dass ich mich auf wenige Bemerkungen beschränken kann.

- S. 99 Dass das Töpfergeheimnis des Bolus verloren ging, gilt doch nur für Iznik. Im achtzehnten Jahrhundert kommt es bei Erzeugnissen von Kütahya und Tekfur Saray (Lane, vol. 1, S. 277) noch in recht guter Qualität vor und auch die modernen Fabriken in Kütahya und auf Rhodos (Ikaros) verwenden es.
- S. 99 Eine Abweichung von den normalen Fliesenmassen von 24 x 24 cm bringen die Fliesen in der Türbe des Prinzen Mustafa (1552) in Brussa, die mit 15,5 zu 25 cm hochrechteckiges Format haben (Abb. 56).
- S. 103 Bei der sehr eingehenden Aufzählung der zur Verwendung kommenden Motive hätte noch auf die "Marmorierung" hingewiesen werden können.

<sup>97</sup> Die Angaben von Frau Otto-Dorn über den Fliesenschmuck der Moscheen in Diyarbakir (S. 117) sind eigenartig ungenau. Die hier angeführten drei Moscheen nennt sie nicht, dafür die Iskender Paşa Cami, in der aber keine Fliesen sind.

<sup>98</sup> Abb. bei Lane, vol. 1, fig. 48.

<sup>99</sup> Man vermisst den Bericht Dernschwam's aus dem Jahre 1544 "zu Nicomedia (sic! offenbar ist aber Iznik-Nicaea gemeint) macht man schon arbeit von topperlin schon gemalt von allerlei Farben und verglast, schussel und krug, und seind ihr viel meister ein lange gassen voll, verfurt man weit in Türkei."

S. 107 Die Fliesenausstattung der Ramazanoğlu Cami in Adana wäre in der Tat "die grösste Überraschung," wenn sich nachweisen liesse, dass sie wirklich aus dem Jahre 1541 stammt. Der Fliesenschmuck des Betsaals und der drei Kenotaphe in der daneben liegenden Türbe ist einheitlich und für den Bau gemacht. Besonders schön ist die mihrābnische (Abb. 53). An den Wänden werden zwei ähnlich komponierte Muster (Abb. 54, 55) von verschiedener Fliesengrösse<sup>100</sup> verwendet. Das Kleinere kommt in der Türbe, deren Wandfliesen später sind, an den Deckelschrägen der Kenotaphe vor. Ihre Stirnseite hat jeweils eine Fliese mit weisser, aus dunkelblauem Grunde ausgesparter Inschrift. Die Inschriften nennen die Daten 1510, 1524, und 1552. Diese drei Inschriftfliesen, die am Rand und bei füllenden Blüten in kleinen Partien Bolusrot bester Qualität verwenden, sind zweifellos gleichzeitig, also frühestens 1552 gemacht. Danach wäre dieses Datum und nicht das am Westportal genannte Jahr 1541 für die ältere keramische Ausstattung der Moschee und Türbe anzusetzen. Zwingend ist aber auch das nicht, denn wenn schon zwei der Kenotaphe nachträglich mit Fliesen aus Iznik ausgestattet sind, kann das beim dritten natürlich auch der Fall sein. Zeitlich würde das Datum 1552 möglich sein, es wäre nur erstaunlich, dass in den Jahren, in denen in Iznik die Produktion der neuen "Rhodos-Ware" gerade anläuft,<sup>101</sup> ein so reicher Zyklus in einer so weit an der Peripherie liegenden Stadt wie Adana auftritt. Undenkbar wäre das natürlich nicht. In Diyarbakir treten die ersten Fliesen der neuen Ware in der Bairam Paşa Cami von 1572 auf.<sup>102</sup>

S. 108 Nach Lane (vol. 1, S. 273; vol. 2, S. 54), dem die eingehenden Untersuchungen A. H. Megaw's<sup>103</sup> zur Verfügung standen, ist der

<sup>100</sup> 25 x 25 cm und 16,5 x 16,5 cm.

<sup>101</sup> Der Zyklus in Adana wäre reicher als der in der Suleymaniye in Istanbul.

<sup>102</sup> Auch stilistisch ist eine Entstehung gegen Ende des Jahrhunderts vorzuziehen.

<sup>103</sup> Ich hatte 1954 leider nicht genügend Zeit, um das umfangreiche Manuskript, das er auch mir liebens-

Schriftfries am Tambur des Felsendoms in Jerusalem, der das Datum 1545-46 enthält, tile-mosaic, die weiteren Fliesen sind in cuerda secca (also Glasurfarben) Technik gemacht, die dann über eine Zwischenstufe zur Unterglasurmalerei übergeht, die den Tympana in der Suleymaniye Cami in Damaskus<sup>104</sup> ähnlich ist. Diese Fliesen sind lokale Produktion, deren Meister wohl aus Damaskus kamen. Import aus Iznik setzt erst später ein. Mir schien bei meinem Besuch 1958, dass die Fliesen mit Bolusrot wie gelegentliche und nicht systematische Ausbesserungen wirken, was aber an dem schlechten Zustand der Verkleidung liegen mag.

S. 109 Warum erwähnen weder Frau Otto-Dorn noch Lane die Fliesen in der Türbe des 1552 verstorbenen Prinzen Mustafa in Brussa (Abb. 56) nicht unter den frühesten Beispielen der neuen Ware?

S. 117 In der Husrev Paşa Cami in Van sind nach meinen Notizen neben den Abdrücken sechseckiger Fliesen auch solche von auffallend grossen quadratischen, von denen an zwei Stellen noch Reste *in situ* sind.

S. 117 In Diyarbakir kommen "Rhodos-Ware"-Fliesen erster Qualität in der Bairam Paşa Cami (1572)<sup>105</sup> und in der Melek Ahmet Paşa Cami (1591) (Abb. 50)<sup>106</sup> vor. In der Iskender Paşa Cami sind keine Fliesen. Frau Otto-Dorn bezieht sich hier offenbar auf eine falsche Angabe Gabriels.<sup>107</sup> Die Fliesen in der Peygamber und Husrev Paşa Cami sind wiederverwendet. Geringfügige Fliesenreste zeigen die Kasim Padişah und die Aynali Minare Cami. Die Fliesen im Museum sollen aus der verschwundenen Kara Cami stammen.

S. 125 Die Fliesen in Istanbul Moscheen hat Frau Otto-Dorn nahezu lückenlos erfasst. Nach-

würdigerweise zur Verfügung stellte, eingehender zu studieren.

<sup>104</sup> S. o. S. 212.

<sup>105</sup> In der Beiram Paşa Cami ist der Fliesenschmuck der Querwände mit ihren *mihrābs* besonders schön.

<sup>106</sup> In der Melek Ahmed Paşa Cami sind die Fayencekapitelle des *mihrābs* bemerkenswert.

<sup>107</sup> A. Gabriel, *Voyages Archéologiques dans la Turquie Orientale*, Paris, 1940, S. 200.



zutragen wären; *mihraḥ* in der Moschee Ferruh Kethuda (1562) und die wiederverwendeten älteren Fliesen in der Moschee von Beylerbey (1778).<sup>108</sup> Ausserhalb von Istanbul, Edirne und Iznik kenne ich zu den von ihr genannten Beispielen in Adana, Van und Manisa noch: Antalya, Süleyman Paşa und Sultan Murad Cami; Eskişehir, Kurşunlu Cami; Erzurum, Lala Mustafa Paşa Cami; Rhodos, Recep Paşa Cami; Aleppo, Adliye und Bahramiye Cami.<sup>109</sup>

S. 132 zu den Fliesen am Sünnet Odasi und im Baghdad Kiosk s. o. S. 210.

S. 133 Anm. 244. Die Ka'bafliese in der Hagia Sophia besteht aus den Fragmenten einer Ka'ba- und einer Medinafliese. Vergl. dazu meinen Aufsatz *Ka'bah-Fliesen*, *Ars Orientalis* III, 1959, S. 192–197, in dem ich 41 Beispiele zusammengestellt habe. Folgende Daten liegen heute vor: 1643, 1660, 1662, 1663, 1666, 1675, 1676, 1726.

Vergleichen mit der eingehenden Besprechung der Fliesen ist das Kapitel über das *hochosmanische Fayencegeschirr* (S. 134–139) kurz und recht allgemein gehalten. Lane gibt hier mehr Material. Bei den Literaturangaben vermisst man die 144 Abbildungen der *Imagini scelte di Ceramiche rodie del tipo detto di Lindo*, Clara Rhodos, vols. 6, 7, 1932–33,<sup>110</sup> ebenso einen Hinweis auf das kaum bekannte Kunstgewerbemuseum in Athen, das eine recht umfangreiche Sammlung von Rhodos-Tellern enthält, keine von erster

Qualität, aber viele mit interessanten Darstellungen.<sup>111</sup>

S. 136 Vergoldung kommt nicht nur bei den Prunkstücken vor, sondern auffallend oft auch bei Stücken geringerer Qualität. Nach Lane—ich habe dazu keine Untersuchungen machen können—ist sie nicht in einem zweiten Brande aufgetragen.

S. 137 Die Ampel aus dem Felsendom rechnet Lane mit Recht zur "Damaskus-Ware."—Da Signaturen auf Keramiken selten sind, sei auf einen kleinen Rhodos-Teller im Depot des Metropolitan-Museums (52, 1.17) aufmerksam gemacht, der im Fuss eine dreizeilige, flüchtig geschriebene Inschrift hat, die nach der Kartei "its writer is Horrabas (?), humble freeman" lautet.

S. 138 Die bisher als Utrecht bezeichnete Fassung eines Kruges im Victoria and Albert Museum hat sich nach Lane (vol. 1, S. 280; vol. 2, S. 59, Anm. 2) als Londoner Arbeit herausgestellt. Ein bauchiger Henkelkrug mit fünf Zypressen Im Kunstgewerbemuseum zu Breslau hat eine deutsche Zinnfassung mit den Initialen J B und dem Datum 1669.

Zu den von Lane erwähnten Tellern mit europäischen Wappen (vol. 1, S. 279; *Abb.* 46) sei ein weiteres Beispiel im Besitz der Berliner Museen (*Abb.* 57) gegeben.

Bei den datierten und griechisch beschrifteten Tellern sei auf ein weiteres Beispiel mit einem Löwen und dem Datum 1667 im Besitz der Kunstsammlungen der Stadt Düsseldorf hingewiesen. Eine quadratische Fliese mit dem gleichen Datum und sechs Zeilen griechischer Inschrift notierte ich 1937 im Çinili Kiosk in Istanbul. 1667 ist auch eine Fliese mit armenischer Inschrift im Top Kapi Saray Müzesi datiert.<sup>112</sup> Interessant wäre es, der Verbindung

<sup>108</sup> Nach Semawi Eyice, *Istanbul. Petit guide à travers les monuments byzantins et turcs*, Istanbul, 1955, waren heute verschwundene Fliesen in der Azapkapi Cami (1577) und in der Hacı Evhat Cami (1585). Fliesenreste zeigt auch die Daud Paşa Cami vor dem Top Kapi, bei der es sich in Wirklichkeit um einen zweigeschossigen Saraybau handelt.

<sup>109</sup> Die bei E. Diez-O. Aslanapa, *Türk Sanatı*, Istanbul, 1955, S. 244, verzeichneten Fliesen in der Rum Mehmet Paşa Cami in Tire haben weder Riefstahl noch ich notiert.

<sup>110</sup> Lane erwähnt diesen Aufsatz I., S. 277, Anm. 75.

<sup>111</sup> Neuerdings reiches Material bei B. Rackham, *Islamic Pottery and Italian Majolica*, London, 1959.

<sup>112</sup> S. Lane, vol. 1, S. 277, wo auch Fliesen mit dem Datum 1678 auf dem Berg Athos erwähnt werden. Den Aufsatz, den M. Chatzidakis dieser Gruppe in der Zeitschrift *Zygos* (Februar 1957) gewidmet hat, kenne ich nicht. Seinen Vortrag, "Cé-

dieser Menschendarstellungen auf Iznik-Keramik mit den ähnlichen Darstellungen bei der späteren Kütahya-Keramik nachzugehen. Überhaupt habe ich das Gefühl, dass es bei

ramique turque à inscriptions grècques," den er für den Ersten Internationalen Kongress türkischer Kunst in Ankara 1959 angekündigt hatte, hat er leider nicht gehalten. Vielleicht ist es nützlich, an dieser Stelle die Ausführungen von H. Brockhaus *Die Kunst in den Athosklöstern* (2. Aufl. Leipzig, 1924. S. 253ff.) in extenso zu zitieren:

"Die Überlegenheit des oriental. Kunstgewerbes machte sich theilweise auch weiterhin, im malerischen Schmucke, geltend. Die eigentliche, religiöse Malerei freilich, sowohl die Wand- wie die Tafelmalerei, blieb von oriental. Einflüsse unberührt, da ihre künstlerische Aufgabe, die Abbildung des Menschen, ausserhalb des Wirkungskreises der türkischen Kunst lag. Nur die gelegentliche Verwendung einer Art ornamenter Malerei, der farbenprächtigen Fayencen, die man in der Hauptstadt des Reiches bewunderte, lässt auch auf diesem Gebiete den Anschluss an den Orient erkennen.

Zwei der reichsten Kirchen, diejenigen zu Iwiron und Lawra, haben in ihren Chören zwischen den Chorstühlen und den oben befindlichen Fresken Fayencetäfelung erhalten, in Kirchen gewiss eine Seltenheit. In Iwiron besteht ihr Muster aus rothen Tulpen, grünen, mit kleinen weissen Blüten bedeckten Blättern und grossen blauen vegetabilischen Ornamenten in regelmässiger Abwechslung auf weissem Grunde; gleiche Fayencen verschöner hier im Altarraume die Tischplatte des Prothesis. In Lawra sind ausser den Chören auch die Eingänge, welche vom Kirchenraume zur Prothesis und zum Diakonikon führen, mit Fayencen geschmückt, sodass die Geistlichen einmal zwischen Cypressen, das andere mal zwischen Blumenvasen hindurchschreiten, wenn sie den Altarraum betreten oder verlassen. Die Fayencen zu Lawra sind von einem der drei Patriarchen von Konstantinopel, die in diesem Kloster ihr Leben beschlossen haben, im Jahre 1678 gestiftet worden.

Zu diesem Schmucke des Kircheninnern gesellt sich ein verwandter Aussenschmuck: in beiden genannten Klöstern sind in einigen Gebäuden Fayenschüsseln eingemauert, in Iwiron den Anbauten, welche die Kirche auf 3 Seiten umschliessen (der äussersten Vorhalle und den Seitenkapellen), in Lawra namentlich dem östlichen Hofgebäude; auch in anderen Klöstern kommen sie vor, doch wohl nur in

dem reichen Bestand an Gefässen der "Rhodos-Ware" möglich sein sollte, Werkstätten und Künstlerhände zu trennen, wobei man vielleicht von den oft sehr originellen, figürlich

weniger schönen Exemplaren. In tiefen Farben bieten sie dem Beschauer gern die Freuden der orientalischen Gärten, Tulpen, Rosen und andere Blüten, in reicher Abwechslung dar. Einmal nimmt ein grosses grünes Rosenblatt mit einem Zweige rother Hagebutten belegt, in gefälliger Schwingung, die Tellerfläche ein; diese ist grün gegittert, von einem Kranz feiner Rosenblättchen gesäumt und von breitem Rande umzogen, auf dem ein Zickzackband zwischen zwei Reihen nur halbsichtbarer weisser Blüten sich hinzieht (Iwiron). Ein anderes mal liegt auf dem wiederum grün gegitterten Teller ein Paar grosser weisser zweitheiliger Blätter, die schlanken Blattenden bogenförmig nach oben und unten entsendend und zwischen sich einer einzelnen Blüte auf blauem Mittelfelde Platz machend; grüne Blätter in concentrischer Anordnung nehmen den inneren, Linien und kleine Blüten miteinander abwechselnd den äusseren Rand ein (Lawra). Ein drittes mal entfaltet eine grosse Rosettenblume, von weissen Blüten rings umgeben, ihre Pracht, und jeweils des den Teller umschliessenden gelben Saumes schmücken den Rand abwechselnd grüne Rosenblätter und von Blättchen begleitete blaue Blüten (Iwiron). Andere male erscheinen lose Rosenzweige und Tulpen wie von leichter Hand auf die Schüssel hingestreut, der Form derselben ungezwungen sich fügend (Iwiron), dabei wohl auch von einem leichtgeschwungenen grossen Rosenblatte in ihrer augenblicklichen Lage niedergedrückt (Iwiron, Lawra), oder sie sind zu einem bunten Blumenstrausse schön geordnet (Iwiron, Lawra), in welchen Fällen am Rande teilweise die vorher genannten Muster wiederkehren. Bisweilen auch breiten weissblühende Zweige sich auf blauem oder weissem Grunde aus (Lawra). Als Seltenheiten sind zu betrachten: ein kleiner Teller, den ein Arabeskenmuster in der ruhigen Farbenfolge von dunkelblau, türkis und weiss überzieht (Iwiron) und eine Schüssel mit zwei weissen löwenartigen Thieren auf grau-grünem, blumenbestreutem Grunde, umzogen von weissem Rande, der zu äusserst von halb einander bedeckenden Kreisen, die vielleicht Früchte vorstellen sollen, eingefasst ist (Iwiron). Die beiden letztgenannten Beispiele weisen durch Besonderheiten des Musters und der Farben auf andere Fabriken hin als die vorgenannten, die mit ihren Blumenmustern und ihren leuchtenden, ungebro-



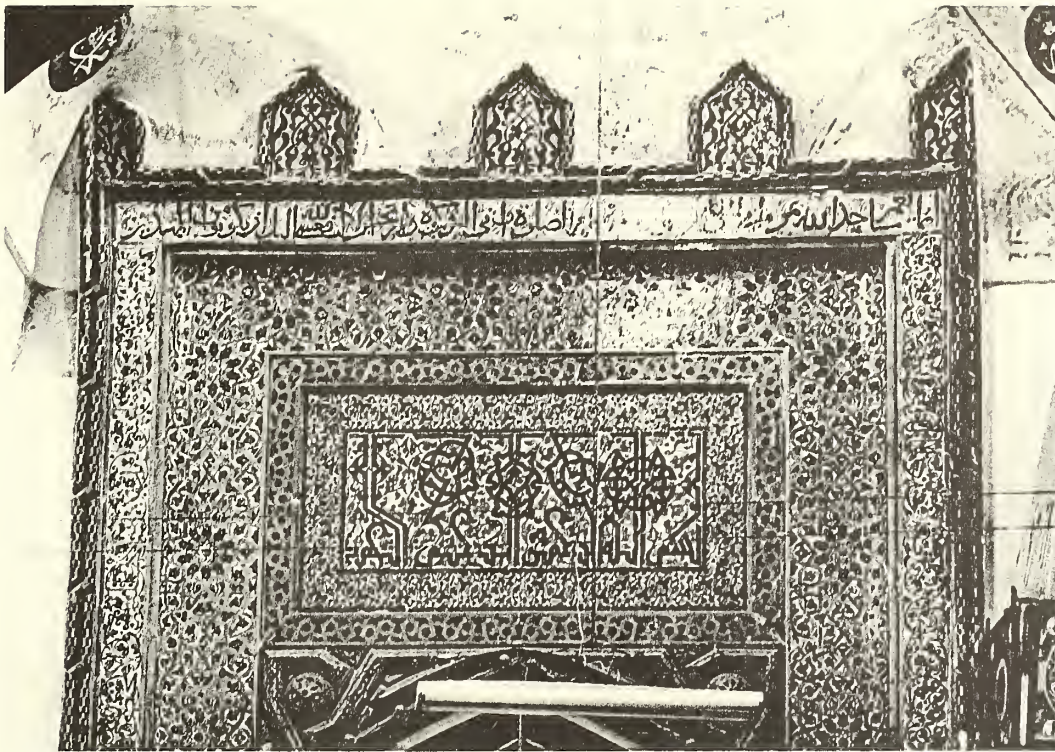


ABB. 1.—KAYSERI, KÜLÜK CAMI, MIHRAB.  
(Aufn. H. Erdmann.)

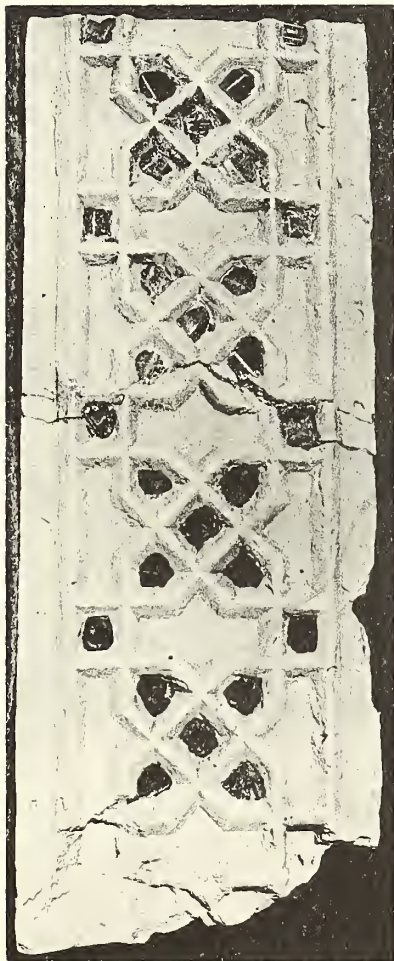


ABB. 2.—EDİRNE, YILDIRIM CAMI.  
Stuckfliese mit Scherbeneinlagen von  
einem Kamin. (Aufn. H. Erdmann.)

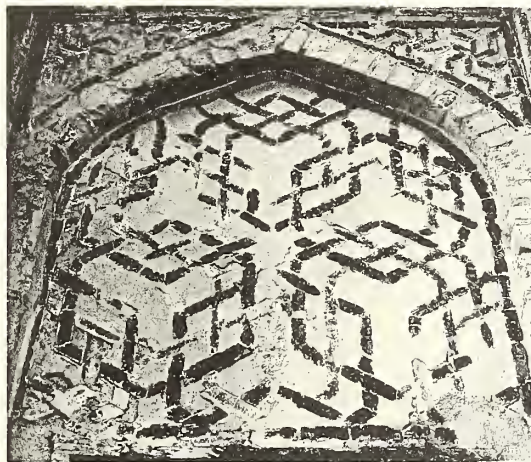


ABB. 3.—TOKAT, ABU'L KASIM TÜRBE  
TYMPANON ÜBER FENSTER.  
(Aufn. H. Erdmann.)



ABB. 4.—ALAÇA HÜYÜK,  
MUSEUM, (Wohl aus Kalehisar.)  
(Aufn. H. Erdmann.)



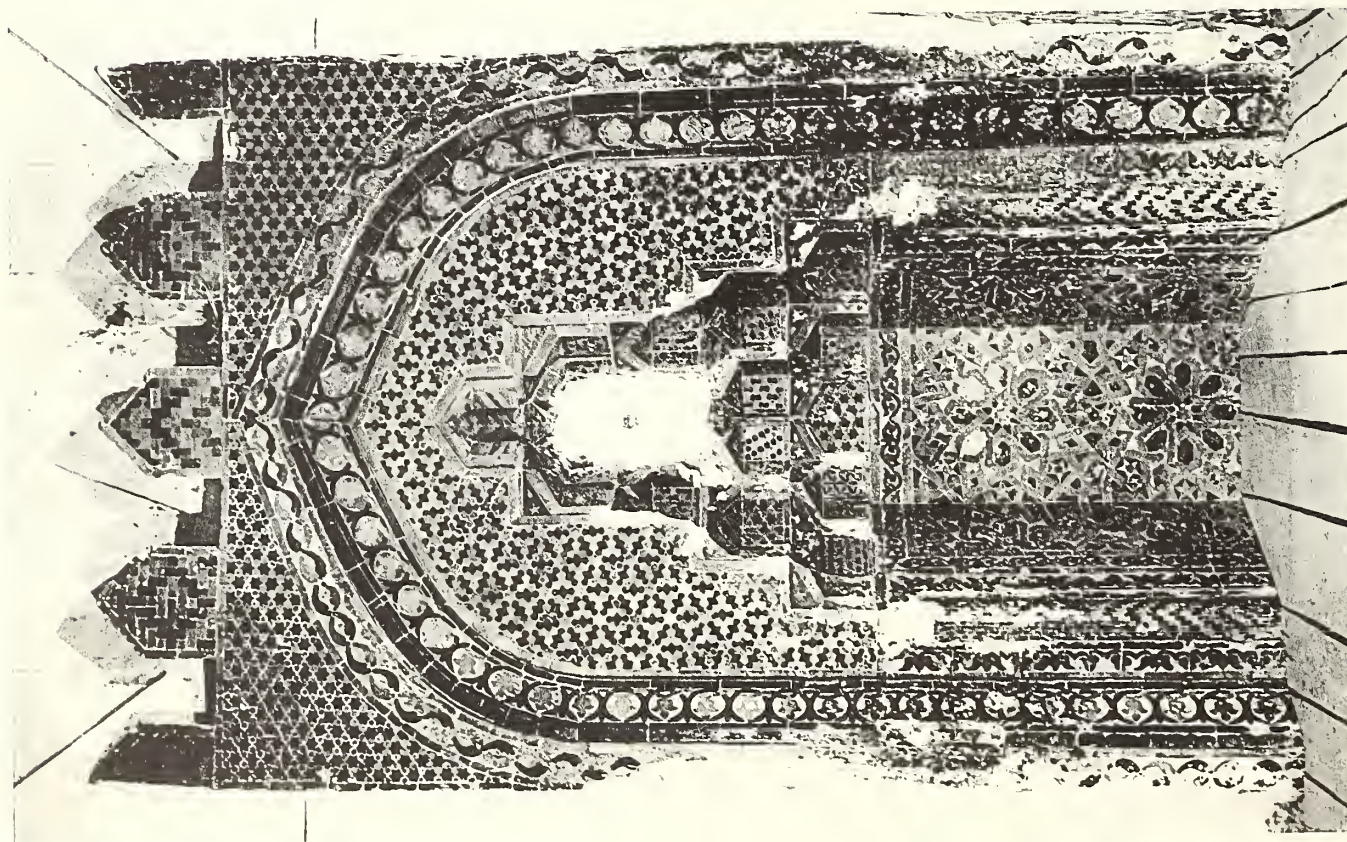


ABB. 5.—KHARPUT, ARABŞAH TÜRBE.  
Mihrab. (Aufn. H. Erdmann.)



ABB. 6.—FLIESEN-PANNEAU VOM BURGBERG IN KONYA.  
Berlin, Museum. (m. Erlaubnis des Museums.)

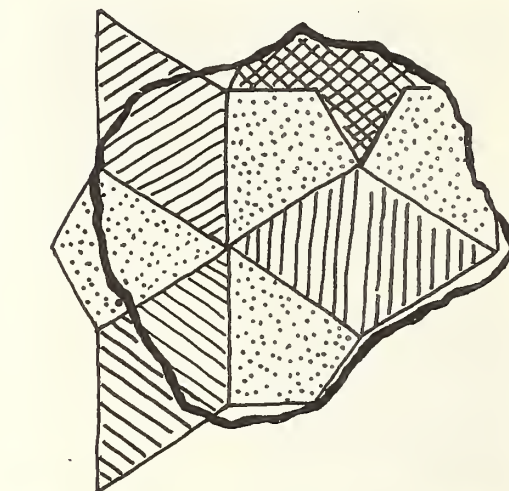


ABB. 7.—FLIESENFRAGMENT VOM BURGBERG  
IN KONYA.  
Istanbul, ehemals im Çinili Köşk.

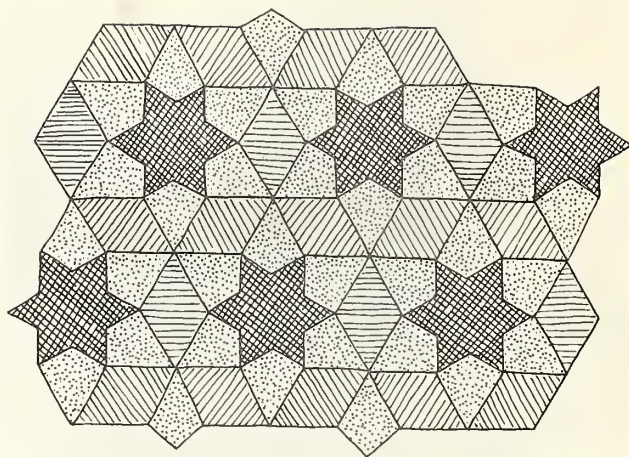


ABB. 8.—KORREKTUR DER ZUSAMMEN-  
STELLUNG VON ABB. 6. NACH ABB. 7.





ABB. 9.—BURSA, YEŞİL CAMI.  
Linke Loge, Decke. (Aufn. H. Erdmann.)

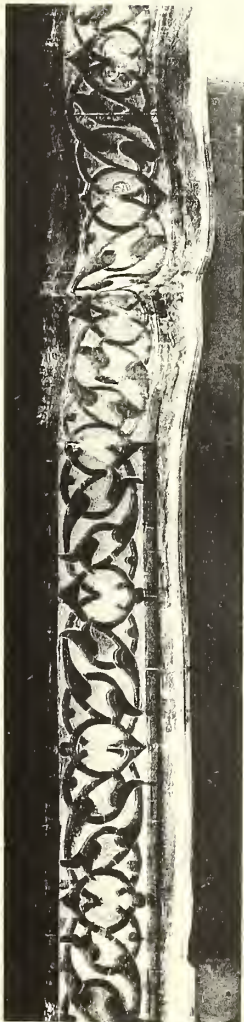


ABB. 10.—BURSA,  
YEŞİL TÜRBE  
Tür, rechtes  
GEWÄNDE.  
(Aufn. H. Erdmann.)

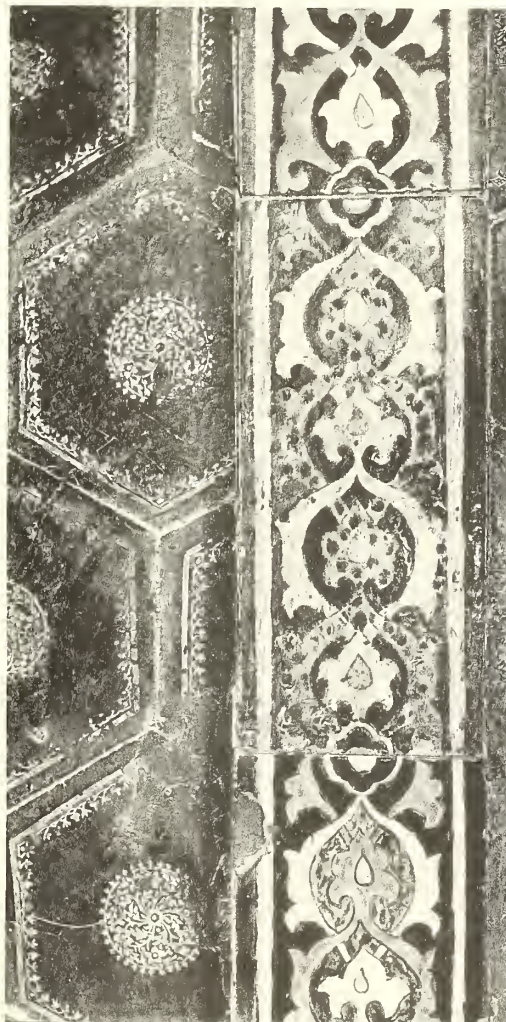


ABB. 11.—BURSA, ÇEM SULTAN TÜRBESİ.  
(Aufn. H. Erdmann.)

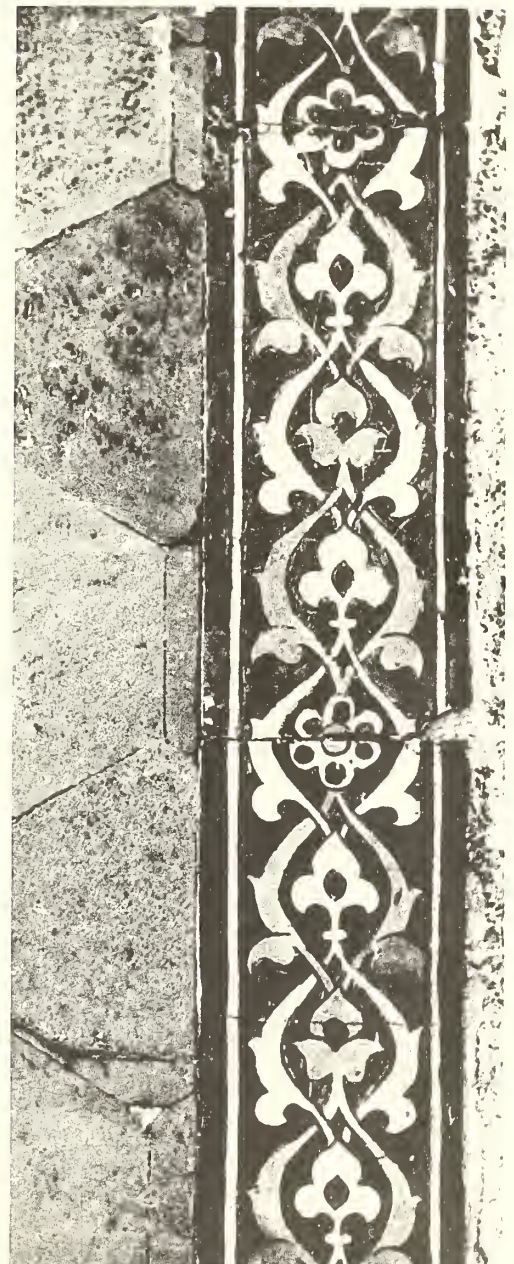


ABB. 12.—EDİRNE, ŞAH MELEK PAŞA  
CAMI. (Aufn. H. Erdmann.)



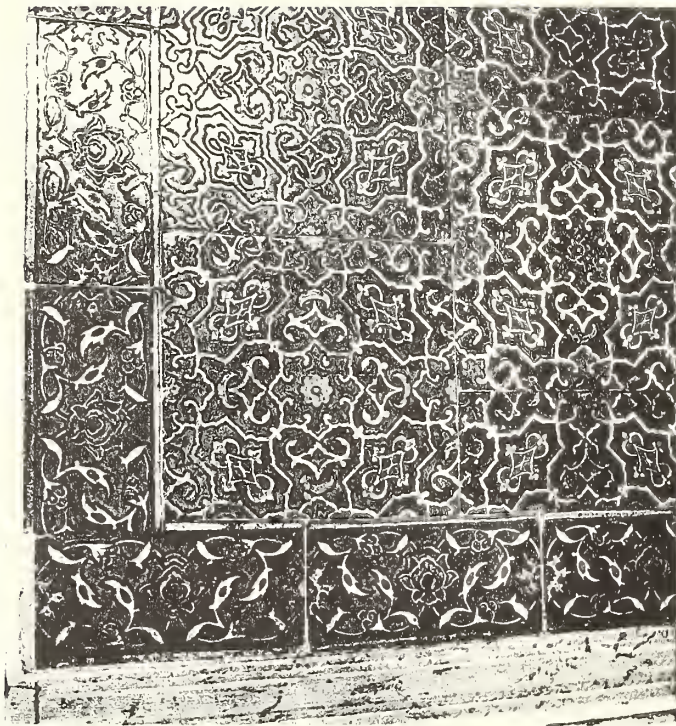


ABB. 13.—BOZÜYÜK, KĀSİM PAŞA CAMI, MIMBAR.  
(Aufn. H. Erdmann.)

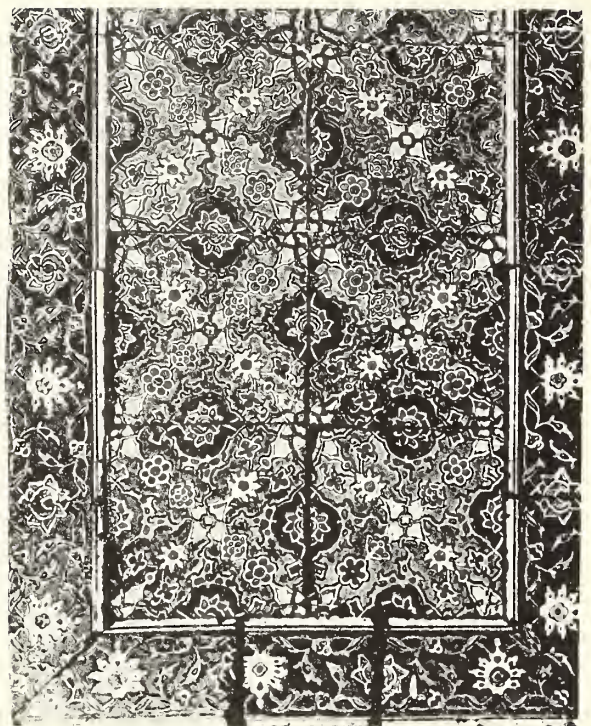


ABB. 14.—İSTANBUL, TOPKAPI SARAYI, ARZ ODASI.  
(Aufn. des Museums.)



ABB. 15.—MANISA, HATUNIYE CAMI.  
Vorhalle, Tympanon. (Aufn. H. Erdmann.)



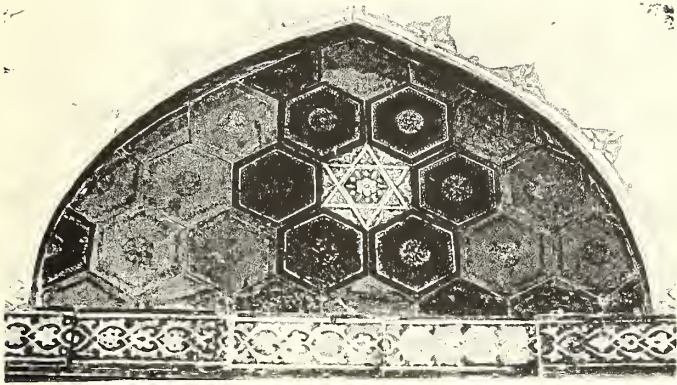


ABB. 16.—BURSA, ÇEM SULTAN TÜRBESİ.  
(Aufn. H. Erdmann.)

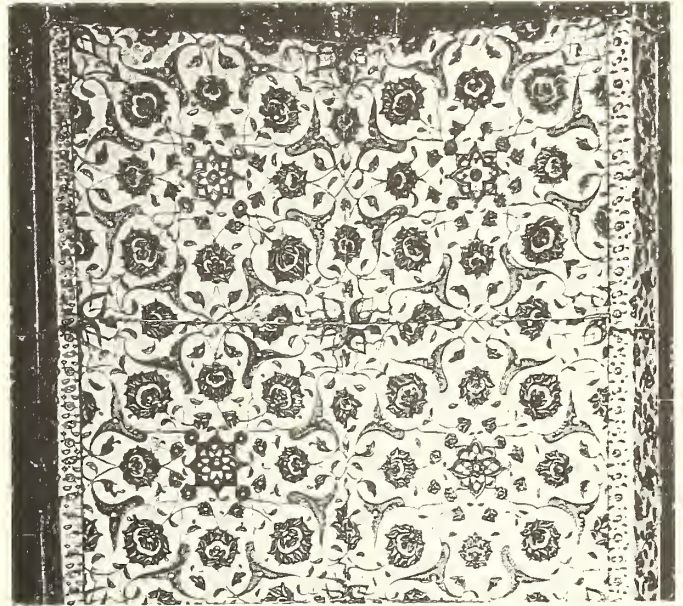


ABB. 17.—GEBZE, ÇOBAN MUSTAFA PAŞA TÜRBESİ.  
(Aufn. H. Erdmann.)

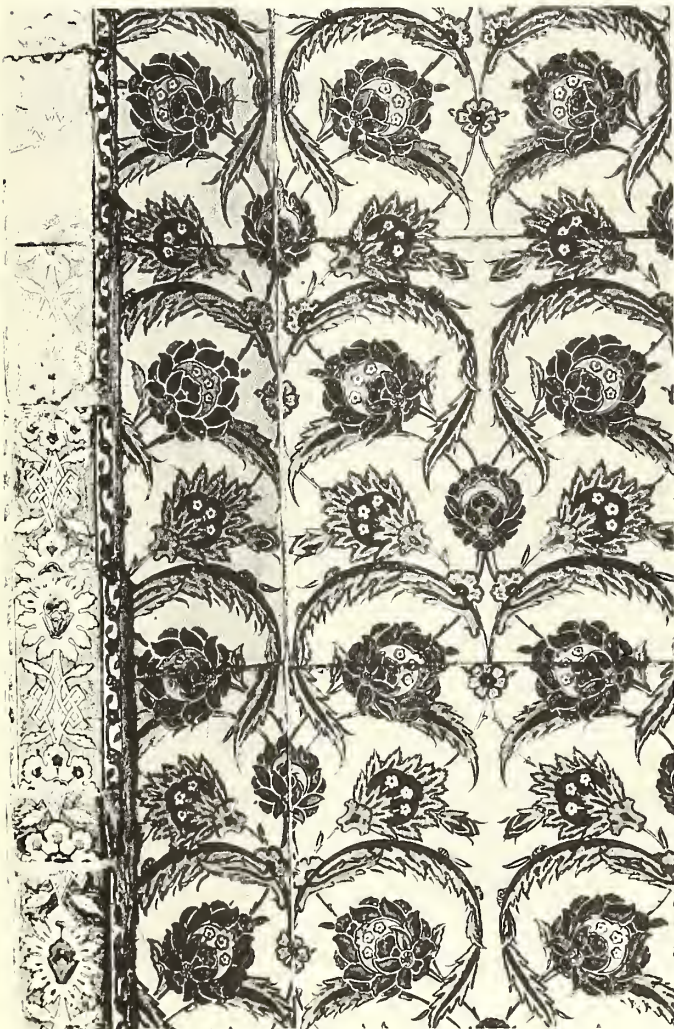


ABB. 18.—İSTANBUL, RÜSTEM PAŞA CAMİ.  
(Aufn. H. Özönur.)

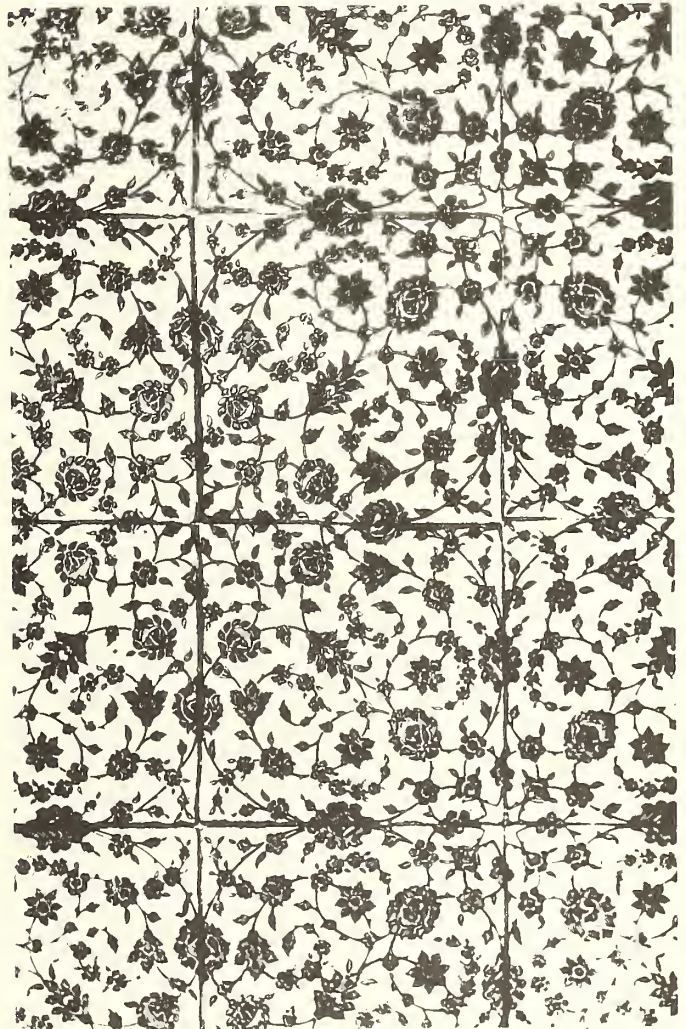


ABB. 19.—İSTANBUL, RÜSTEM PAŞA CAMİ.  
(Aufn. H. Özönur.)



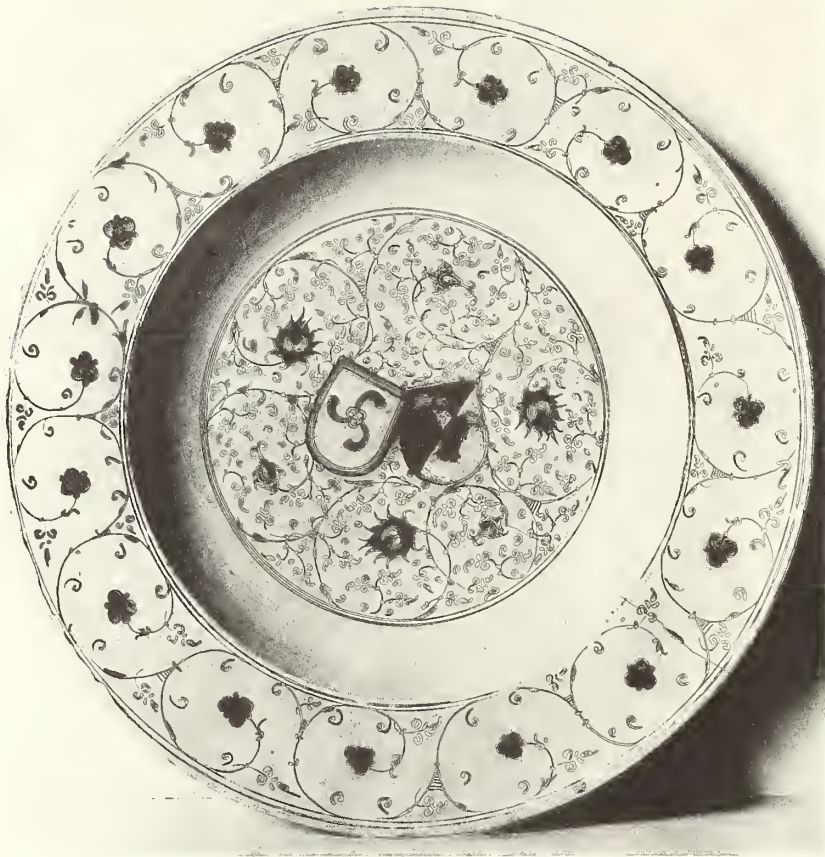


ABB. 20.—VENEZIANISCHER TELLER VON 1526.  
Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe. (Aufn. des Museums.)



ABB. 21.—VASE IN NACHAHMUNG EINES  
IZNIK MUSTERS VON FUNCKE BERLIN,  
UM 1730.  
Berlin, Schloss Charlottenburg.



ABB. 22.—SCHERBEN DER "MILET-WARE" AUS  
IZNIK UND BURSA,  
(Oben links Çanakkale-Scherbe aus Antalya.)  
(Aufn. H. Erdmann.)



ABB. 23.—SCHALE DER "MILET-WARE".  
Vom Hippodrom in Istanbul. (Aufn. H. Erdmann.)



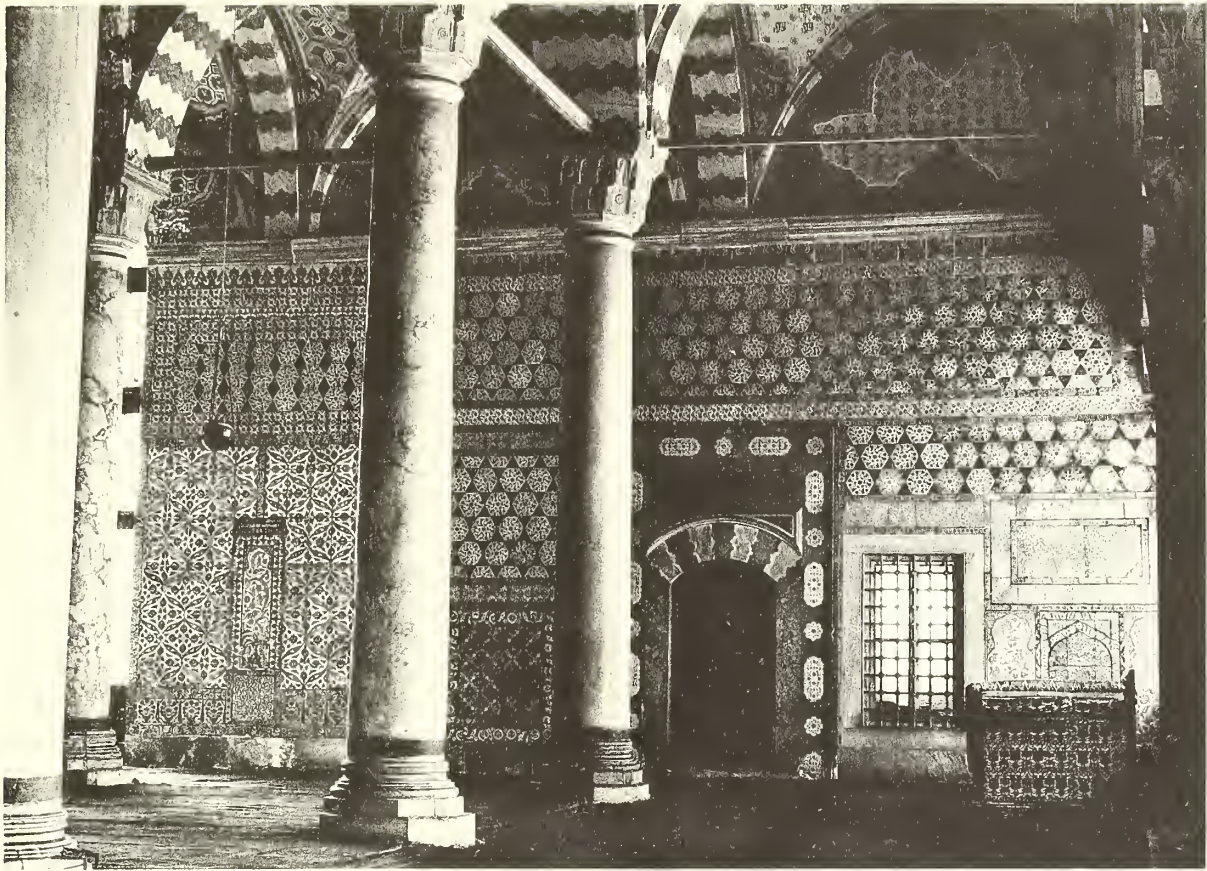


ABB. 24.



ABB. 25.

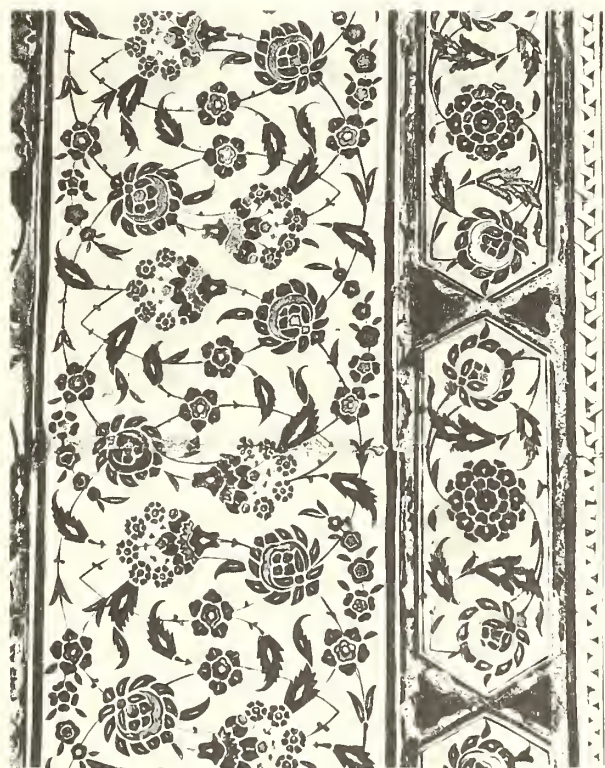


ABB. 26.

ABB. 24-26.—ISTANBUL, TOPKAPI SARAYI, SÜNNET ODASI.  
Aussenwand zum Korridor am Hirka-i saadet dairesi. (Aufn. des Museums.)



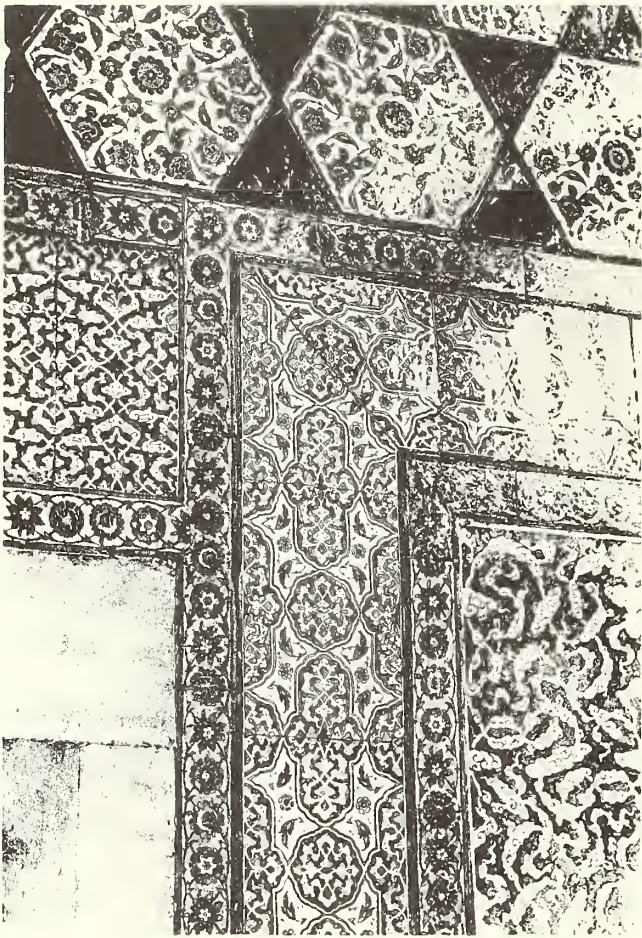


ABB. 27.

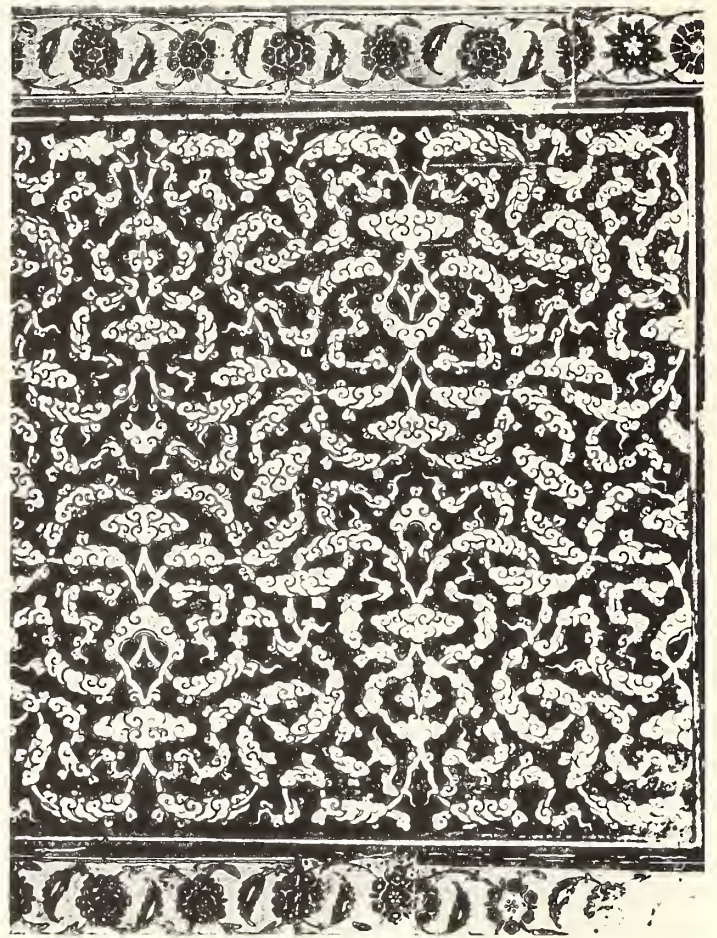


ABB. 28.

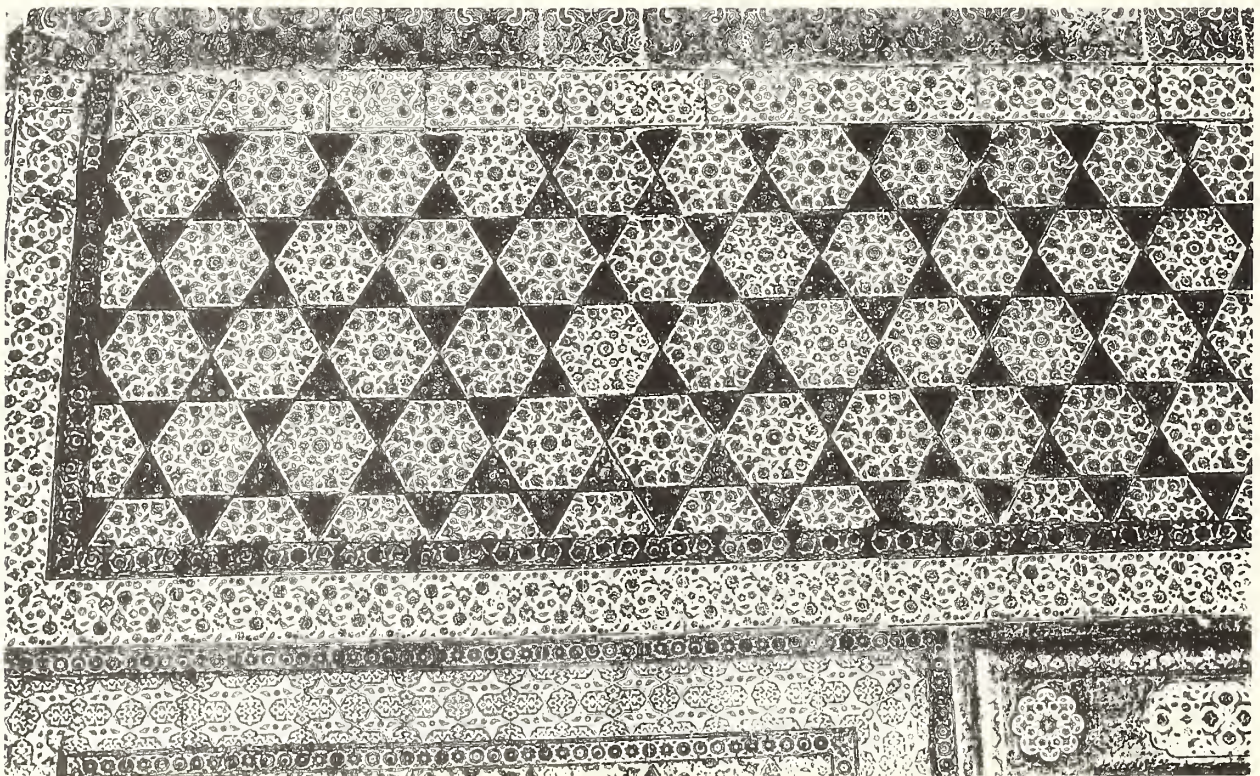


ABB. 29.

ABB. 27-29.—ISTANBUL, TOPKAPI SARAYI, SÜNNET ODASI.  
Aussenwand zum Korridor am Hirka-i saadet dairesi. (Aufn. des Museums.)



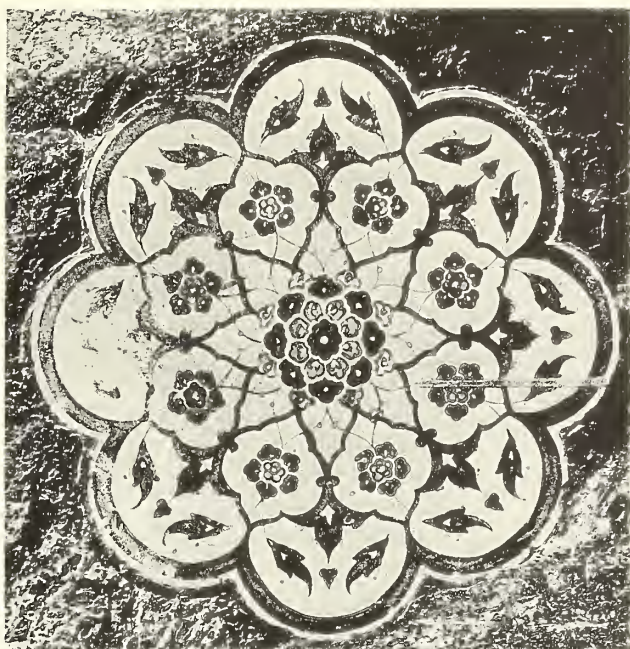


ABB. 30.



ABB. 31.

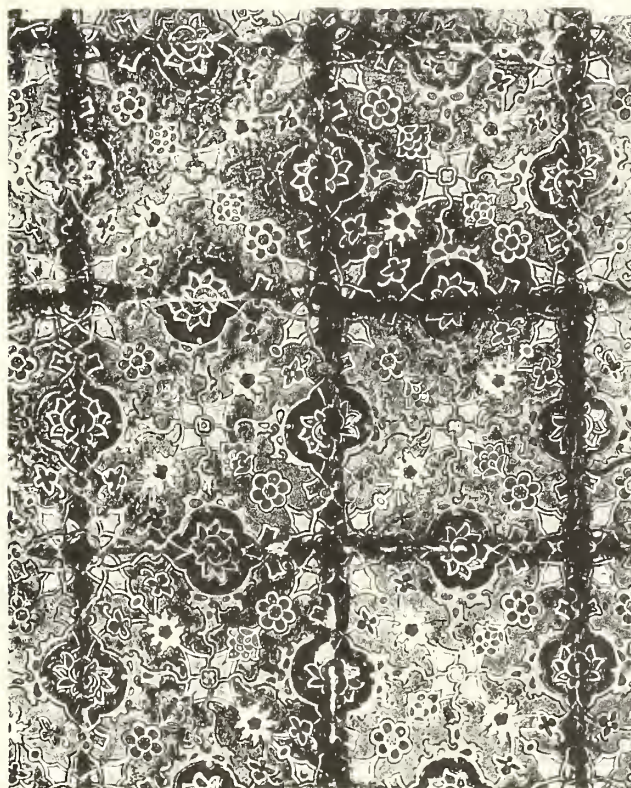


ABB. 32.



ABB. 33.

ABB. 30-33.—ISTANBUL, TOPKAPI SARAYI, SÜNNET ODASI.  
Aussenwand zum Korridor am Hirka-i saadet dairesi. (Aufn. des Museums.)





ABB. 34.—ISTANBUL, TOPKAPI SARAYI,  
SÜNNET ODASI.  
Aussenwand zum Korridor am Hirka-i saadet  
dairesi. (Aufn. des Museums.)



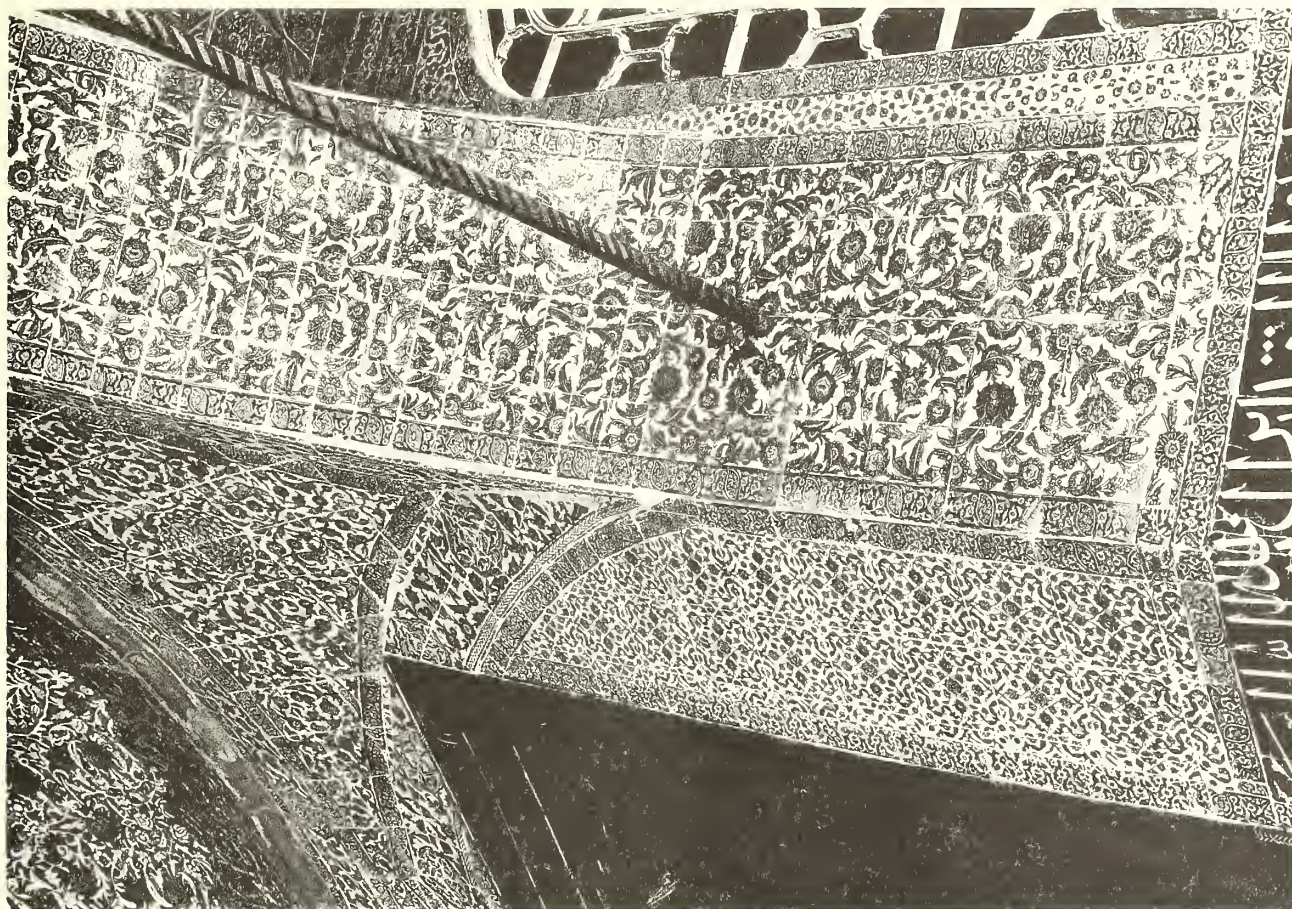


ABB. 36.

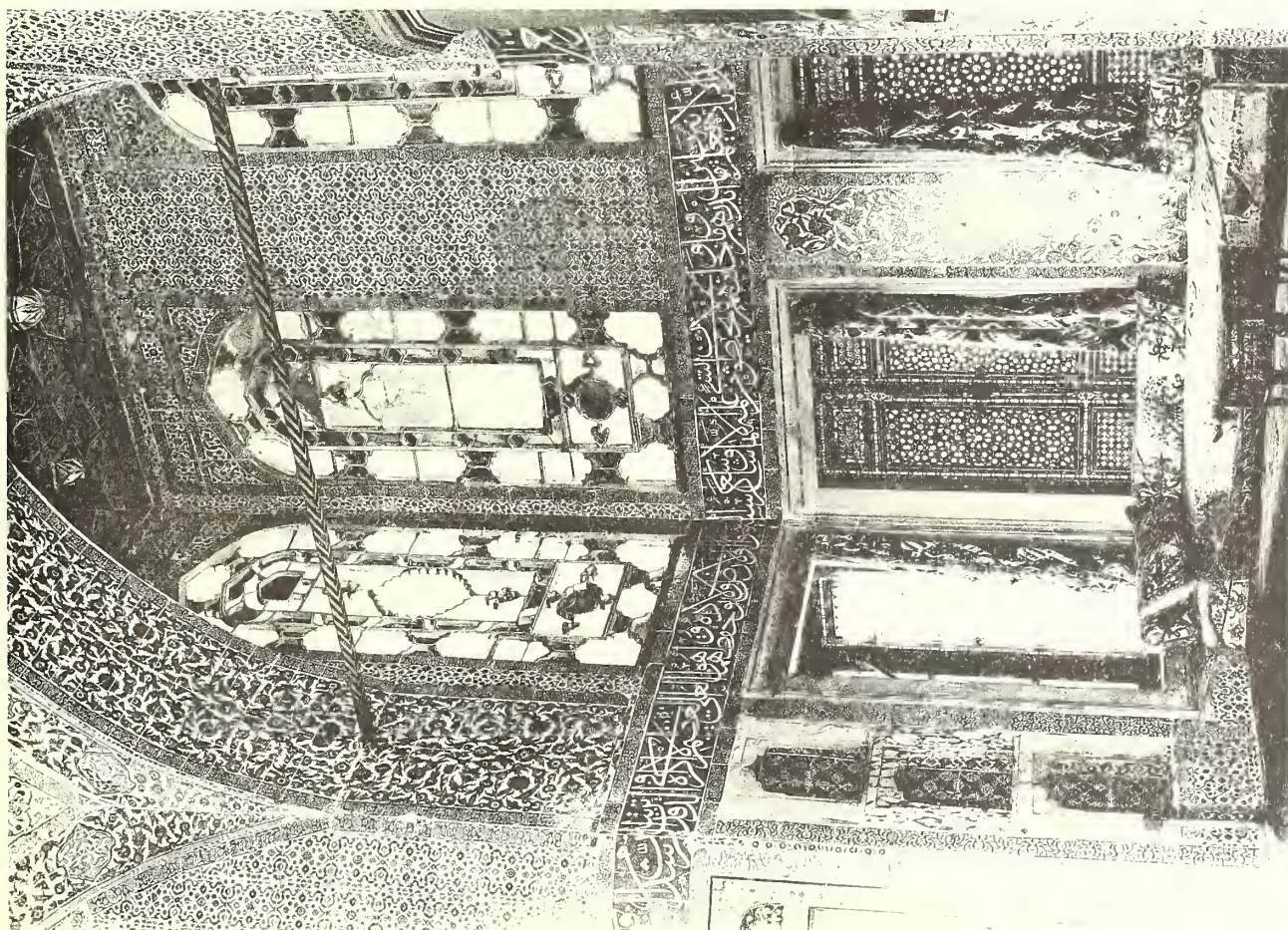


ABB. 35.

ABB. 35, 36.—ISTANBUL, TOPKAPI SARAYI, BAGDAD KÖŞKÜ  
(Aufn. H. Erdmann.)



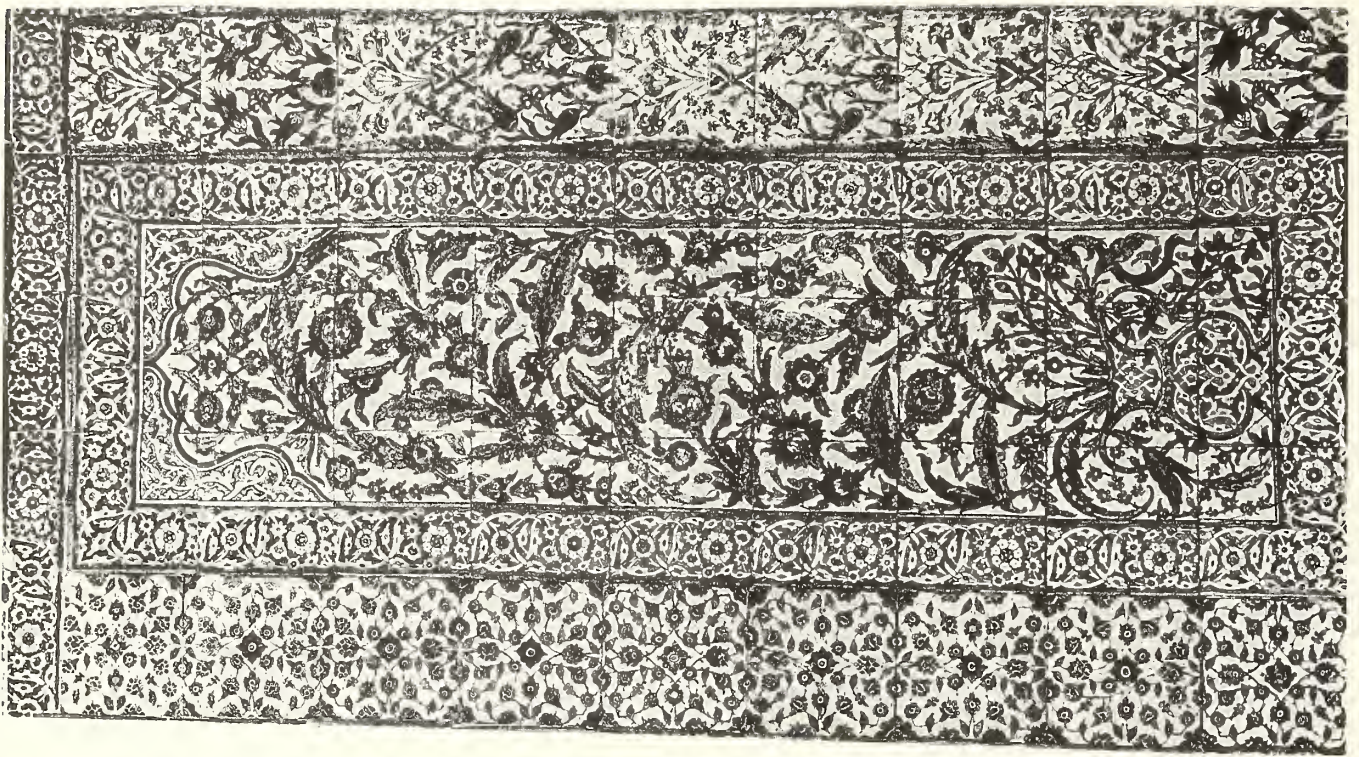


ABB. 39.—KAIRO, AQSUNQUR CAMI.  
(Aufn. Deutsches Archäologisches  
Institut Kairo.)

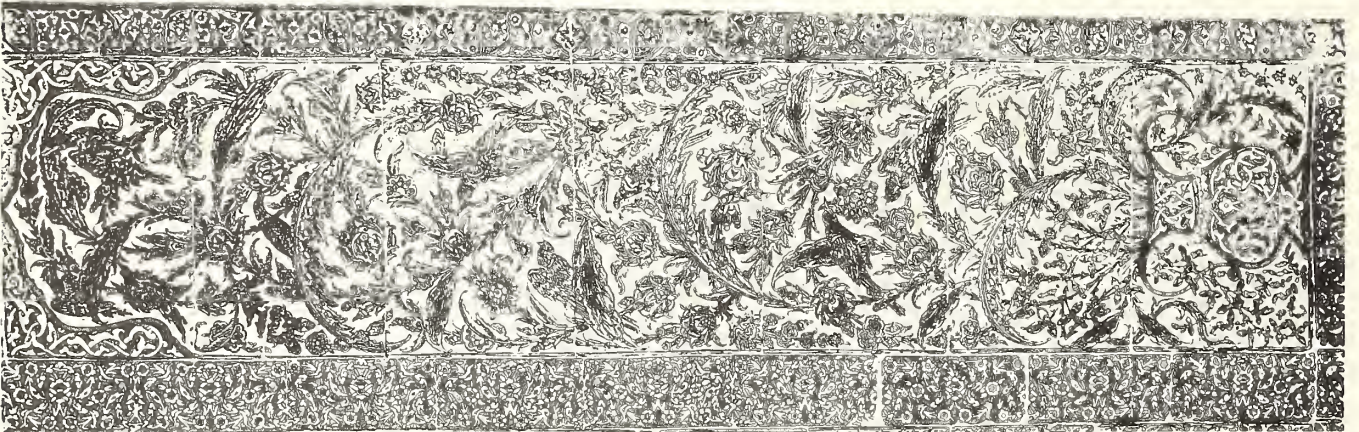


ABB. 38.—ISTANBUL, TOPKAPI  
SARAYI, BAGDAD KÖŞKÜ.  
(Aufn. H. Erdmann.)



ABB. 37.—ISTANBUL, TOPKAPI SARAYI, SÜNNET ODASI.  
(Aufn. des Museums.)





ABB. 40.



ABB. 41.



ABB. 42.

ABB. 40-42.—ISTANBUL, TOPKAPI SARAYI, BAGDAD KÖŞKÜ.  
(Aufn. H. Erdmann.)





ABB. 43.—SÈVRES, MUSEUM.



ABB. 44.—LONDON, WALLACE COLLECTION.



ABB. 45.—LONDON, VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM.



ABB. 46.—KAIRO, MUSEUM OF ISLAMIC ART.

FAYENCETELLER DER "RHODOS-WARE".



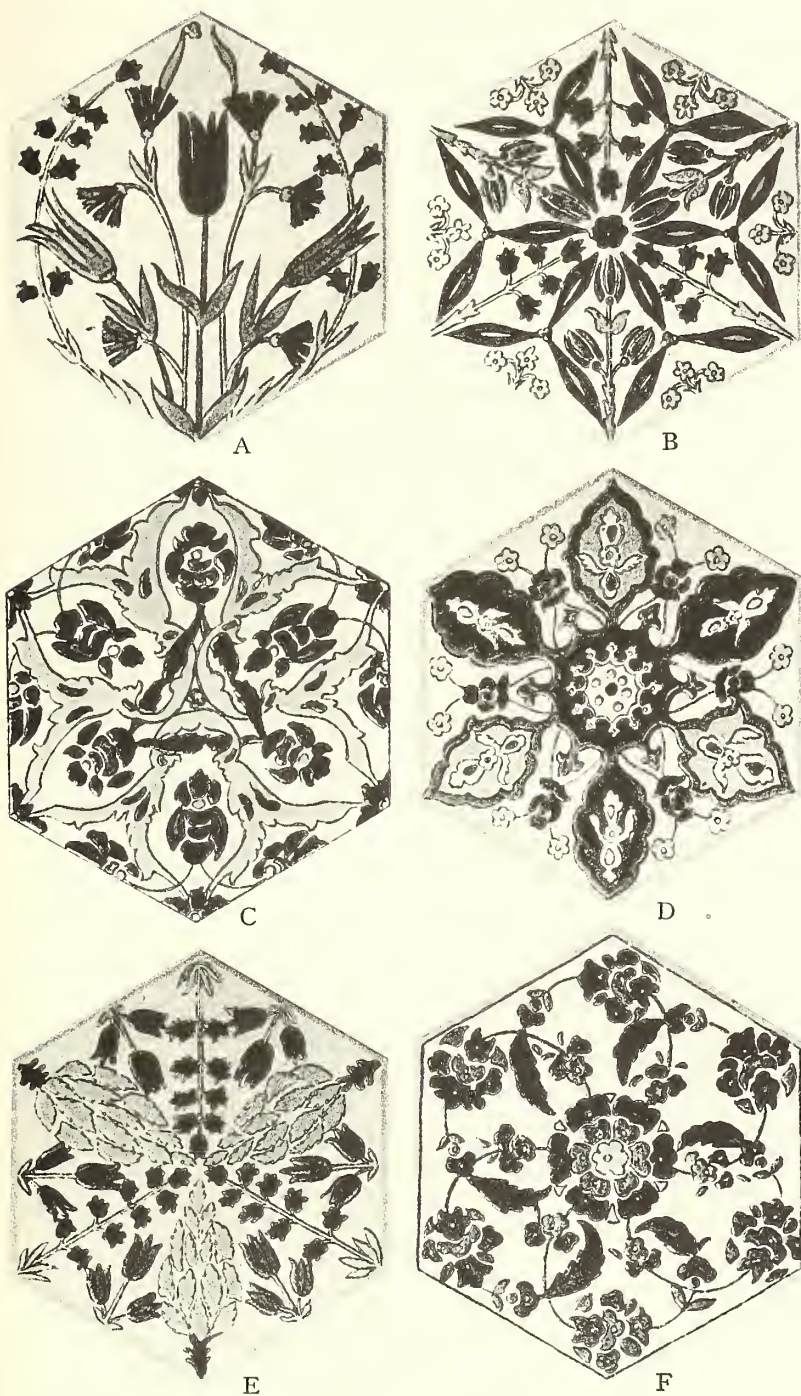


ABB. 47.—BURSA, YENI KAPLICA, FLIESEN.  
(Nach H. Wilde.)

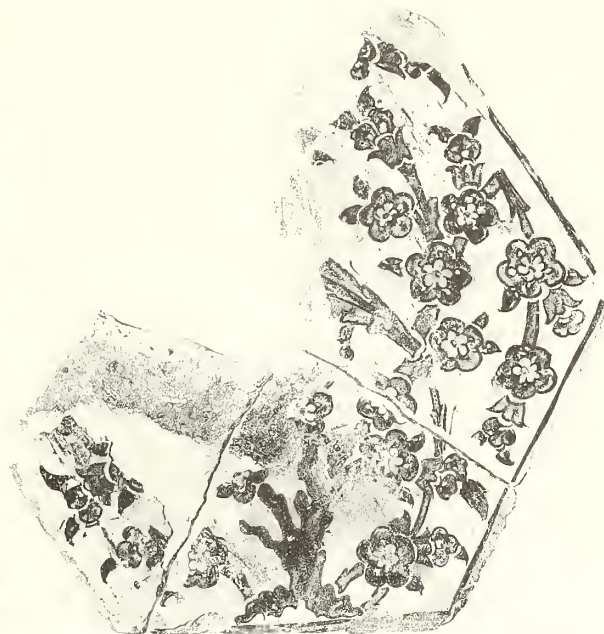


ABB. 48.—BURSA, YENI KAPLICA, FLIESENREST.  
(Aufn. H. Erdmann.)



ABB. 49.—ERGÄNZUNG VON ABB. 48.  
(Von Frä. A. Hommel.)



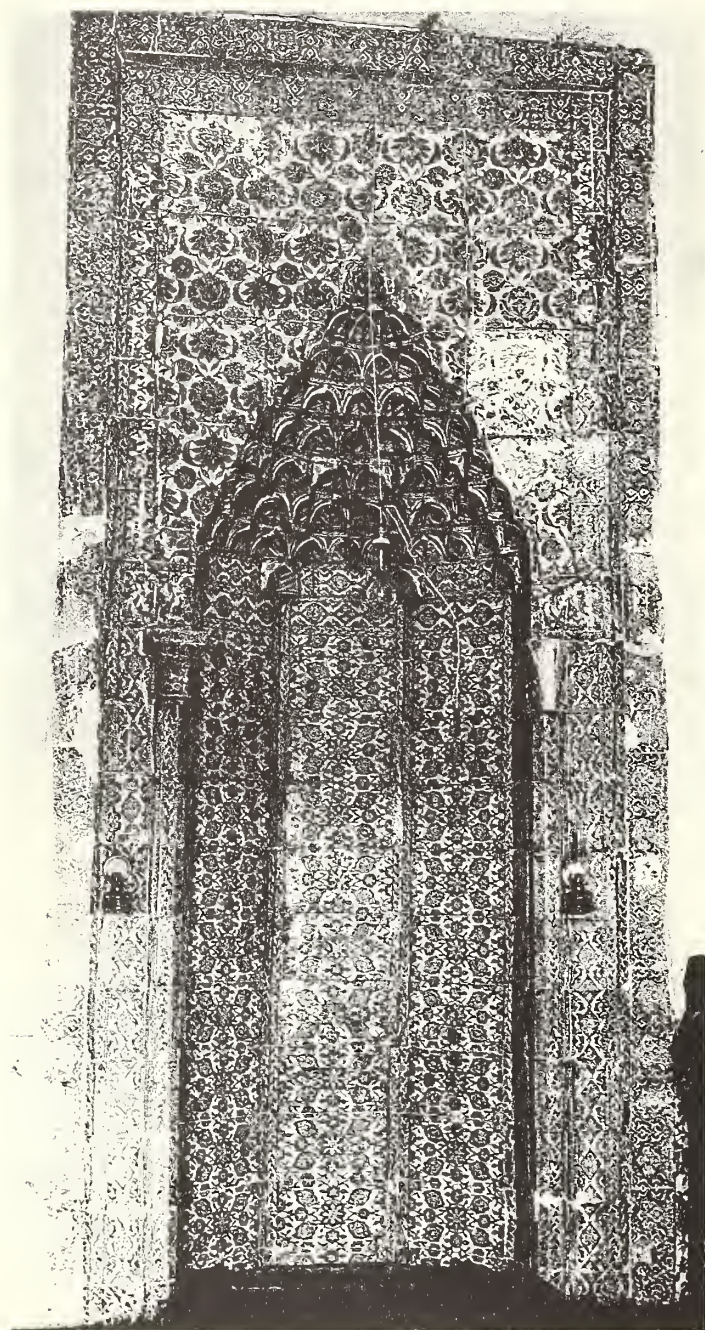


ABB. 50.—DIYARBAKIR, MELEK AHMET PAŞA CAMI (1591),  
MIHRAB. (Aufn. H. Erdmann.)

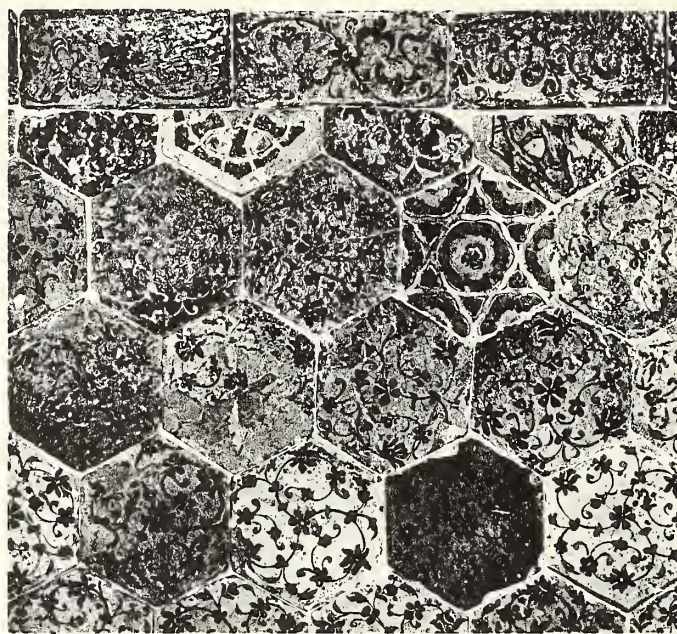


ABB. 51.

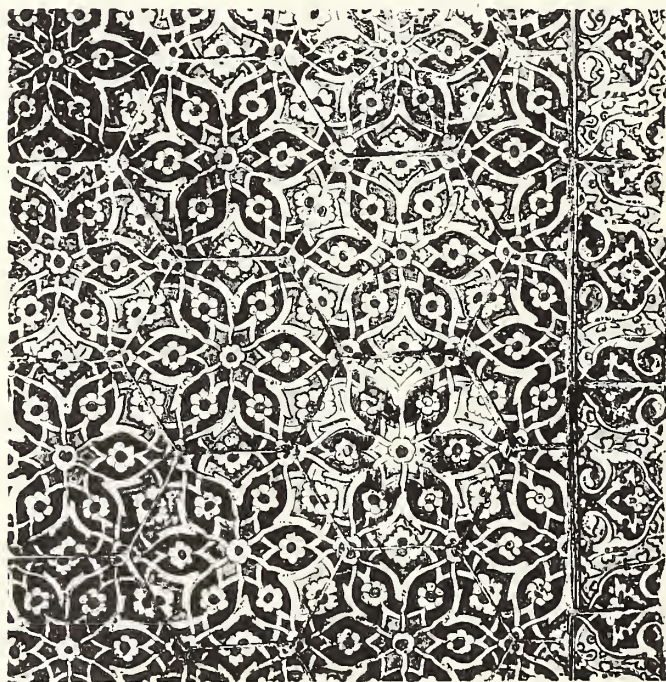


ABB. 52.

ABB. 51, 52.—DIYARBAKIR, FATİH PAŞA CAMI (1522).  
(Aufn. H. Erdmann.)





ABB. 53.—ADANA, RAMAZANOĞLU CAMI, MIHRAB.  
(Aufn. H. Erdmann.)



ABB. 54.

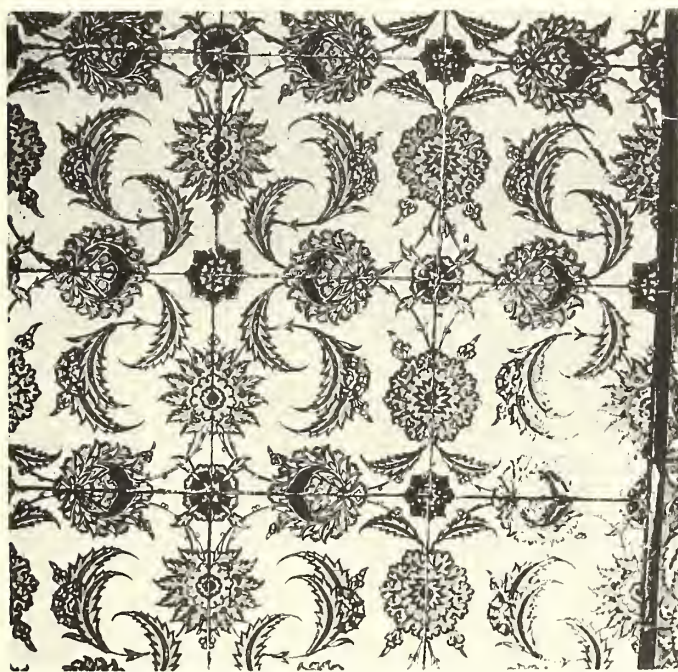


ABB. 55.

ABB. 54, 55.—ADANA, RAMAZANOĞLU CAMI.  
(Aufn. H. Erdmann.)

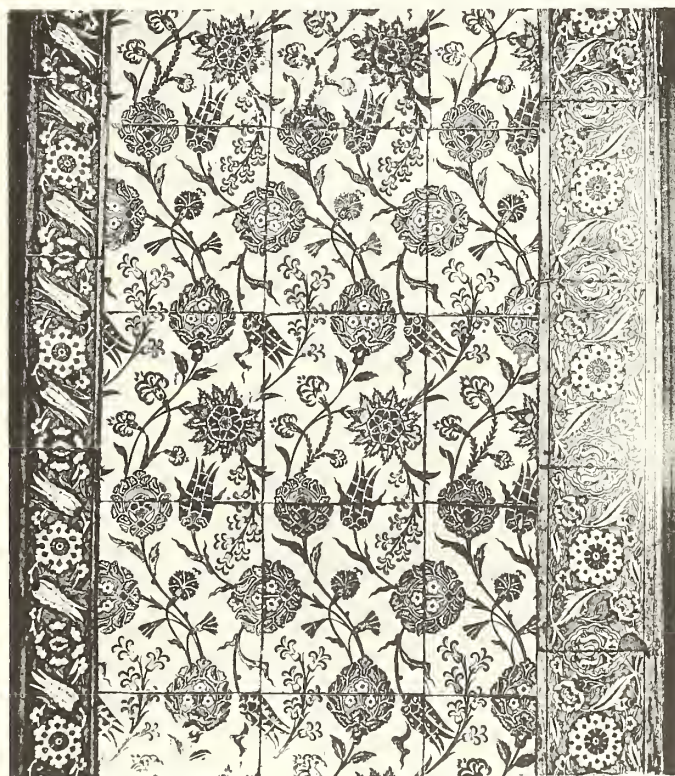


ABB. 56.—BURSA, MUSTAFA SULTAN TÜRBESİ (GEST. 1552).  
(Aufn. H. Erdmann.)





ABB. 57.—"RHODOS" TELLER MIT EUROPÄISCHEM WAPPEN.  
Berlin, Museen. (Aufn. des Museums.)



ABB. 58.—DECKELVASE, "RHODOS WARE".  
Dresden, Kunstgewerbemuseum. (Aufn. F. Junghans.)



ABB. 59.—SCHÜSSEL, KÜTAHYA, ACHTZEHNTE JAHRHUNDERT.  
Istanbul, Slg. von Aulock. (Aufn. H. Erdmann.)

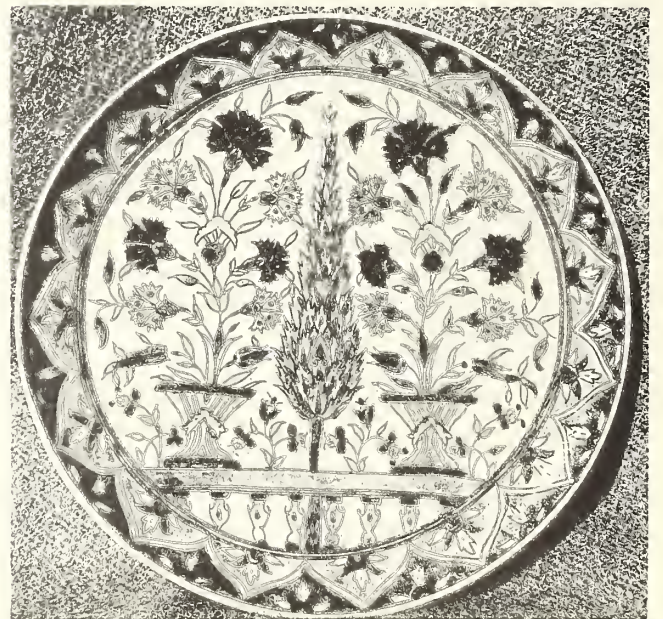


ABB. 60.—TELLER, KÜTAHYA, NEUNZEHNTE JAHRHUNDERT.  
Privatbesitz, Berlin. (Aufn. H. Erdmann.)





ABB. 61.



ABB. 62.



ABB. 63.



ABB. 64.

ABB. 61-64.—ÇANAKKALE-SCHÜSSELN IM TOPKAPI SARAYI, ISTANBUL, TÜRKEI, NEUNZEHNTES JAHRHUNDERT.  
(Aufn. des Museums.)





Abb. 65.



Abb. 66.

Abb. 65, 66.—ÇANAKKALE SCHALEN, TÜRKEL, NEUNZEHNTE JAHRHUNDERT.  
(Aufn. H. Erdmann.)



Abb. 67.—SCHERBEN DER BLAU BEMALTEN ÇANAKKALE-WARE  
AUS RHODOS UND (U.R.) FUSTÂT.  
(Aufn. H. Erdmann.)

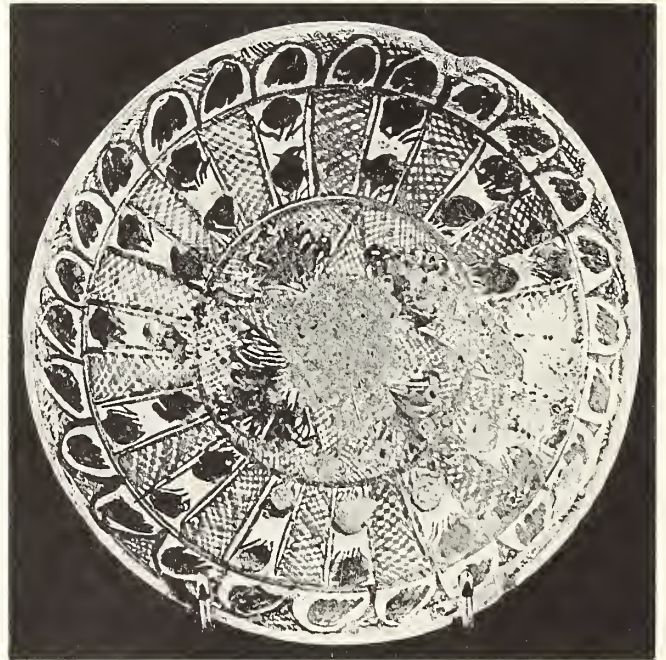


Abb. 68.—SCHALE, TÜRKISCHE BAUERNWARE.  
Berlin, Museen. (Aufn. F. Junghans.)



dekorierten Stücken ausgehen sollte, wie etwa den Vasen mit der Seeschlange oder dem Burak, die sich bei einem Teller im British Museum zu einem Seeschlangen-Burak kreuzen. Sind solche Themen wie die häufigen Segelschiffe oder die stehenden Einzelfiguren in bestimmten Ateliers gemacht und lassen sie sich auf einen bestimmten Zeitraum begrenzen?<sup>113</sup>

chenen Farben eine grössere Ähnlichkeit miteinander haben. Die Schüsseln, deren Durchmesser ungefähr 25 Centimeter beträgt, sind beim Einmauern gern entweder kreuzförmig verteilt (Iwiron) oder durch besondere Anordnung einiger Steine mit einem kelchartigen Fusse versehen worden, so dass sie wie auf einem Kelche zu ruhen scheinen (Lawra)."

<sup>113</sup> In seinem Anm. 113 genannten Vortag scheint M. Chatzidakis nach dem kruzigen Resumé, das allein zur Verfügung steht, bei der Gruppe mit griechischen Inschriften an eine Entstehung in Kütahya zu denken. Zu diesen Fragen vergleiche man die interessanten Ausführungen von Ch. Kiefer, Directeur Technique de la Manufacture de Sèvres *Les céramiques silicieuses d'Anatolie et du Moyen Orient. Conférence prononcée au Congrès Technique Céramique, 15.-16. juin à Paris*, Bull. Société Française de Céramique, No. 29/30, 1956, und *Les céramiques Musulmanes d'Anatolie*, Cahiers de la Céramique et des Arts du Feu, Sept. 1956, S. 15-30, der auf Grund technischer Untersuchungen die Manufakturen von Iznik, Tekfur Saray und Kütahya unterscheidet. Was die "Rhodos-Ware" anlangt, sind die Gefässe besserer Qualität zweifellos in Iznik gemacht. Daneben gibt es eine grosse Gruppe geringerer Qualität, zu der auch die meisten figürlich dekorierten Stücke gehören. Diese sind nach seinen Feststellungen weder in Iznik noch Kütahya (und natürlich nicht in Tekfur Saray) gemacht. Leider beschränkt er sich auf diese negativen Feststellungen. Doch ist schon das wichtig, denn bisher hatte man sich damit abgefunden, in dieser zweiten Gruppe späte Erzeugnisse von Iznik zu sehen (s. aber oben den Vorschlag von M. Chatzidakis, sie nach Kütahya zu lokalisieren). Vielleicht ist es doch kein Zufall, dass unter den reichen Beständen des Museums in Rhodos und unter den leider recht zusammengeschumpften Beständen der Häuser in Lindos Gefässe dieser zweiten Gruppe bei weitem überwiegen? Vergl. dazu den Aufsatz von Marica Monte Santo *La ce-*

Nicht ganz verstehe ich Lane's Äusserung (vol. 2, S. 58, Anm. 1) die Fayence-Eier seien "sometimes incorrectly regarded as weights to counterbalance the hanging mosque lamps." Sie kommen doch noch heute in vielen Moscheen vor, allerdings nicht als counter balance, sondern als Zusammenfassung der vier oder mehr Schnüre, an denen die Ampel hängt. Lane erwähnt selber (vol. 1, S. 275, Anm. 62) bei der Moscheeampel aus der Suleymaniye im Victoria and Albert Museum "a ball-shaped pendant offered with the lamp, but not bought." Beim Glas haben sie wohl immer nur diese Funktion gehabt. In der Keramik werden sie auch als reiner Schmuck verwendet, besonders so grosse Stücke wie die im Benaki Museum und in Brooklyn.

Zu seiner II. Taf. 41 A abgebildeten "pierced flower or potpouzzi vase" wird ihn ein ähnliches Stücke im Kunstgewerbemuseum in Dresden interessieren (*Abb. 58*), das eigenartigerweise einen Deckel hat. Ich habe das Stücke vor 18 Jahren zuletzt gesehen. Das es noch existiert, ist kaum wahrscheinlich. Nach meinen Notizen war der Deckel zugehörig.<sup>114</sup>

Frau Otto-Dorn schliesst ihre Ausführungen über die hochosmanische Produktion von Iznik mit einem Abschnitt *Töpferwerkstätten in Iznik* (S. 140-143), der im wesentlichen das 1941 Gesagte wiederholt und einer durch Quellen belegten Darstellung von *Produktionsvorgang und Fayencehandel* (S. 143-148). Während sie das Problem von der türkischen Seite her betrachtet und belegt, geht der entsprechende Abschnitt bei Lane (vol. 1, S. 278-280) von der europäischen Seite aus, so dass sich diese Kapitel in glücklicher Weise ergänzen.

Der Abschnitt *Keramik des achtzehnten*

*ramica di Lindo (Rodi)* in *Rivista delle Colonie Italiane*, vol. 3, 1929, S. 558-572.

<sup>114</sup> Ob das Stücke eine Marke hat, habe ich leider nicht beobachtet.

*Jahrhunderts* (S. 160–162) bespricht die Gründung und Produktion der Fabrik von Tekfur Saray, die mit Hilfe der letzten in Iznik verbliebenen Töpfer geschieht, was nicht gerade für eine starke keramische Tradition auf Istanbul Boden spricht. Ein gutes Beispiel bietet eine 1727 datierte Schriftfliese im Victoria and Albert Museum.

Das Kapitel *Kütahya Fayencen* (S. 163–165) gibt nur einen knappen Überblick. Sie erwähnt nicht einmal den wichtigen Aufsatz von A. Lane, *Turkish peasant pottery from Chanak and Kutahia*, *Connoisseur*, vol. 104, 1939, S. 232–237. Der Abschnitt bei Lane (vol. 2, S. 63–65) bringt mehr Material. Beide Autoren erwähnen die reichen Bestände des Benaki Museums nicht und ziehen das Buch von O. Aslanapa *Osmanlilar Devrinde Kütahya Cinileri*,<sup>115</sup> das für das achtzehnte Jahrhundert viel Material enthält, kaum heran. Die Geschichte dieser Manufaktur hat noch Lücken. Wir kennen die Produktion des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts, die durch Quellen belegt ist, nicht, und auch zwischen dem gut bekannten achtzehnten Jahrhundert (*Abb. 59*) und der wenig erfreulichen modernen Produktion klafft eine Lücke. Im Stambuler Handel kommen gelegentlich Stücke vor, die man in das neunzehnte Jahrhundert datieren möchte (*Abb. 60*), doch fehlen noch sichere Anhaltspunkte.

Die reizvolle *Çanakkale-Ware* erwähnt Frau Otto-Dorn nur in einer Anmerkung (309). Lane widmet ihr ein eigenes Kapitel (vol. 2, S. 65–66). Sie als "reine Bauernkeramik mit europäisch beeinflussten Motiven zu bezeichnen, ist nicht ganz glücklich." Die figürlichen Motive wie Schiffe, Pavillons, Kannen u.a.m. (*Abb. 61–64*) stammen doch alle deutlich von den entsprechenden Darstellungen der späteren "Rhodos-Ware" ab und sind allenfalls dort europäisch beeinflusst. Die häu-

figeren ornamentalen Motive (*Abb. 65–66*) haben nichts mit Europa zu tun, ja erinnern in ihren besseren Stücken eher an die "Milet-Ware." Ich habe nicht erfahren können, warum man im Top Kapi Saray Müzesi und auch im Istanbul Handel diese Ware *Çanakkale* nennt. Die Stelle bei A. Brongniart D. Riocreux (vol. 2, S. 66, Anm. 1), auf die mich Lane in einem Brief vom 17. III. 1955 freundlich aufmerksam machte, kann kaum dafür verantwortlich sein. In *Çanakkale* werden, wie er richtig vermerkt, noch heute Keramiken gemacht, die aber mit unserer Ware nichts zu tun haben. Im Stadtmuseum von Istanbul ist eine grosse Vitrine mit ihnen gefüllt, ohne ein einziges Stück der älteren Ware. Auch in *Çanakkale* selber ist, wie mir K. Bittel freundlicherweise mitteilte, nur die neuere Ware bekannt. Auf der anderen Seite schreibt aber Moltke 1836<sup>116</sup> ". . . ein Städtchen, welches die Türken Tschanak-Kalisi<sup>117</sup> nennen wegen der vielen Töpfer welche dort arbeiten." Die grösste Sammlung der älteren Ware befindet sich im Top Kapi Saray Müzesi und auch im Istanbul Handel waren sie vor einiger Zeit noch zu bekommen, eigenartigerweise fast nur die Ware mit dunkelbrauner Bemalung auf cremefarbenem Grund und kleinen eingestreuten Punktrosetten in Braunrot. Am besten kann man die *Çanakkale-Ware* im Museum von Rhodos studieren. Auch in den Häusern von Lindos kommt sie noch vor. Die älteren Stücke zeigen mattblaue Bemalung auf weissem Grund mit hellroten Punktrosetten. Die Muster sind die gleichen, aber etwas feiner gezeichnet wie die der dunkelbraun bemalten Gruppe, doch scheinen keine figürlichen Motive vorzukommen. Scherben dieser blauen Ware fanden wir auf Rhodos und in Füstât (*Abb. 67*). In Kairo besitzen das Museum of Islamic Art und das Museum der Universität schöne Beispiele mit weissem, hell-

<sup>115</sup> Istanbul, 1949.

<sup>116</sup> Ed. 1917, S. 56.

<sup>117</sup> Etwa "Topf-Schloss."



braunem oder mattgrauem Grund, alle aus Füsât. Eine etwas geringere Ware, die besonders in Rhodos vorkommt, zeigt die Ornamente in schwarz auf gelbem Grund, bei einer sehr viel derberen erscheinen sie (auch Schiffe und Fische) in gelber oder roter Malerei auf brauner, gelber oder grüner Glasur. Das Ganze wird nur durch die verwendeten Motive und die Art der Zeichnung als Gruppe zusammengehalten. Wir kauften auf Rhodos im Laden der Ikaros-Fabrik drei Schalen der geläufigen Ware mit brauner Bemalung auf cremefarbenem Grund (*Abb. 66*), die nach Aussage des Verkäufers vor 150 Jahren auf Rhodos gemacht sein sollten. Das ist gewiss

falsch; sie machen trotz der gleichen Motive einen erheblich jüngeren Eindruck als die Stücke im Top Kapi Saray Müzesi. Offenbar sind sie neuere, allerdings kaum moderne Kopien. Bei dieser Gelegenheit sei auf eine andere "Bauernware" hingewiesen, die bisher wenig beachtet und offenbar auch nur in wenigen Stücken bekannt ist. Ich notierte Beispiele im Victoria and Albert Museum, im Çinili Kiosk, in den Berliner Museen (*Abb. 68*) und in der Sammlung Gamsaragan in Alexandria. Es handelt sich um grobe Schalen mit einer derben Bemalung in Blau und Rot auf schmutzigweissem Grund, die mit der Çanakkale-Ware nichts zu tun haben.





# MUGHAL AND DECCANI MINIATURE PAINTINGS FROM A PRIVATE COLLECTION <sup>1</sup>

By STUART C. WELCH, JR.

SINCE THE PUBLICATION HERE IN 1959 OF a number of Mughal and Deccani paintings from two private collections shown at the Fogg Art Museum of Harvard University,<sup>2</sup> several miniatures have been added to one of the collections. These include two portraits of the Akbar period (1556–1605), a group of early drawings, another page from a dispersed *Dīvān* of Shānī of about 1595, in the highly finished style of the imperial court, as well as a series of pictures dating from the reign of Jahāngīr (1605–27). A page from the Raznāmeḥ of 1616, a manuscript associated with the Khān-e Khānān, is of particular interest in relation to the art of Rajasthan. Among the miniatures of the later 17th century are two from an album of the Shāh Jahān epoch (1628–57) and an Awrangzib period (1658–1707) conversation piece in the mixed Mughal-Deccani style patronized by the Mughals who served in the Deccan. There are also several pictures of purely Deccani origin, one of which, although damaged, provides an addition to the small corpus of early Bijapuri portraits. From a later phase comes a pleasing *Todi Ragini*, an illustration to the musical mode, imbued with the characteristics of the style of the court of the last of the Qutb Shāhī rulers, Abul Ḥasan (1672–87), who was known as Tānā Shāh, “The King of Taste.”

<sup>1</sup> The author would like to express his thanks to Rai Krishnadasa of the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras, Eric Schroeder of the Fogg Art Museum, W. G. Archer of the Victoria and Albert Museum, Martin Dickson of Princeton University, Jean Watson of the India Office Library, and to those whose generous assistance has been cited in the catalogue.

<sup>2</sup> Vide S. C. Welch, Jr., *Early Mughal miniature paintings from two private collections shown at The Fogg Art Museum*, *Ars Orientalis*, vol. 3, 1959.

## CATALOGUE

1. *Portrait of a Rajput*. (Fig. 1.) A stout nobleman leans on his walking stick, his face and body turned to the left as though standing before the enthroned emperor. As usual in portraits of the Akbar period, the figure is set against a green background with no indications of actual space (the traces of grass and flowers are the result of clumsy overpainting of the green, most of which has been removed). He wears a crimson turban decorated with green and white dots, a transparent though pomade-stained muslin *jāmeḥ*, the seams of which follow his ample arms and massive torso, and a white *pāijāmeḥ*. Three archer's rings hang from a long gold, orange, green, and black flame-stitch *patkā* which also supports an orange pouch and a gold *katār* in an orange sheath. Tassled orange shoes with orange frogs, gold earrings, and a ruby ring complete the costume. The warrior's heavy face is upturned, lending an expression of alertness. Slightly raised eyes, furrowed brow, a sharply bridged nose, and a smiling mouth tinted red with *pān* enliven the characterization. The subject of a late copy of a portrait of Raja Rai Singh of Bikaner (1571–1612) in the Bikaner collection closely resembles this Rajput, who might be the same personage.<sup>3</sup>

The small, closely set feet of the warrior seem barely capable of supporting his looming bulk. This is characteristic of early Mughal portraits, for it was not until the reign of Jahāngīr that Mughal painters were able to firmly ground their portrait subjects. The costume is also consistent with an early date, as is the treatment of the mouth and chin,

<sup>3</sup> Vide H. Goetz, *The art and architecture of Bikaner state*, Oxford, 1950, fig. 89.

which are in profile despite the three-quarter view of the face, a feature often seen in the *Dāstān-e Amīr Ḥamzah* manuscript.<sup>4</sup>

The formula for this sort of portrait was developed during the Akbar period. Ivan Stchoukine has identified a portrait now in the Musée Guimet as contemporary with the *Ḥamzah* manuscript, which was probably worked on through the 1570's.<sup>5</sup> This miniature is identical in style to a group of illustrated Persian manuscripts several of which contain colophons stating that they were written at Bakharz in Khorassan during the 1560's and 1570's.<sup>6</sup> A portrait of a Persian in this style, which might have been introduced to India by an artist or artists trained in Khorassan, is in the Archaeological Museum, Teheran.<sup>7</sup> Although the Guimet and Teheran examples are significant in helping to establish the provenance of this kind of portrait, neither can be considered typically Mughal. Notwithstanding its subject, the Guimet picture portrays a type rather than an individual and lacks altogether the penetrating analysis of form and personality which raises Mughal

portraiture to its high position in the world history of the art.

11.8 x 06.6 cm.

Ca. 1575.

2. *A Master and His Pupil.* (Fig. 2.)

An attentive boy kneels with his hands on his knees before a bearded teacher, grasping a book, who leans in sympathy toward the student.<sup>8</sup> The boy, whose *jāmeḥ* ties on the left despite his Mughal features, wears a turban wound of a narrow, tapelike length adorned with a black plume and ropes of pearls. A wide, fringed shawl is wrapped over his shoulders and across his arms. The teacher's fur-trimmed coat is open at the waist, revealing a short *kamarband*. His turban is large and loosely tied, with ends that flare in splayed flourishes akin to those of his long, graceful scarf, which is draped over his shoulders and forearms. The drawing is in black, lightly tinted with flesh tones, streaks of gray in the beard, and brown in the fur collar. It is unusually calligraphic for Mughal work and probably by an artist trained in Persia. Flowing curved accents and a system of zigzags meeting in hooklike forms suggest the style of Āqā Rīzā Jahāngīrī, a painter who was in India at least as early as 1588/9, when his son Abū'l Ḥasan was born.<sup>9</sup>

09.1 x 07.5 cm.

Ca. 1585.

<sup>8</sup> A number of variations on this subject are known. *Vide* L. Hajek, *Indian miniatures of the Moghul school*, London, 1960, pls. 22, 33; also E. Kühnel and H. Goetz, *Indische Buchmalereien*, pl. 14. Here, the pupil is Prince Salim and the master Shaikh Salim Chishti; also S. C. Welch, Jr., *op. cit.*, fig. 13. This painting should be dated to ca. 1570 on the basis of its stylistic relationship to the *Anvār-e Sohaylī* manuscript in the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, which is dated 1570.

<sup>9</sup> *Vide* B. Gray, *Painting, The Art of India and Pakistan*, ed. by Sir Leigh Ashton, London, 1950, p. 97; also Eric Schroeder, *Persian miniatures in the*

<sup>4</sup> *Vide* H. Glück, *Die indischen Miniaturen des Haemzae-Romanes*, Wien, 1925, pls. 12, 14, 16, 19, 21, 26, 29, et al.

<sup>5</sup> I. Stchoukine, *Miniatures indiennes du Musée du Louvre*, Paris, 1929, No. 1, pl. 1.

<sup>6</sup> *Vide* B. W. Robinson, *A descriptive catalogue of the Persian paintings in the Bodleian library*, Oxford, 1958, pp. 138, 141-142, 151, pl. 29; also, I. Stchoukine, *Les peintures des manuscrits Safavis*, Paris, 1959, pp. 135-137, pls. 71, 76.

<sup>7</sup> *Vide* V. Kubickova, *Persian miniatures*, London, 1960, p. 39. Figures in Indian costume occur often in miniatures of this group. A copy of Sanā'is *Ḥadiqat al-Ḥaqīqa* dated 1573 in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (09.324) depicts a mahout in Indian costume with a composite elephant. A pair of lovers with two attendants, all in Indian costumes, in this style was published by Ph. W. Schulz, *Die persisch-islamische Miniaturmalerei*, Leipzig, 1914, pl. 136.



3. *A Peasant Boy and an Armed Band.* (Fig. 3.) A horseman questions a villager while a brown and a white cow look on. In the distance, boldly painted green and blue trees highlighted in white and yellow and cliffs painted in a somewhat Persian manner describe the setting. The ground is treated in a series of receding planes composed of short dashes of color and crosshatching, a technique borrowed from European engraving. Mottled greens and tans establish the over-all tone, interrupted by the bright orange, yellow, blue, and crimson of the horseman and his entourage.

This page is from a manuscript of the *Tūṭināmeḥ* ("Tales of a Parrot"), a large section of which is in the library of Sir Chester Beatty. It seems to be by the same hand responsible for a page exhibited in London in 1947.<sup>10</sup> Although not dated, the manuscript is probably of about 1580, the date assigned to it by Basil Gray.

21.4 x 12.0 cm.

Ca. 1580.

4. *A Prince Visits a Holy Man.* (Fig. 5.) The lost manuscript from which this page was removed was a pocket-size *Divān* of the poet Shāhī.<sup>11</sup> A prince kneels before a holy man

*Fogg Museum of Art*, Cambridge, 1942, pp. 109–113. Mr. Schroeder gives an excellent discussion of this artist's style and cites examples of his work.

<sup>10</sup> *Vide* Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 142, No. 637, pl. 120, *The story of the golden elephant*. A further section of this manuscript was on the market several years ago. Another copy has been dispersed in India; pages from it are in the collections of the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras, and in the National Museum of India, Delhi.

<sup>11</sup> *Vide* Welch, *op. cit.*, pp. 136, 137, figs. 4, 5. A further miniature from this manuscript is in the collection of Mr. Philip Hofer. For a brief discussion of related manuscripts see Welch, S. C., Jr., *The Emperor Akbar's Khamsa of Nizami*, *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, vol. 23, Baltimore, 1960, pp. 87–96.

in front of whom a dog stares longingly at a caged parrot. Numerous courtiers and attendants look on from the left and the foreground. Green, tan, and blue dominate the palette against which the painter has set small areas of brilliant red and orange, acting as foils to the cool colors of the central figures. Zoomorphic and anthropomorphic shapes abound in the rock forms; an entire rabbit is concealed in the cliff behind the seated man. This sort of "hide and seek" can be found in many Persian and Mughal miniatures, although it seems to have been especially characteristic of the painter Miskīn, to whom this miniature can be attributed.<sup>12</sup>

Miskīn's highly individual manner is already apparent in the *Dārāb-nāmeḥ* in the British Museum (Or. 4615) to which he contributed his earliest surviving work with a contemporary attribution.<sup>13</sup> One of the ar-

<sup>12</sup> For a monograph on this artist see W. Staude, *Muskine*, *Revue des Arts Asiatiques*, vol. 5, No. 3, 1928, pp. 169–182, pls. 49–52. The author has based his arguments on the pages outlined by Miskīn in the *Akbar-nāmeḥ* series in the Victoria and Albert Museum (I.S.2–1896).

<sup>13</sup> Few miniatures from this important early Mughal manuscript, which although undated cannot be later than 1585, have been published. This page, fol. 100v, depicts a girl captive carried off by horsemen as a man uproots a tree. Other miniatures by Miskīn working unassisted are in a copy of Jāmi's *Bahāristān* in the Bodleian Library (Elliot 254), fol. 42r, dated to the 39th regnal year or 1594/5; the *Khamseh* of Nizāmi of the 40th regnal year, now in the British Museum (Or. MS. 12208), fol. 23v; an *Anvār-e Sohaylī* in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras, dated 1596, folios 48r, 71r, 190r; and a *Khamseh* of Amīr Khosrau Dihlavi (W. 624), in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, which is dated 1597/8. Two pages in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, are probably from the Baltimore *Khamseh* and should be attributed to this artist. They have been published in color. *Vide* M. Dimand, *Indian miniature painting*, Milan, n.d., pl. 10, and R. Ettinghausen, *Paintings of the sultans and em-*

tist's more familiar pictures is in the Bodleian Library's *Bahāristān of Jāmi*,<sup>14</sup> a nocturnal camp scene in which a woman struggles with a man. This painting enables us to isolate a multiplicity of the artist's idiosyncrasies, ranging from a particular kind of organic and frequently zoomorphic treatment of rocks, to stiff-jointed figures with rounded, pillowlike knees, and jaggedly silhouetted trees, spotted asymmetrically over the page.

Like its fellows, this miniature has been attached to an ugly modern mount adorned with a jungle of golden animals. A later version of this miniature is in the Berlin Museum.<sup>15</sup>

12.6 x 08.7 cm.

Ca. 1595.

5. *An Episode during a Hunt.* (Fig. 7.) Akbar sits on a mat by a stream, watching a water buffalo defend itself against a lion. Courtiers, beaters, and other attendants look on in astonishment as the emperor gestures to keep them from interrupting the uneven fight. In the foreground, an encampment of yogis and a family of goats seem oblivious to the drama, separated as they are from it by rocks and trees. A town amidst a craggy landscape can be seen in the distance. The picture is thinly painted in a palette of tans, pale blues, and greens, highlighted here and there with gold.

Although this miniature has been separated from the book or album of which it once was a part, it can be associated with another hunting scene, formerly in the collection of Sir Bernard Eckstein, which bears a

*perors of India*, Delhi, 1961, pl. 7. Further examples of his work will be mentioned below, No. 5.

<sup>14</sup> Vide I. Stchoukine, *La peinture indienne*, Paris, 1929, pl. X.

<sup>15</sup> Vide R. Ettinghausen, *The emperor's choice*, *De Artibus Opuscula*, vol. 40, ed. by Millard Meiss, New York, 1961, fig. 14.

contemporary attribution or signature to Miskin.<sup>16</sup> This miniature depicts Jahāngir, more accurately Salim, attacked by a wounded lion. It is similar in format to our picture and probably they once illustrated the same book. Stylistically, the Eckstein miniature and the one here are identical. Both can be assigned to Miskin.

As we have seen above, Miskin's style is not difficult to recognize once we are familiar with several of his autograph works, although his style evolves with time and certain changes can be noted. For instance, the hidden animal forms of rocks, so frequently discovered in the landscapes of the *Bahāristān* and *Shāhī* miniatures, are not so easily found in later paintings. Basil Gray has dated the Eckstein Lion hunt to 1610 on the basis of an episode in the *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri* which, however, describes the attack of a tiger, not a lion, and which took place while the emperor was hunting on horseback rather than mounted as here on an elephant.<sup>17</sup> The youthful appearance of Jahāngir, who is shown prior to his accession, and the picture itself argue for an earlier dating. Stylistically, it should not be much later than the illustrations to the *Anvār-e Sohayli* in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras, which is dated 1596.<sup>18</sup>

23.7 x 12.8 cm.

Late 16th century.

<sup>16</sup> B. Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 157, pl. 134. Since writing the above, we have seen other pictures attributable to Miskin in this palette. These are: 1. Beasts, real and mythological on a rocky hillside, Chester Beatty Library, Ms 73(1). (There is also a fully painted miniature of a closely related subject in the British Museum (1920-9-17-05.) 2. *The Animal Kingdom*, Freer Gallery of Art, No. 45.29. Vide R. Ettinghausen *Studies in Muslim Iconography*, 1. *The Unicorn*, Washington, 1950, pl. 37.

<sup>17</sup> B. Gray, *ibid.* Vide A. Rogers and H. Beveridge (eds.), *The Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, London, 1909, vol. 1, pp. 185-188.

<sup>18</sup> Vide footnote 13 above.



6. *A Girl Applying Kohl.* (Fig. 4.) Wearing a red and orange skirt, transparent orange *sāri* and yellow *choli*, a young girl stands with her face in profile, looking into a mirror. Black pom-poms hang at her shoulders, wrists, and back. Her jewelry is of gold, rubies, and pearls. The background is apple green. Although portraits of men are not uncommon, as we have seen, during this early phase of Mughal album painting, we know of few representations of unaccompanied girls.<sup>19</sup>

9.6 x 5.2 cm.

Late Akbar period.

7. *A Yogi with His Dog.* (Fig. 6.) The stooped figure holds his hands before his face as though seeking an offering. His costume consists of sandals, a bearskin cape, roughly pleated skirt, tinted pale blue, and a rope which hangs from his left shoulder. A conch shell, pouch, knife, begging bowl, and iron flail hang from his belt, and a long horn is suspended from a cord around his neck. Rather more elegant than most of his ilk, he wears an archer's ring, bangles, necklaces, earrings, and bracelets. He can be identified as a member of the Kanphata group of the Gurakhpanti sect of yogis, which has its headquarters at Gurakpur, near Banaras.<sup>20</sup>

07.8 x 05.2 cm.

Ca. 1600.

8. *A Running Elephant.* (Fig. 8.) The caparisoned animal is drawn in a fluent black line with occasional tints of red and orange,

<sup>19</sup> Vide Stchoukine, *Miniature indiennes* (op. cit.) pl. 2, b and No. 3619, H. b. Other later and provincial examples are bound with the Laud Ragamala series. See *Mughal miniatures of the earlier periods*, Bodleian Picture Book No. 9, Oxford, 1953, pls. 20, 21.

<sup>20</sup> I am indebted for this information to Shri Pramod Chandra, of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay.

as in the blanket and yak-tail frontal. Dashes and dots made with the tip of the brush suggest the rough texture of the skin, which is modeled toward the edges. The mahout wears a pointed *jāmeḥ*, a tightly wound turban, and carries a *katār*. He sits on a coarse mat, perhaps of fur, leaning back to balance the rocking motion of his mount. He closely resembles the figures in a portrait identified by Mr. Douglas Barrett as Burhān Nizām Shāh, II, of Ahmednagar, a painting to which the drawing has further stylistic affinities.<sup>21</sup>

18.0 x 16.4 cm.

Ca. 1600.

9. *Salim in the Hunting Field.* (Fig. 9.) The prince is enjoying one of his favorite activities, surveying a pair of nilgae that have fallen prey to his marksmanship. He is attended by a corps of huntsmen and courtiers, several of whom carry small game. In the middle distance, servitors stand by with refreshments. At the lower left, a cheetah mauls a dead buck from which he is about to be lured by a groom, who approaches stealthily, lead in hand. Salim is dressed in dark green and brown, a costume with a certain elegance but primarily intended as camouflage. His attendants are somewhat less soberly attired in subdued tones of blue, tan, and orange. A red sword case, held near the prince, is the brightest note in the color scheme, which is largely tan and green. The landscape recedes in coulisses of mottled earth fringed by tufts of weed and grass.

Another scene, in which Salim pursues a rhinoceros from an elephant, was formerly in the Sohn-Rethel collection.<sup>22</sup> It can be attrib-

<sup>21</sup> Vide D. Barrett, *Painting of the Deccan*, School of Ahmadnagar, London, 1958, p. 14, pl. 5.

<sup>22</sup> Vide E. Kühnel, *Die indischen Miniaturen der Sammlung Otto Sohn-Rethel*, Pantheon, vol. 8, Munich, 1931, p. 387, fig. 5. This miniature has also been published by R. Ettinghausen, *Studies in*

uted to the same hand as this page and must have come from the same biography of the heir apparent. A further example of this unknown artist's work is in a manuscript dated 1602/3, written by Mir 'Abd Allāh Kātib at Allahabad, Salim's headquarters prior to his coming to the throne as Jahāngīr.<sup>23</sup>

19.8 x 11.2 cm.

Early 17th century.

10. *A European Girl Accompanying Her Song on a Zither.* (Fig. 10.) She wears a close-fitting blue dress, a long gold scarf which billows and winds above her, and is seated on an ornate throne of the type associated with Savonarola. It is decorated with minutely drawn angels, saints, and figures running with hounds. A cat licks its paw at the lower right, near a vermilion pillow upon which the girl rests her bangled foot. The drawing is lightly tinted and is reminiscent of the figural borders made for Jahāngīr's albums.<sup>24</sup> The background, however, differs from these in its treatment of space, which recedes in the conventional Mughal fashion rather than being composed of weaving two-dimensional patterns suitable to marginal decoration.

Although it has not been possible to find the exact source of the figure, the style is akin

to that of Jacopo Francia of Bologna, who worked between 1486 and 1546.<sup>25</sup>

11. *A Presentation Scene.* (Fig. 11.) An amply robed woman is about to inscribe a book with a plume pen, assisted by an attendant who holds the document and ink pot. Before them a matronly figure stands, infant in arms, presumably awaiting a Christening. Beyond, on the porch of a pavilion, a second attendant awaits with a bottle of holy water. A scrawny cat and lean dog in the foreground admire an offering of watermelons, a cup, and an odd ewer with a human face. In the distance can be seen a typically Mughal row of trees and flying birds.

The drawing is in black ink and very like one attributed to Manōhar in the Gulistan Library,<sup>26</sup> Teheran. Both drawings seem to derive from engravings of the circle of Marcantonio Raimondi.

15.0 x 10.6 cm.

Early 17th century.

12. *A Mughal Nobleman.* (Fig. 12.) An elegant courtier offering a gem-studded cup and flask looks toward the right, his face in profile. An arch of floral arabesque ornament painted over gold frames the picture at the top. A yellow-green field with indications of grass spreads behind the figure, its color visible through the transparent muslin *jāmeḥ*. In the foreground, an iris and a plant with small red flowers add an element of reality to the setting. Plum-colored *pāījāmeḥ* and pale violet and gold establish the color scheme of the costume. Jewelry is worn in profusion: ruby and gold earrings, pearl and gold necklaces,

Muslim Iconography, I, *The unicorn*, Washington, 1950, pl. 33.

<sup>23</sup> Vide R. Ettinghausen, *Paintings of the sultans and emperors of India*, Delhi, 1961, pl. 8.

<sup>24</sup> Vide E. Kühnel and H. Goetz, *op. cit.* This publication describes the album now preserved in Tübingen. Other collections which include pages from this or identical albums are The William Rockhill Nelson Gallery, Kansas City; The Boston Museum of Fine Arts; The Fogg Art Museum; The Freer Gallery of Art, Washington; The Gulistan Library, Teheran; The Naprstek Museum, Prague; and (formerly) the Sohn-Rethel collection. Since writing the above, we have seen a painted version of this subject in the Gulshan album, Gulistan Library, Teheran.

<sup>25</sup> Vide A. M. Hind, *Early Italian engraving*, London, 1938-48, vol. 5, pp. 220-235; vol. 7, pls. 809-823.

<sup>26</sup> Vide J. V. S. Wilkinson and B. Gray, *Indian paintings in a Persian museum*, The Burlington Magazine, vol. 66, 1935, pp. 168-177, pl. 3, a.



four archer's rings as well as a *katār* of gold set with stones which owes as much to the jeweler as to the armorer. A damaged inscription has been deciphered as saying, "A young agha—may be good work by Nānha."<sup>27</sup> This is consistent with the style of the painting, which is that of an Akbari artist striving to adjust to the new manner of the Jahāngir period, with its greater tendency toward illusionistic detail.

13.0 x 06.0 cm.

Ca. 1615.

13. *Portrait of a Woman.* (Fig. 13.)

The ladies of Jahāngir's harem strike one as "handsome" rather than beautiful. They conform to the fashions that prevailed in the west during the Republican period in Rome, the high renaissance, and the late Victorian era; buxom, matronly types rather than their less substantial if prettier sisters were the vogue.<sup>28</sup> The subject of this portrait is obviously made of stern stuff. Her impassive profile, set against a black ground, is cast in a

heroic mould, although her daintily posed hand, the index finger raised in an Indian response to the baroque,<sup>29</sup> suggests that femininity was not foreign to her personality. Obviously a major figure in Jahāngir's household, she wears a transparent *odhni*, a fine muslin *choli*, and quantities of jewelry: two rings, four strands of huge pearls, two gold necklaces, a ruby and gold pendant, ruby and pearl earrings, and a similarly shaped hair ornament.

Although her identification cannot be certain, this forceful woman might be Nūr Jahān, who married the emperor in 1611 at the age of 34 and whose career was such as one might expect of the dynamic personality shown in this postage-stamp-size painting. In format, the picture is like several surviving likenesses of the emperor which appear to have been made to be worn as jewels.<sup>30</sup>

03.0 x 02.9 cm.

Ca. 1616.

<sup>27</sup> I am indebted to Mr. Robert Skelton of the Victoria and Albert Museum for this difficult translation.

<sup>28</sup> Vide A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Catalogue of the Indian collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, part VI, Mughal painting*, Cambridge, 1930, frontispiece and pls. 3–6. Both of these miniatures are birth scenes of the Jahāngir period, probably from a Jahāngir-nāme. They can be accepted as reliable portrayals of the imperial *zanāneh* during the early years of the reign. Further evidence of the emperor's taste in women is given in a portrait in which he embraces a lady, identified as Nūr Jahān by Ivan Stchoukine, *Portraits Moghols*, 2, Arts Asiatiques, vol. 7, No. 2, Paris, 1932, pp. 167–176, pl. 56. The more graceful clutch of women in a later *holi* scene in the library of Sir Chester Beatty probably represents a group of courtesans rather than members of the imperial family. This picture is published by Sir Thomas Arnold and J. V. S. Wilkinson. *The library of A. Chester Beatty, a catalogue of the Indian miniatures*, London, 1936, vol. 3, pl. 56.

<sup>29</sup> By the time of this painting European engravings, tapestries and paintings had long been familiar at the Mughal court. However, it is interesting to note that in 1616 a "small limned picture of a woman" by Isaac Oliver was given by Sir Thomas Roe to the emperor. (W. Foster, *The embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, London, 1899, vol. 1, p. 214, n. 1.) This British miniaturist's study of the work of the Italian mannerist, Parmigianino, and his association with emigré artists from Europe is well known (vide Graham Reynolds, *Nicholas Hilliard and Isaac Oliver*, London, 1947, pp. 11–17, pls. 27–48). It seems quite possible that the manneristic hand of our portrait and even the idea of a small portrait of a woman came about as a result of Sir Thomas Roe's gift.

<sup>30</sup> Vide Hollis, *Islamic art, selected examples from the loan exhibition of Islamic art at the Cleveland Museum of Art*, Cleveland, 1944, pl. 28. Another is in the British Museum. For a portrait of the emperor wearing such a jewel see I. Stchoukine, *La peinture indienne*, Paris, 1929, pl. 34. Sir Thomas Roe tells of receiving from the emperor "a picture of him selfe sett in gould hanging at a wire Gould chaine." (W. Foster, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 244.)

14. *A Page of Animal Studies*. (Fig. 15.) Natural history had long been an enthusiasm of the Mughal emperors. Bābur's memoirs include a long discourse on the fauna, as well as the flora, of Hindustan, although no contemporary drawings or paintings of animals have survived from either his reign or that of his son, Humāyūn. During the era of Akbar, animals were frequently painted, but seldom for their own sakes.<sup>31</sup> Jahāngīr's insatiable curiosity about the world—the objects of his interest ranged from walrus teeth to the effect of drink on an imperturbable *Sannyāsi* who had renounced this world, and of course to all forms of wildlife—combined with his love of painting to inspire a remarkable series of animal studies. His autobiography makes frequent reference to such commissions from his artists, whose mastery of the genre is demonstrated by a number of pictures which rival Dürer's in accuracy and sensitivity.

Our page is made up of several pictures brought together as a sort of collage. Originally, the composition was unified by an over-painted apple-green ground scattered with flowers. Although conceivably of the period, this was applied with little care and its removal reveals the acutely observed outlines and the tonal relationships of the subjects to their backgrounds.

The contented Tibetan Yak at the bottom of the page may well have been part of Jahāngīr's zoo. He is at pasture against a tan ground, which blends with delicious green grass bordering a stream. Much has been made of the textures; the toughness of horn

and hoof, velvety softness of the muzzle, and pliability of the red leather halter have each been sensed and recorded. His fur is remarkable in its variety, growing in woolly clumps on the flanks, sleek stubble on the nose, and in long white fleece, ready to be clipped and put to use as a *chauri*.

Above, a handsome young stag belies in his stance an apparently mortal bullet wound from which a fine stream of blood trickles onto the terra-verte ground. The knobby roughness of the antlers, lustrous coat, painted hair by hair, following the contours of the lithe body, and subtle transitions of tone, from palest tan to deep brown-black have been put before us with the peculiarly Mughal knack for combining painstaking attention to detail with animation.

Mounted with the two principle subjects are several smaller studies of nilgai, ibexes, fat-tailed sheep, deer, and goats. Several of these are painted over gold and must have been intended originally to serve as adjuncts to album pages of calligraphy.<sup>32</sup>

23.1 x 14.8 cm.

Ca. 1620.

15. *Sītā and Lakshmān*. (Fig. 16.) *Sītā* has fainted and Lakshmān, brother of Rāmā, prays for her recovery. She wears a saffron skirt and violet *choli*; he an orange *dhoti*, violet *dūpatteh*, and golden crown. The episode takes place in a deep green glade bordered by a stream and a river. A pair of jackals scampers in the foreground, one of them turning in surprise toward Lakshmān. A sinuously curved tree with a rich brown trunk leads our eyes from the central scene toward a white fort set on a distant hill, its remoteness increased by separation from the

<sup>31</sup> Exceptions are the animal subjects in such manuscripts as the *Bāburnameh* and the *ʿAjāʾib al-Makhlūqāt*, which nevertheless lack the accuracy of observation demanded of Jahāngīr's painters. The most powerful animal painting of the Akbar period is in the Victoria and Albert Museum's *Akbarnāmeḥ* (I.S. 2-1896) where the animals outlined by Basāwan and Miskīn are unsurpassed in Indian painting.

<sup>32</sup> Vide C. S. Clarke, *Indian drawings*, London, 1922, pl. 22. Similar animals are seen here in areas surrounding calligraphy.



figures by a large block of text. Above Sītā, two monkeys and birds play in a stunted tree. Duck, fish, and a rowing boat with two men can be seen on the distant river.

This page is from a copy of the *Razm-nāmeḥ*, the Persian translation of the Mahābhārata, from which a page dated 1616 is in the Victoria and Albert Museum.<sup>33</sup> The manuscript has been lost, but the style of the paintings connects it with two others which belonged to the Khān-e Khānān, one of the leading nobles at the courts of Akbar and Jahāngīr and a notable poet and bibliophile.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>33</sup> The dated page is unpublished. For other pages see W. G. Archer, *Indian miniatures*, Greenwich, 1960, pl. 24; M. Dimand, *An exhibition of Islamic and Indian paintings*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bulletin, vol. 14, No. 4, 1955, pp. 88, 89, fig. p. 94. There are five miniatures from this manuscript in the museum, three with attributions to Fāḍil, Mākāl, and Kāsim: M. F. Marcus, *A page from a dated Razm Nama*, The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art, vol. 48, No. 1, 1961, pp. 12–15, figs. 1, 2; Sotheby and Co., *Catalogue of important western and oriental manuscripts and miniatures*, Sale of May 19, 1958, lots 26–40; and B. Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 143, No. 643, pl. 122, wrongly identified and dated ca. 1585.

<sup>34</sup> *Vide* Sir Thomas Arnold and A. Grohmann, *The Islamic book*, Leipzig, 1929, pls. 85–87. This manuscript, a *Khamseh* of Amīr Khosrau Dihlavī contains an inscription by the Khān-e Khānān (discussed by H. Goetz, *Indian miniatures in German museums and private collections*, Eastern Art, No. 2, Philadelphia, 1930, p. 147), stating that it was purchased by him in Gujarat and contains the calligraphy of Sultān 'Alī and paintings by Bihzād. If the inscription can be believed, the miniatures must have been replaced by those of the owner's atelier, for so knowing a connoisseur could not have been the dupe of his own artist's work. According to Goetz (*op. cit.*) the miniatures are signed by Qasim, Nadim, and Mishkish. Another manuscript of this group has recently been published by R. Ettinghausen in *Paintings of the sultans and emperors of India*, pls. 3 and 4 and facing text. It also is inscribed by the Khān-e Khānān, to the effect that it was copied over a period of approximately ten years, apparently while

The miniature is inscribed with the artist's name, Fāḍil, whose work is from one of the other manuscripts of this group.<sup>35</sup> His style is individual. Broad and decorative in design, his forms seem to grow naturally around the blocks of the text, each shape leading to the next. He often crowds together near complementary colors of equal intensity, achieving a glowing effect. Pigment is applied in flat patterns, over which he draws an even, rhythmic tracery, as in the flowers, tufts of grass, rocks, and in the folds of costumes. Outline is wiry and sure, building a maximum of tension such as we see in the recumbent Sita, whose graceful curves and sharp angles dominate the space around her. Gestures and facial expressions are formalized, bringing to mind the stylized postures of the dance drama, by which perhaps they were influenced. And yet, as in the scurrying jackals and boatmen, Fāḍil was able to freeze the movement he saw and translate it into his own formal terms. Fāḍil's style, the most distinctive in the atelier of the Khān-e Khānān under discussion (for it seems unlikely that this great patron of the book could have been content with only this rough style and we know that Mādhū, a highly skilled painter was also in his employ) is of greater significance in relation to Rajasthani painting than Mughal. While it had no influence whatsoever on later Mughal work, the impact was immediate and direct on Rajasthani art. Not only does the *Laud Ragamala* set (Bodleian Library, MS. *Laud*, Or. 149) owe many of its elements to the style of Fāḍil, but also we have seen an early Bundi hunting scene thoroughly imbued with his manner.

Badāūni was engaged in making the translation. The style of the second plate published by Dr. Ettinghausen is so like the 1616 manuscript that one wonders if the completion of the illustrations did not require an even longer time than the copying of the text.

<sup>35</sup> *Vide* R. Ettinghausen, *ibid.*

The diffusion of this style will make one of the more interesting chapters in the history of Rajasthani painting. One wonders where the Khān-e Khānān's painters worked. Did they accompany him to the Deccan or were they located at one of his properties elsewhere? Jahāngīr tells of giving him a jagir in the Agra area, a most likely spot for the propagation of this kind of painting, which has such a fervid Rajasthani flavor.

37.0 x 22.1 cm.

Ca. 1616.

16. *A Bijapuri Nobleman*. (Fig. 14.) A dark-skinned courtier stands against a pale blue ground with his hands before him in a position of attentiveness. His costume is simple but elegant; over a robe and underrobe of white, a wide, also white shawl edged in gold of two tones has been wound to form rhythmic arcs. The turban is of conventional Bijapuri form and again white, with a broad crosspiece of tooled gold decorated with red and green. At the lower left, a patch of pink is all that remains of the *pāijāmeh*.

The portrait brings to mind another, in the British Museum, which is close in style.<sup>36</sup> The faces of both pictures are imbued with an almost Egyptian symmetry; the eyes have been transformed into almonds and the other features reduced to equally graceful elements. Nevertheless, the artist's preoccupation with abstract form has in neither case prevented him from achieving incisive portraiture.

Once a full-length portrait, this picture has been cut down and torn.

06.6 x 04.1 cm.

Deccan, School of Bijapur.

Ca. 1620.

<sup>36</sup> Vide B. Gray, *Deccani paintings: the school of Bijapur*, *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 73, No. 425, 1938, pp. 74-76, fig. C.

17, 18. *Two pages from an album*. (Figs. 17, 18). One of the more frequently encountered and easily identified of the imperial albums is that with miniatures set in borders decorated as a rule with large, fully painted figures, animals, and occasionally birds, surrounded by small gold flowers painted over the buff paper.<sup>37</sup> The marginal figures are sometimes busy at their occupations but more commonly stand somewhat stiffly, obediently facing the picture. Often these attendants were chosen from the immediate circle of the subject of the central portrait.

The album varies widely in quality. At best, these portraits maintain the high level established by Akbar and furthered by his son's discerning patronage. Although rather more taut in pose, reticent in expression, and almost vulgarly sumptuous, they remain in the tradition, with no technical falling off. However, they can be among the drabest of Mughal paintings; superficial facility of craftsmanship fails to conceal an essentially arid and meretricious reworking of a tiring formula. Of the imperial albums that can be reconstructed, this appears to be the latest of its epoch. Not only is it stylistically from the latter part of Shāh Jahān's reign, but also

<sup>37</sup> For reproductions of folios from this album vide Sir Thomas Arnold and J. V. S. Wilkinson, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, pls. 67-72; Percy Brown, *Indian painting under the Mughals*, Oxford, 1924, pls. 26, 27; E. Blochet, *Les peintures orientales de la collection Pozzi*, Paris, 1928-30, pl. 8 (a page of calligraphy with a border of birds and flowers, mistakenly catalogued as Persian, ca. 1490); E. Kühnel *Miniaturmalerei im islamischen Orient*, Berlin, 1923, pl. 117 (No. 17 below); G. Marteau and H. Vever, *Miniatures persanes*, Paris, 1913, vol. 2, pls. 158-160, 163, 164; F. R. Martin, *The miniature painting and painters of Persia, India, and Turkey*, London, 1912, vol. 2, pls. 211-215; Ivan Stchoukine, *Miniatures indiennes du Musée du Louvre*, Paris, 1929, pls. 13-15; *idem*, *Portraits Moghols*, 3, *Arts Asiatiques*, vol. 7, No. 4, 1932, pl. 72; Joseph Strzygowski, *Asiatische Miniaturmalerei*, Klagenfurt, 1933, figs. 254, 260, 262.



the emperor is shown only late in life. His imperial ancestors, too, are represented at advanced ages; perhaps it was some consolation to Shāh Jahān that he had already lived longer than most of them had.

17. *Akbar*. (Fig. 17.) The nimbed emperor stands on a clump of grass and flowers against a blue-green sky which blends with gold and orange clouds. He wears a pink *jāmeḥ* with narrow gold stripes decorated with red flowers, a matching *patkā*, and a white and orange turban. His *pāijāmeḥ* is green, worked with gold leaves. Shoes are red, gold, and orange. Contemporary portraits never adorn him with such an array of jewels. His four rings, double-stranded necklace of pearls, emerald pendant, gem-studded *katār*, with pearl and ruby fastener, and an even more sumptuous sword would seem better suited to Shāh Jahān than to his more Spartan grandfather. The emperor's expression is serious but benign; he gestures with his right hand and appears to be conversing, perhaps with the grandson who commissioned this portrait in his old age.

In the border above the emperor, two European angels hold a pearl-fringed gold canopy decorated in crimson over his head. Figures to the left carry a jeweled umbrella, a sword, and a shield. Below, a buck promenades behind two doe.

Border: 36.8 x 25.0 cm.

Miniature: 21.4 x 12.7 cm.

Mid-17th century.

18. *Shāh Jahān in Old Age*. (Fig. 18.) The gray-bearded ruler is seen in profile holding a sword and fly whisk. The sky is blue-green, streaked at the top with white and violet, a color also used in the emperor's *pāijāmeḥ*. His turban is red and green; otherwise the costume is entirely gold and white, punctuated by brilliant accents of pearls, emer-

alds, rubies, and a veritable garden of red, green, and gold flowers. In keeping with the portrait as a whole, which is an image of the official self, hermetic and quite unlike the psychologically telling likenesses of the Akbar and Jahāngīr periods, the wrinkles of old age have been hinted at but never delineated.

In the lower border, a small goat rests between a pair of lions, perhaps symbolizing the emperor's benevolent but firm rule, under which even the feeble were safe. Overhead, two angels carry a canopy and scroll upon which are written words from the Qurān. Three attendants in the right margin stand by with a covered tray, a jewel box, and a fly whisk. The miniature is signed by Hāshim. Border: 36.4 x 24.7 cm.

Miniature: 21.5 x 13.0 cm.

Mid-17th century.

19. *A Hindu girl at prayer*. (Fig. 19.) She lies on the ground by night, leaning on her elbows before a golden fire, the accoutrements of worship at her side. Her hands and bare feet are tinted with henna and she is dressed in gold, green, and violet. Behind, a dark landscape emerges from the gloom, revealing distant marble buildings and trees at the top of a range of small hills. The sky is blue-black with white stars and a crescent moon. A similarly nocturnal and romantic atmosphere is found in a painting of Murād Bāksh receiving a girl on a terrace.<sup>38</sup>

13.8 x 17.0 cm.

Third quarter 17 century.

20. *A Pair of Common Myna Birds*.<sup>39</sup> (Fig. 20.) Isolated against a dark, brick-red

<sup>38</sup> Vide W. G. Archer, *Indian miniatures*, Greenwich, 1960, pl. 46.

<sup>39</sup> I am grateful to Dr. R. A. Paynter of the Department of Comparative Zoology, Harvard University, for this information. The Latin name is *Acridotheres tristis*.

ground, the two birds turn to the left, the farther one apparently squawking in protest at what he sees. The nearer bird stands on one leg clutching the other to his body, the claws drawn in as though readied for sudden motion. Beaks and legs are yellow, breasts brown, tails and wings brown-black, tipped with gray. The pigment is highly polished and shows the rulings of a calligraphy on the other side of the folio.

14.6 x 09.5 cm.

Second half 17th century.

21. *A Party*. (Fig. 21.) Two ladies are seated on a terrace attended by three servants and a girl playing a *vina*. Thinly painted—the natural tone of the paper predominates—the artist has reserved opaque colors for the white rug, marble dais, cochineal pillows, and almost impressionistically painted still life of flowers, fruit, and wine vessels. The lady who offers her guest a cup of wine bears a striking resemblance to Awrangzib. Conceivably, she is one of his daughters.

An album of the Awrangzib period in the Victoria and Albert Museum contains another miniature of a similar subject by the same hand.<sup>40</sup> The somewhat Deccani character of these pictures can be explained by the large numbers of Mughals who were stationed in the Deccan during the 17th century. Although ostensibly involved in bitter warfare, the Mughal and Deccani nobles seem to have met more often over the wine cup than with

<sup>40</sup> (I.M.132-1885.9). The album is complete although dismantled. It contains a conventional portrait of Awrangzib, one of his father, and several of unidentified nobles of the period. The most elaborate portrait is of Fakhr Khān, a courtier who died in 1681, with his sons. There are also calligraphies, one of them written at Lahore in 1656, a number of French engravings, a fragment of a mid-16th-century Safavid miniature, a series of genre subjects, and an archaistic drawing after a European subject in the style of the Jahāngīr period.

sword in hand. One result of this contact, other than the prolongation of Awrangzib's costly and hopeless campaigns, was the development of a style of painting in which the lyrical flavor of Deccani art mingles with the more prosaic manner of the Mughals.<sup>41</sup>

15.7 x 11.8 cm.

Ca. 1670.

22. *Todi Ragini*. (Fig. 22.) This unusually lyrical version of the musical mode is set in an enchanting world of pink and green pinnacles, feathery trees, growing with no respect for scale, and seemingly transparent birds that flap across a pale sky spattered with blue clouds. Larger than any of the rocks or trees, a girl in orange and red, holding a *vina*, feeds grass to a buck while two doe stand coyly by.

A portrait of Tānā Shāh of Golconda ("The King of Taste") in the Bikaner collection<sup>42</sup> helps to establish the provenance and

<sup>41</sup> The outstanding example of this style is the papier maché box in the Victoria and Albert Museum (I.M. 851-1889) which has been published by Stella Kramrisch (*A survey of painting in the Deccan*, London, 1937, pl. XXI) and which can be attributed to Rahim Dakani on the basis of a signed painting in the collection of Sir Chester Beatty (B. Gray, *Painting*, *op. cit.*, No. 819, pl. 147). Another such box has been published by S. I. Tyulayev, *Indian art in Soviet collections*, Moscow, 1955, pl. 22. Deccani-Mughal paintings are not uncommon. The well-known room at Schönbrunn is virtually papered with them (*vide* J. Strzygowski, *Die indischen Miniaturen im Schlosse Schönbrunn*, Wien, 1923). Others are in an album (Min. 64) in the National Library, Vienna, and a further group is in the Musée Guimet. Of particular interest is a portrait in the Victoria and Albert Museum (I.S. 59.1949) which can be identified as Qilij Khān, a Persian employed by Awrangzib in the Deccan. He is shown with a girl whose costume and facial type are related to our terrace scene.

<sup>42</sup> *Vide* H. Goetz, *The art and architecture of Bikaner state*, Oxford, 1950, fig. 90. This picture was part of the booty taken by the Maharaja of





FIG. 1. — *A Rajput*, ca. 1575.



FIG. 2. — *A Master and His Pupil*,  
ca. 1585.



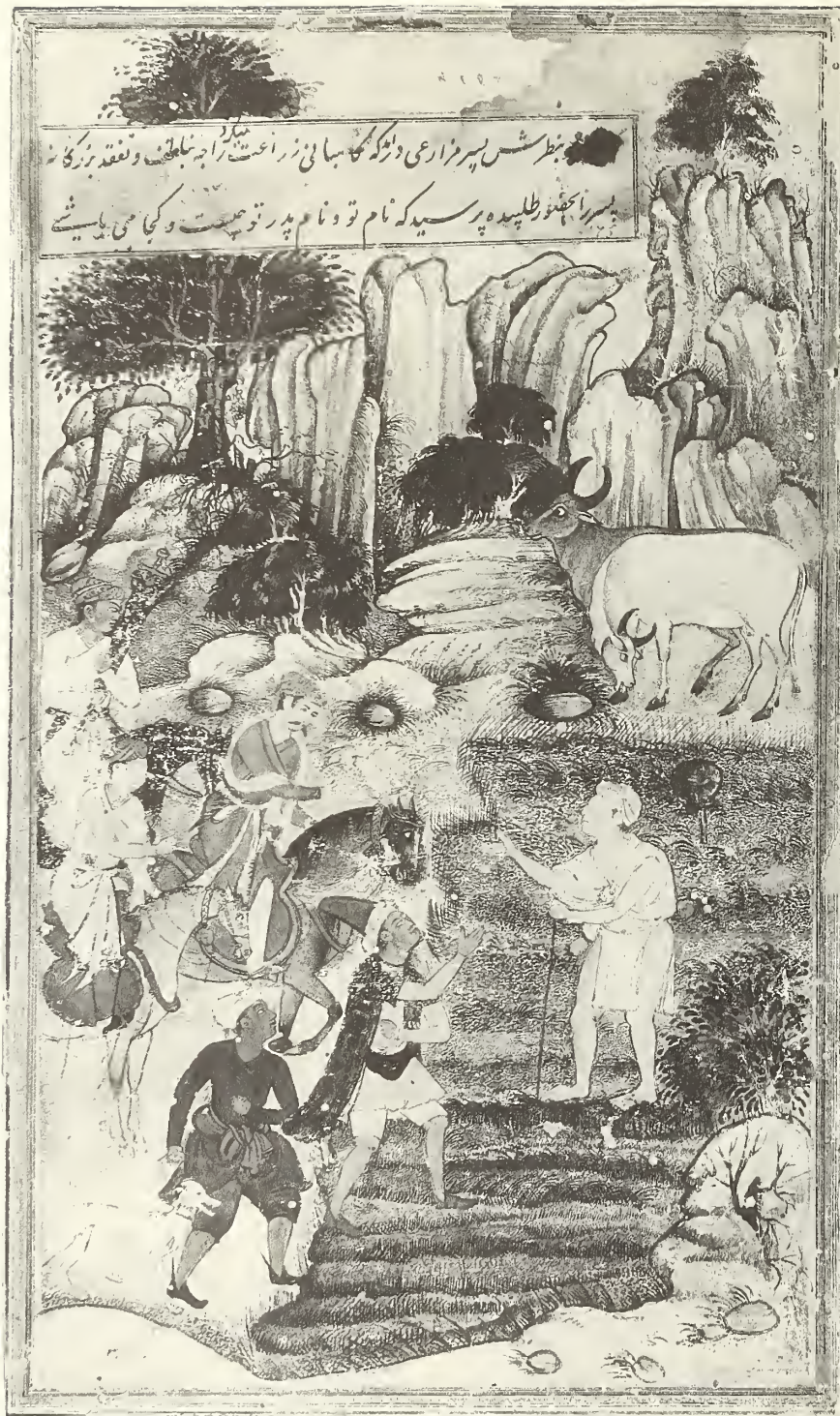


FIG. 3.—A Peasant Boy and an Armed Band, FROM THE *Tulināmch*, CA. 1580.



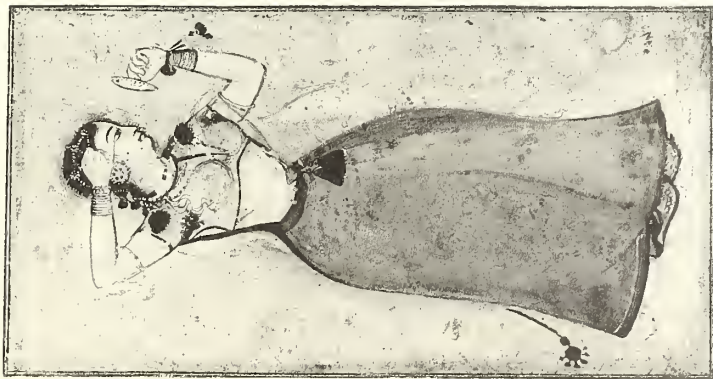


FIG. 4.—A Girl Applying Kohl,  
LATE AKBAR PERIOD.



FIG. 5.—A Prince Visits a Holy Man, FROM THE *Divan-e Shahi*.  
CA. 1595.

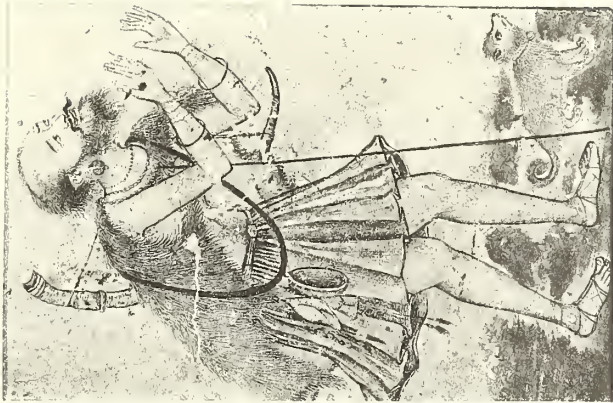


FIG. 6.—A Yogi with His Dog,  
CA. 1600.





FIG. 7.—*An Episode during a Hunt*, ATTRIBUTED TO MĪSKĪN, LATE 16TH CENTURY.





FIG. 8.—*A Running Elephant*, DECCAN, SCHOOL OF AHMEDNAGAR, CA. 1600.





FIG. 9.—*Prince Salim in the Hunting Field,*  
EARLY 17TH CENTURY.



FIG. 10.—*A European Girl with a Zither,*  
EARLY 17TH CENTURY.





FIG. 11.—*A Presentation Scene*, ATTRIBUTED TO MANOHAR,  
EARLY 17TH CENTURY.



FIG. 12.—*A Mughal Nobleman*, CA. 1615.



FIG. 13.—*Portrait of a Woman*, AFTER 1616.  
(Enlarged.)



FIG. 14.—*A Nobleman, DECCAN, SCHOOL OF BIJAPUR*, CA. 1620.  
(Enlarged.)





FIG. 15.—*A Page of Animal Studies*, ca. 1620.





FIG. 16.—Sītā and Lakshman, FROM A RazmnāmeH DATED 1616.





FIG. 17.—*Akbar in Old Age*, MID-17TH CENTURY.



FIG. 18.—*Shāh Jahān in Old Age*, MID-17TH CENTURY.





FIG. 19.—*A Hindu Girl at Prayer*, THIRD QUARTER 17TH CENTURY.



FIG. 20.—*A Pair of Common Myna Birds*, SECOND HALF 17TH CENTURY.





FIG. 22.—*Todi Ragini*, DECCAN, SCHOOL OF GOLCONDA,  
THIRD QUARTER 17TH CENTURY.



FIG. 21.—*A Party*, CA. 1670.





FIG. 23.—A Procession, PAINTED IN THE DECCAN FOR A MUGHAL PATRON, LAST QUARTER 17TH CENTURY.





date. Stylistically the two miniatures are close, if not by the same hand. No doubt the *ragamala* picture is from Golconda, a court noted for its interest in Hindu culture and it should not be much later than the portrait, which shows the ruler as a very young man.

17.2 x 10.0 cm.

Deccan, School of Golconda.

Third quarter 17th century.

23. *A Mughal Procession. (Fig. 23.)*

This section of a wider painting<sup>43</sup> depicts a Mughal prince in a palankin, accompanied by elephants, horsemen, and foot soldiers, which are silhouetted against the pale green background. Banners, palankin, elephant trappings, and most of the costumes are dark orange, the elephants gray, and the sky, typically Deccani with its spiral clouds, white, gold, and silver, materials that are used liberally throughout. Accents of pale yellow, green, and black among the costumes relieve the monotony of the limited palette.

Processions were a favorite subject in the Deccan.<sup>44</sup> This one, although Mughal in sub-

Bikaner at the fall of Adoni in 1689. It is inscribed with the name of Tānā Shāh, not of his son-in-law, as has been pointed out by W. G. Archer in *The problems of Bikaner paintings*, Marg, vol. 5, No. 1, Bombay, 1951, pp. 8–16. Archer dated the portrait to ca. 1660.

<sup>43</sup> Another piece, showing the prince's harem in closed palankins is in the collection of Howard Hodgkin, Esq., London.

<sup>44</sup> Vide Sir Thomas Arnold and J. V. S. Wilkinson, *op. cit.*, vol. 11, pl. 4, a page from the *Nujūm*

ject, owes much to Golconda prototypes. Such details as the face turned toward the spectator, as well as the gaily caparisoned, very fat elephant, and the generally lighthearted atmosphere suggest that the painter had been trained in the Golconda sphere. Further evidence is supplied by the less lively but related series of Golconda paintings that illustrate the *Storia do Mogor*, the memoirs of the garrulous Venetian, Niccolao Manucci, who acquired them prior to 1686.<sup>45</sup> The artist has two claims upon us: he draws with disarming wit and freshness of touch and is particularly adept in recording movement; his palki bearers and foot soldiers are among the few in Indian painting who seem actually to walk.

35.4 x 24.6 cm.

Deccani-Mughal.

Last quarter 17th century.

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*al-'Ulūm*, manuscript dated 1570 and probably from Bijapur. Other processions also occur in this manuscript. F. R. Martin, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pl. 208, a superb Golconda example, showing 'Abdallāh Qutb Shāh (1626–72) riding an elephant through the city, a mid-17th-century painting; Stella Kramrisch, *op. cit.*, pls. 16–19, a somewhat later example of the same ruler, now in the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay. Later in Schönbrunn (J. Strzygowski, *op. cit.*, pls. 6, 11, 11a) and in the Musée Guimet (Nos. 35.548, 35.563).

<sup>45</sup> These are now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (O.D. 45). They have been published in Niccolao Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, tr. by W. Irvine, London, 1907, vols. 1–4. Although in Golconda style, the pictures are hack work. Vide R. Skelton, *Documents for the study of painting at Bijapur*, Arts Asiatiques, vol. 5, No. 2, 1958, p. 105.





## INDO-ISLAMIC FIGURAL SCULPTURE

BY HERMANN GOETZ

FIGURAL SCULPTURES ARE, EVEN MORE THAN paintings, an exception in Islamic art. Because of the danger of an idolatrous misuse—so tempting to primitive minds—Islam has frowned upon the representation of living, especially human, beings. In practice, opinion has oscillated between a puritan trend condemning it altogether, and a more liberal one permitting it wherever its character or location would exclude such an abuse. Sculptures were much more affected by such restrictions as they cannot be enjoyed privately like book illustrations and miniatures, are more exposed to the eye of the public and, being tridimensional, nearer to living bodies. However, the Omayyad and early 'Abbāsid caliphs, the Fāṭimids, the Saljūqs, the Atabegs of Iraq and Syria, and the Safavids of Persia permitted figural reliefs and even statues, though only in places dissociated from religious worship. The overwhelming majority of these sculptures was executed under the Atabegs of Mosul and Diyārbakr, and likewise under the Saljūqs of Rūm. Whereas those made for the early caliphs were more or less echoes of the preceding Syrian and Sāssānian tradition, the latter seem to represent remnants of "Siberian," Central Asian Buddhist or Nestorian, and Sāssānian art, so far as their motifs had been absorbed into the folk style of the Turkish nomads. These motifs, therefore, are mainly heraldic lions, sphinxes, dragons, griffins, eagles, and other birds, occasionally also anthropomorphic figures such as sitting men (drinking or playing musical instruments), warriors on foot or horseback, or flying angels.

In India hitherto little attention has been paid to such reliefs and statues. Only the elephant figures outside the southern gate of

the Red Fort at Delhi<sup>1</sup> have been much discussed. Other elephant statues were noted at Ājmer,<sup>2</sup> Mandū,<sup>3</sup> Hāthī Nālā (on the Pir Pantsāl Road to Kashmīr),<sup>4</sup> and the Nishāt Bagh in Kashmīr,<sup>5</sup> a statue of Akbar's horse near Sikandra,<sup>6</sup> lion figures near Akbar's bridge at Jaunpur, two cameos at Paris<sup>7</sup> and Lahore,<sup>8</sup> an alabaster relief bust of Shāh-jahān in the Rijksmuseum at Amsterdam,<sup>9</sup> portraits of the emperors Akbar and Jahāngir on Mughal gold coins, a medallion in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts,<sup>10</sup> lion, elephant and *gaṇḍabheruṇḍa* reliefs on the walls of the Qal'a-i Kuhna (Sher Shah's Fort) at Delhi<sup>11</sup> and of various forts of the Deccan. Most of these figures have been interpreted as results of Hindu influence.

However, the problem is not so simple. First, the number of such sculptures in the round as well as in relief is much greater.

<sup>1</sup> Annual Report, *Arch. Survey of India*, 1905-06, p. 33ff.

<sup>2</sup> Journal of the United Provinces Hist. Soc., vol. 3, 1928, p. 88ff., p. 106ff.

<sup>3</sup> Gh. Yazdani, *Mandū*, Oxford, 1929.

<sup>4</sup> R. C. Kak, *Antiquities of Bhīmbar and Rajaurī*, Calcutta, 1923.

<sup>5</sup> *Idem*, *Ancient monuments of Kashmīr*, London, 1933, p. 101.

<sup>6</sup> Annual Report, *Arch. Survey of India*, 1921-22, pl. 2d.

<sup>7</sup> H. Goetz, *India: five thousand years of Indian art*, London, 1959, p. 224.

<sup>8</sup> Annual Report, *Arch. Survey of India*, 1905-06, p. 33, fig. 1.

<sup>9</sup> H. Goetz, *The Indian and Persian miniature paintings in the Rijksprentenkabinet*, Amsterdam, 1958, p. 45f., pl. 21.

<sup>10</sup> A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Catalogue of the Indian collections*, vols. 1-2, Cambridge, Mass., 1933, p. 146.

<sup>11</sup> Annual Report, *Arch. Survey of India*, 1902-03, p. 77ff., etc.

In the course of the years I have traced more than threescore; and it seems probable that a systematic survey, especially of the many hardly explored hill forts, will yield some hundreds more. Then, only part of these sculptures is of Hindu ancestry, and even that of different traditions, whereas the other part is of genuine Islamic origin. Finally, these figural sculptures were in fashion only during about two centuries and separated from their Near Eastern prototypes by a time lag of two to three hundred years.

The sculptures I could study myself are as follows: (1) Āgra: Relief panels of elephants on the river front of the Mughal fort, a parrot in the decoration of the Jahāngīrī Mahal, the life-size head of a horse outside the west side of the fort (all of the late 16th or early 17th centuries, resp.); (2) Ahmedābād: Birds on Dādā Harir's stepwell (1500), lions on a stepwell by the side of the Īsānpur mosque (early 16th century); (3) Bīdar: Lions' reliefs on the Sharza Darwāza (1503) of the Fort and the Takht-i Kirmānī (a Shī'ite sanctuary between 1436 and 1458) in the town;<sup>12</sup> (4) Bijāpur: Lion reliefs on the Mecca Gate (between ca. 1530 and 1577), Sharza Burj, the former palace entrance (now church); lion and elephant statues in front of the entrance to the Gol Gumbaz, fish reliefs on that latter, lion and elephant figures and *ham̄sas* (swans or geese) in à-jour relief on the balcony brackets of Mihtar Mahal (ca. 1620), figures of *ham̄sas* as balcony supports in the water palace of Kumātgi (ca. 1520–30), ivory box in the Baroda Museum with relief portraits of Ibrāhīm 'Ādilshāh II, the queen-mother Chand Bibī and the minister Khawāss Khān;<sup>13</sup> (5) Chambā (Panjāb Himalaya):

Lion relief in the Hanuman Temple (Lakshmi-Nārāyan compound), lion statues in the Bhagvatī, Champāvati, and Chāmunḍā temples, all of the 16th–17th centuries, but of pronounced, though very archaic Islamic type;<sup>14</sup> (6) Chanderi: Lion reliefs on city gates; (7) Chikalda (near Amrāotī): Griffins holding elephants in their claws (*gaṇḍabheruṇḍa*) on the Barā Darwāza (Bahmanī); (8) Mughal coins: Gold coins with portraits of Akbar and Jahāngīr (bust, and seated drinking), the zodiacal signs, a coin with the figures of a walking couple, interpreted as a reference to the envisaged marriage of Sultān Dāniyāl with a Bijāpur princess;<sup>15</sup> (9) Daulatābād: Elephant reliefs at the entrance to the Fort; animal heads at the back ends of guns (probably later Nizāmshāhī period, 1600–33); (10) Delhi: Reliefs at the south gate (elephants) and north gate (lions attacked by small men) of Purāna Qal'a; elephant statues at the inner Delhi Gate of the Red Fort (see above); door knobs in the shape of an elephant with rider (front half only) in the private rooms of the emperor (Tasbīh Khāna); (11) Fathpur Sikri: On two capital brackets of the Panch Mahal an elephant group and a man plucking fruits from a tree with the help of a long rod; reliefs in the Turkī Sultāna's House representing a landscape with lions attacking buffaloes and deer; minor animal motifs in the wall decoration of the so-called House of Rājā Birbal;<sup>16</sup> (12) Golconda: On two huge halls opposite the principal entrance to the fort lion and eagle reliefs in stucco; on a bas-

<sup>14</sup> Hermann Goetz, *The coming of Muslim cultural influence in the Panjab Himālaya*. India Antiqua (a volume of Oriental studies presented to J. P. Vogel), Leiden, 1947, pp. 156–166.

<sup>15</sup> Stanley Lane-Poole, *Coins of the Mughal emperors of Hindustan in the British Museum*, London, 1892.

<sup>16</sup> E. W. Smith, *Moghul architecture at Fathpur Sikri*, Allahabad, 1894–98.

<sup>12</sup> Gh. Yazdani, *Bīdar: its history and monuments*, London, 1947, pls. 3, 65.

<sup>13</sup> H. Goetz, *An ivory box of Chand Bibī, queen-regent of Bijāpur*, Bull. Baroda Museum, vol. 2, No. 2, 1946, p. 29ff.



tion to the north of it balconies resting on lion brackets; on the Yalī Darwāza (ca. 1550–80)<sup>17</sup> a lintel with a lotus between two *vyālīs* (elephant-lions) and two *ham̄sas* catching snakes; on the Banjarī Darwāza lions, *ham̄sas*, a buffalo fighting with a lion (“tiger”), a *gaṇḍabheruṇḍa*; on the gate near the Petla Burj a battle between two elephant riders, at the entrance of a well nearby *makaras*, lions, *ham̄sas*, and snakes; (13) Gulbarga: Lions and *gaṇḍabheruṇḍas* on the big arch at the dargāh of Ḥaẓrat Gēsū Banda Nawāz (1461–63); lions on the porch wall of a building nearby; fishes and *gaṇḍabheruṇḍas* cut of iron plate as studs on a gate nearby; (14) Jaunpur: Two statues of lions striking down elephants, near Akbar’s bridge; (15) Jodhpur: Dragon figures on several guns of Islāmic origin, on the Fort; (16) Lucknow: Two lion statues in the Provincial Museum; the fish coat-of-arms on the palaces and imāmbāras of the Nawābs of Oudh; (17) Mandū: The Hāthi-Darwāza (elephant gate) and Nāhar Jharokhā (Tiger Balcony) of Jahāngīr; (18) Nishāt Bagh (Dal Lake, Kashmir): Two elephant reliefs at the entrance, two statues in the garden (see above; the latter not seen); (19) Pūrāndhār: Lion and *gaṇḍabheruṇḍa* reliefs on a gate of the Nizamshāhī period; (20) Sikandra: Memorial statue of Akbar’s favorite horse.

In analyzing this probably far from complete material, one can distinguish three groups:

1. The pure *Saljūq* tradition can be traced at Chambā, Bijāpur (Mecca Gate), Chanderi and especially Golconda (Petla Burj, one relief at Banjarī Gate). The subject matter is chiefly lions: single lions, two lions with a common head, fights between lions and buffaloes,

<sup>17</sup> H. K. Sherwani, *Cultural and administrative set-up under Ibrahim Qutb Shah (1550–1580)*, Islamic Culture, vol. 31, No. 3, July 1957.

war scenes. They belong mainly to the 16th century; one or the other may go back to the 15th; some are even of the early 17th century. But the matter is rather complicated. None of these sculptures comes from the then leading art centers, but from capitals just founded or provincial towns; the Chambā examples even were placed into the walls or in front of Hindu temples about 1660. Thus, in all cases we have to do with provincial art which may have had a considerably older tradition that is lost today. In any case the survival of the Saljūq typology into a period 300 years later cannot be explained otherwise. And it seems even probable that the carriers of this late Saljūq tradition were Hindus. In Chambā this was indubitably the case, and this example does not stand isolated; e.g., the decoration of the Hīrmā temple at Manāli (1543), Kulū, faithfully preserves motifs best known from the caliphs’ palaces at Sāmarrā. Rājput folk art first preserved Sāssānian (e.g., at Tārāngā Hill), ‘Abbāsīd (Ghaznī throne at Pūgal), and a number of Saljūq motifs; later it preserved the early, then the classical, Mughal tradition for at least two centuries longer.<sup>18</sup> One might ask why it is that not a single example of the early Indo-Islamic period has survived. But the historians mention, especially, such motifs as the decoration of thrones, etc., and likewise Jaina copies of Islamic miniatures show similar thrones.<sup>19</sup> None, however, has survived, as there intervened reigns of bigotry when paintings and figural sculpture were systematically destroyed, in addition to the vast amount of general destruction by wars, neglect, quarrying, and looting.

<sup>18</sup> The question might likewise be raised how far the reliefs on the throne terrace at Vijayanagar (1518) represent the genuine Hindu folk style, or how far they may be distant offshoots of the “Saljūq” style. The aesthetic relationship is obvious.

<sup>19</sup> A. P. Shah, *Srikālikāchāryakathā Samgraha*, Ahmedabad, 1949, pl. 12.

2. *The Mongol-Persian tradition:* Probably the stucco medallions on the two Persian halls opposite the principal gate of Golconda Fort, possibly also one of the crouching lion figures in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow. The first look as if they had been inspired by textile designs.

3. *The Deccani-Hindu tradition:* Lions, *gaṇḍabheruṇḍas*, *makaras* (crocodiles), *hamsas* (geese or swans), and peacocks, found at Gulbarga, Bidar, Bijāpur, Golconda, Jaunpur, Daulatābād, and Jodhpur. The two lion statues at Jaunpur are utterly alien to North Indian art and must be booty from the Deccan. Also the dragon figures on the cannons on Jodhpur Fort look Deccanī and closely related to one of the guns at Daulatābād. As during most of the 17th century the Rājput princes fought on the side of the Mughal armies in the Deccan, and as the Mughal troops invading Jodhpur State in the reigns of Aurangzēb and Bahādur Shāh had mainly been veterans from the Deccan front, the presence of such Deccanī guns there is not surprising (also Bikāner, e.g., has a big collection of arms from the Deccan, mainly swords). The violent, almost grotesque lion figures of Hindu-Deccanī art have not the least similarity with the smooth, plump Saljūq lions. By the way, we have also pictorial representations of "Saljūq" lions, e.g., on the tile pictures of the Takht-Khāna (1422–36) at Bīdar,<sup>20</sup> on the walls of Mān Singh Tomar's palace on Gwālīor Fort, and finally on a unique textile fragment in the Calico Museum, Ahmedabad.<sup>21</sup> The Hindu-Deccanī lions, however, go back to an old indigenous

tradition leading up from Kshatrapa times via the heraldic emblems of the Kadambas, Hoysalas and the Vijayanagar emperors. The motif then was indiscriminately used by all sultans of the Deccan. Its last descendant was the tiger used as emblem by Tipū Sultān of Mysore (1782–99), both on coins and on statues (a most revealing one in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London), though more as a symbol of the sultān's courage. Of the same origin is the lion standing victoriously on top of an elephant, or the griffin holding small elephants in his claws (*gaṇḍabheruṇḍa*). As the lion had been the royal emblem of the foreign invaders, especially the Scythians, and as the elephant had been that of the national Indian kings, it seems that the lion defeating the elephant was one of the emblems of the Kshatrapas of Western India; in any case, it can be traced as far back as that dynasty in figures once crowning pillars. (There are three examples in the Baroda Museum.) In Maurya art, however, the lion had been a Buddhist emblem. Another tradition connects these with the lions on top of the Jain temples all over Rājasthān. The dragons actually are transformations of the Indian crocodile (*makara*), the emblem of the goddess Gangā (Ganges). The *hamsas* are completely stylized, exactly like the Sāsānian cocks; but

the motif was quite common in Indo-Islamic art from at least the 15th century, whereas those boxes represent a quite isolated case. In view of the already mentioned tendency of late Hindu art, to take over and to preserve archaic Islamic motifs, the design on those boxes has rather to be interpreted as the last degenerate offshoot of what on the textile piece still appears as a monumental art. But even if we can now accept the fragment in the Calico Museum as pre-Mughal, its date remains uncertain. For if the Indo-"Saljūq" style of the 15th–16th centuries can only be explained as a reemergence, there must have existed fewer monumental links with the genuine Saljūq style. The textile fragment in question, however, may be a product of that reemergence, but one of those missing links as well.

<sup>20</sup> Gh. Yazdani, *Bīdar*, pls. 36–37.

<sup>21</sup> I have attributed it to the pre-Mughal period (cf. *Oriental Art*, n. s. I, 1955, p. 22ff.). John Irwin, on the other hand, contends that it was of the 17th century, on the evidence of almost identical designs on Indo-Portuguese inlaid boxes in the South Kensington Museum. However, as this study proves,



these latter were a loan from Indian art in the time of Khusrau II, though via Sāssānian art they became a common motif in Islamic art. The peacocks (and also parrots) likewise are a very old Indian motif; *Ham̄sas*, peacocks, and parrots, however, normally had no heraldic character,<sup>21a</sup> but served mainly as decorative motifs for pleasure resorts, especially for rooms and buildings reserved for ladies. But both were known also in early Christian, Byzantine, Syrian, and Armenian art. Thus all these motifs were already familiar to the Muslims, whether from Sāssānian, Syrian, or Saljūq art, the *makara*-dragons being a substitute for the dragons used on Central Asian standards, the *gaṇḍabheruṇḍa* an evolution of the lion and griffin. They represent, therefore, no real loans from Hindu art but are merely substitutes in a different style, the one to which the Hindu masons working for their Muslim employers were accustomed.

4. *Mixed style*: This explains also why a number of sculptures have a Saljūq feeling, although the exact iconography of their motifs is Hindu; or why even their iconographic type has become mixed (Deccanī lions, but with the haunch medallions of Central Asian, Saljūq, and Romanesque art). Such pieces are found, e.g., at Bidar (Takht-i Kirmānī), Golconda (Banjarī Gate, entrance to a cistern near the Petla Burj, all Hindu figures, but treated in the "Saljūq" manner), and Daulatābād (elephant reliefs near the fort entrance).

5. *The Gujarāti-Rājput tradition* represented a renaissance of North Indian medieval art (salvaged by the persistent efforts of the Jaina community) in the period from the late 14th to the 17th century, slowly changing over into the genuine early Rājput style. In this new style the medieval architectural types

and sculptural motifs were highly simplified and mixed with a certain number of Islamic forms. It needed, therefore, merely a slight shifting of accent in order to adapt this style also to Muslim use. This had already been done under the Tughluq dynasty of Delhi (the enclosure of the mausoleum of Sultān Ghiyās-ud-dīn and Hauṣ-i *Khaṣṣ*); under the sultāns of Gujarāt where occasionally also figural sculptures turn up, e.g., on Dādā Harīr's stepwell and on that at Isānpur; and, to a lesser degree, under the sultāns of Mālwa. Already the Jains used to place elephant statues at the entrances to their temples, first with the figures of the princes and rich merchants who had financed their erection or restoration, later as simple decorative motifs. Then they were placed at the entrances of the royal palaces in Rājasthān (e.g., Udaipur, Būndī, Bikāner, etc.). When Akbar had captured Chitorgaṛh, the capital of the mahārānās of Mewār, in 1568, he is said to have set up two elephant statues of its brave defenders, Jaimal and Patṭa, in front of Agra Fort. They were later transferred to Delhi, demolished by the Emperor Aurangzēb and restored by the side of the Delhī Gate of the Red Fort in the first years of this century. Though this may have been the motive for setting up just this pair of statues, it was not the first occasion. For already in 1526 Bābūr had seen similar statues at the entrance of the Agra palace of Jalāl Khān, the brother of Ibrāhīm, the last Lodī sultān.<sup>22</sup> Jahāngīr had another pair set up at the Hāthī Darwāza when in 1617 he stayed at Mandū. Other common figural motifs of early Rājput art are horse statues, elephant or lion brackets, peacocks, *ham̄sas*, and par-

<sup>21a</sup> Peacocks were the coat-of-arms of the Maurya emperors, but not later.

<sup>22</sup> P. Brown, *Indian painting under the Mughals*, London, 1923, fig. 32. That the Mughals soon became familiar with Jain sculpture is proved by the fact that almost all "Hindu" sculptures depicted on early Mughal miniatures (e.g., in the *Hamza-Nāma*, *Dārāb-Nāma*, etc.), represent Tirthankars.

rots. A horse statue stands, e.g., at Būndī; a fragment of another is outside Agra Fort, regarded as the memorial of the faithful horse of Rājā Amar Singh of Nāgaur (killed in the fort in 1634); Akbar set up one for his favorite horse not far from his mausoleum. Horse, elephant, and lion brackets one finds in many Rājput palaces and in the Kṛishṇa temples erected by the Kachhwāha rājās of Āmber at Brindāban (Govind-Deo) and Govardhan (Harideo). Thereafter they became very common in the Mughal palaces of Fathpur Sikrī ("Rājā Birbal's House"), Agra (Jahāngīrī Mahal), Lahore (do.), Allāhābād (Chausat Khamba), and Kashmir (Shālimār Bagh), though the figures were increasingly transformed into abstract ornaments. The same happened to the peacock brackets (e.g., in the Lahore palace.) In the same trend were the gold coins of Akbar and Jahāngīr, with figural motifs. The bust portraits evidently are based on miniatures. But those with the figure of Jahāngīr, a cup in hand, go back on Saljūq, even Sāssānian prototypes, like the zodiacal signs known already in miniatures on MSS. of the 'Abbāsīd School. On the other hand the "commemoration coin for prince Dāniyāl's marriage" (which never came off because of his death)<sup>23</sup> clearly is an adaptation of a well-known motif of Rājput painting, i.e., Rāma and Sītā in exile.

This whole trend was part of the policy of Akbar and Jahāngīr to achieve a reconciliation between Muslims and Hindus, with intermarriages and a syncretistic culture in which Rājput architecture had an equal share with the earlier Indo-Islamic and Safavid styles, and in which Rājput painting at last became the basic style underlying classic Mughal painting. But after the accession of Shāhjahān in 1628, in fact, already during the later years of Jahāngīr, the anti-Hindu Muslim orthodoxy

got the upper hand, and Rājput figural sculpture disappeared from Mughal art. The elephant figures of the Nishāt Bāgh (1633) in Kashmir are its last examples. But the builder of that garden, the old grandwazīr Āṣaf Khān, likewise was a venerated relic of Jahāngīr's reign.

Thereafter there survived only the fish symbol which we find both on the Gol Gumbaz at Bijāpur (1628–56) and on the buildings of the Nawābs of Oudh (the oldest of which already had been called Machchhī Bhavan, i.e., fish palace) at Lucknow; however, this motif is just the last remnant of the Māhi-Marāṭib, the dragon and other standards, symbol of sovereignty in Mughal times. Though the Māhi-Marāṭib was of Central Asian origin, the fish reliefs have become purely Indian.

6. *The Mughal tradition* is represented by the small portrait of Shāhjahān (alabaster) in the Rijksmuseum, and two cameos of Jahāngīr's time, one in Paris (Jahāngīr killing a lion), another at Lahore (elephant fight). There is strong reason, however, to surmise that none of them are genuine Indian creations, but the work of European adventurers temporarily engaged by the Mughal emperors,<sup>24</sup> though they were obviously inspired by indigenous miniatures. Also the small plaque in the Boston Museum is not Mughal, as all the women wear Hindu costumes. Rather it is a Rājput work, in the relief style based on Mughal-Rājput paintings, such as we find at Bairāt, Bikāner, Devikund, Kolāyat,<sup>25</sup> Udaipur, Kotah, Chamba,<sup>26</sup> Bilāspur, etc., and of

<sup>24</sup> Much of the mosaic work in semiprecious stones on Shāhjahān's building has been from the hand of Italian artists, especially the Orpheus mosaic on the throne balcony of Delhi Fort.

<sup>25</sup> H. Goetz, *Art and architecture of Bikaner*, Oxford, 1950.

<sup>26</sup> *Idem*, *The Basohli reliefs of the Brahmar Koṭhī*, ca. 1670, Roopalekha, vol. 25, No. 1, 1954,

<sup>23</sup> Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, pl. 5, No. 172.





FIG. 1.—PARROTS,  
NICHE, JAHĀN-  
GĪRĪ MAHAL,  
AGRA FORT,  
CA. 1610-20.



FIG. 2.—STATUE OF HORSE OF RAJA  
AMAR SINGH, SINGH OF NĀGAUR  
(KILLED 1634), IN FRONT OF AGRA FORT.

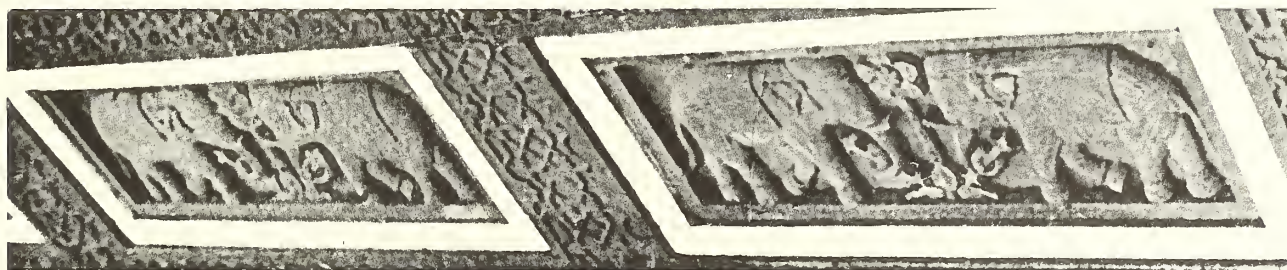


FIG. 3.—ELEPHANT RELIEFS ON THE RIVERSIDE FAÇADE OF AGRA FORT, END 16TH CENTURY.



FIG. 4.—LION FIGURE FROM A STEPWELL NEAR THE  
ISĀNPUR MOSQUE, AHMEDĀBĀD,  
CA. EARLY 16TH CENTURY.



FIG. 5.—HĀMSAS ON DĀDĀ HARĪR'S STEPWELL,  
AHMEDĀBĀD, CA. 1500.





FIG. 6.—RELIEF ON THE TAKHT-I KIRMĀNĪ,  
BĪDAR, CA. 1436-58.



FIG. 7.—LION RELIEF ON THE SHARZA DARWĀZA,  
BĪDAR, 1509.



FIG. 8.—RELIEF ON THE ENTRANCE OF BĪJĀPUR PALACE  
(LATER CHURCH), CA. END 16TH CENTURY.



FIG. 9.—TWO LIONS WITH ONE COMMON HEAD, MECCA GATE,  
BĪJĀPUR, CA. 1530-77.



FIG. 10.—HĀMSA BRACKETS, WATER PALACE  
OF KUMATGI, NEAR BĪJĀPUR, EARLY  
16TH CENTURY.

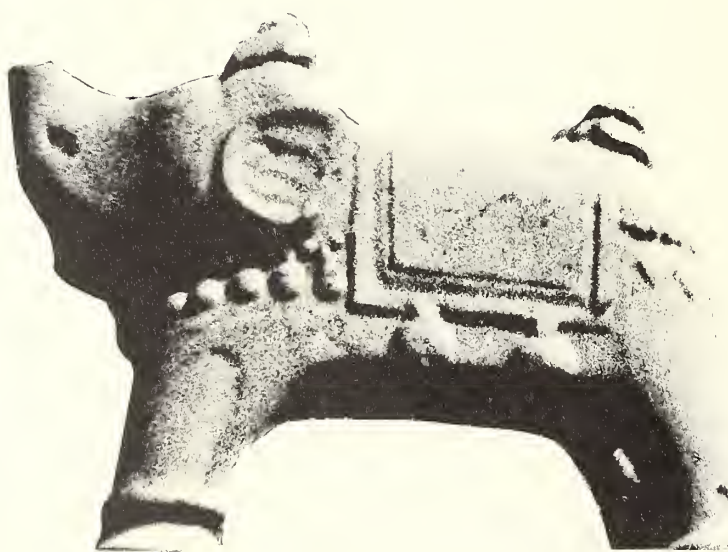


FIG. 11.—ELEPHANT STATUE, NEAR THE GOL GUMBĀZ, BĪJĀPUR.



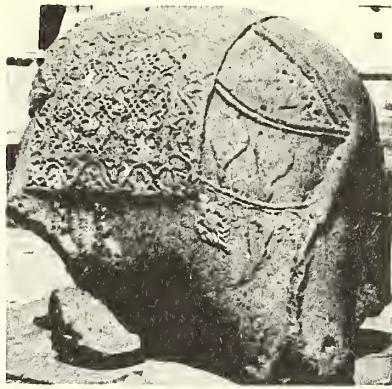


FIG. 12.—ELEPHANT TORSO NEAR  
GOL GUMBAZ, BĪJĀPUR, END  
OF 16TH CENTURY.



FIG. 13.—HAMSA BRACKET OF THE  
MIHTAR MAHAL, BĪJĀPUR, CA. 1620.



FIG. 14.—LID OF AN IVORY BOX,  
PROBABLY REPRESENTING IBRĀ-  
HĪM ADILSHĀH II AS A MINOR,  
THE QUEEN REGENT, CHAND  
BĪBĪ, AND THE MINISTER,  
KHAWĀSS KHĀN, BĪJĀPUR,  
CA. 1580. Baroda Museum.



FIG. 15.—LION ON TOP OF AN ELEPHANT,  
BRACKET, MIHTAR MAHAL, BĪJĀPUR,  
CA. 1620.

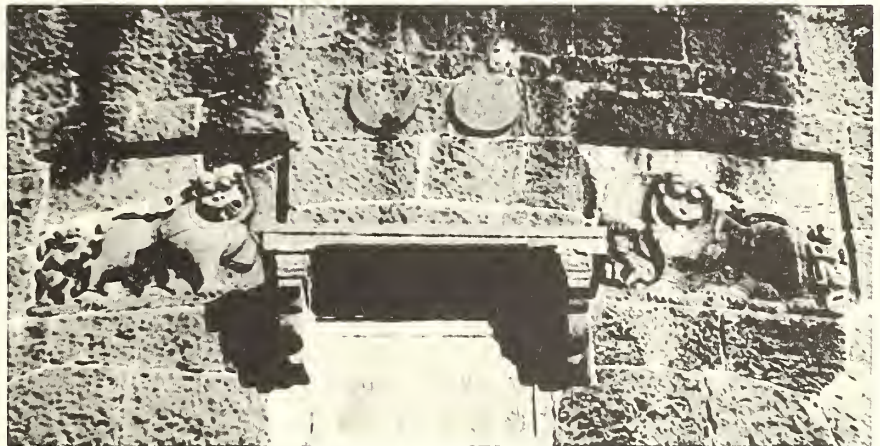


FIG. 16.—LION RELIEFS ON THE SHARZA BURJ, BĪJĀPUR, END OF 16TH CENTURY.



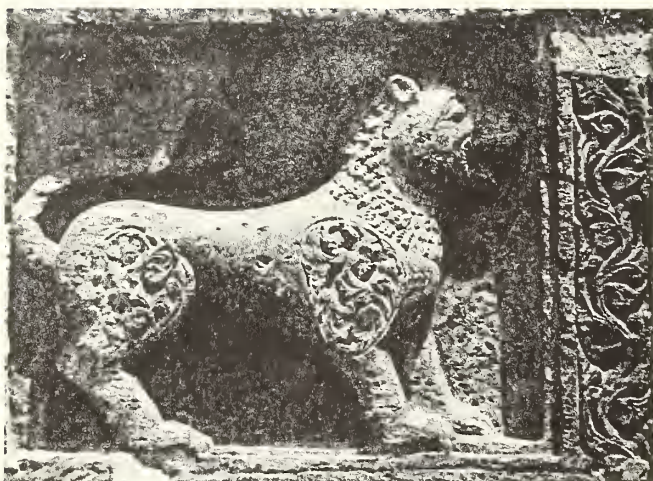


FIG. 17.—LION RELIEF, HANUMAN TEMPLE, COMPOUND OF THE LAKSHMĪ-NARĀYAN TEMPLE, CHAMBĀ, CA. 1660.



FIG. 18.—LION RELIEF, CITY GATE, CHANDERI, MĀLWA, LATE 15TH CENTURY.



FIG. 19.—MUGHAL GOLD COINS.  
I: EAGLE; VII: BUST OF JAHĀNGĪR;  
SUN IN LEO.



FIG. 20.—MUGHAL GOLD COINS. II: RĀMA AND SĪTĀ;  
VI: JAHĀNGĪR DRINKING,  
LEO; VIII: AQUARIUS.



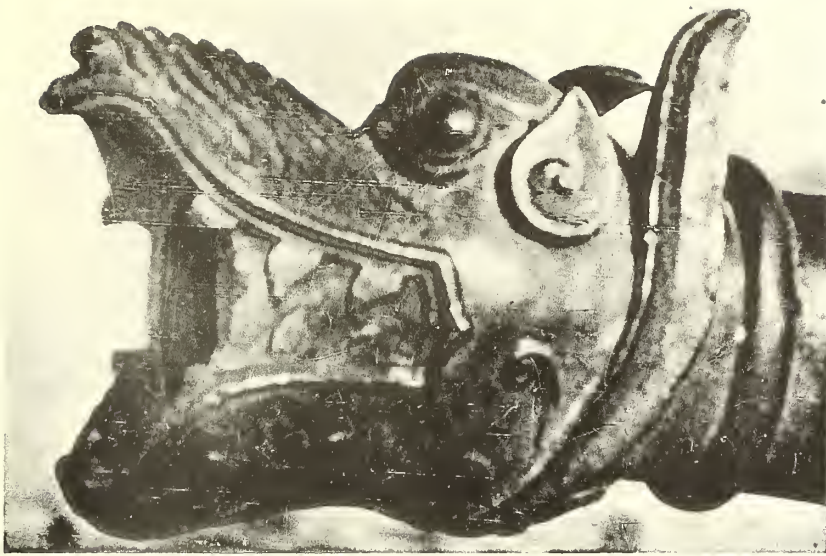


FIG. 21.—DRAGON-HEADED CANNON MOUTHPIECE, DAULATĀBĀD, EARLY 17TH CENTURY.

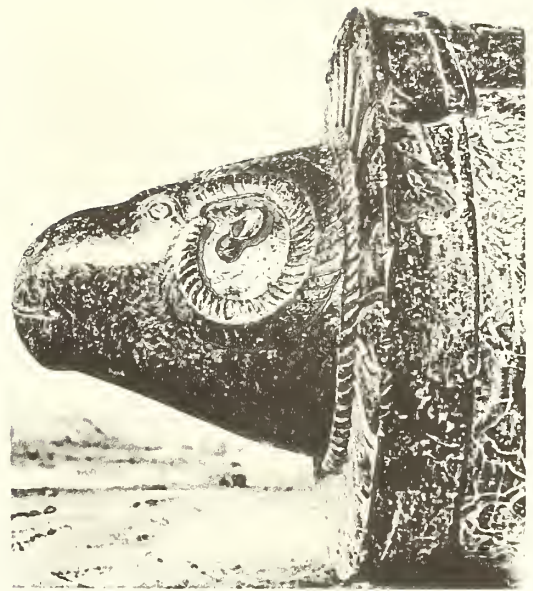


FIG. 22.—RAM HEAD, BACK END OF A CANNON, DAULATĀBĀD FORT, 17TH CENTURY.

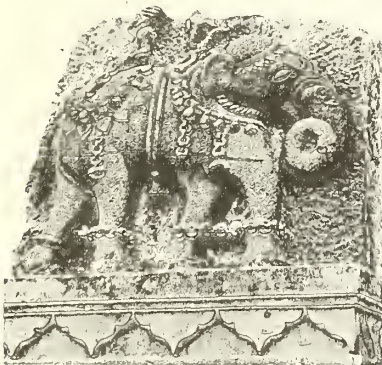


FIG. 23.—ELEPHANT RELIEF, ENTRANCE OF DAULATĀBĀD FORT, EARLY 17TH CENTURY (?).



FIG. 24.—DRAGON-SHAPED CANNON, JODHPUR FORT, EARLY 17TH CENTURY.



FIG. 25.—LION FIGHT. ONE OF TWO RELIEFS AT THE NORTH GATE, PURĀNA QAL'Ā (QAL'Ā-I KOHNA), DELHI, 1540.

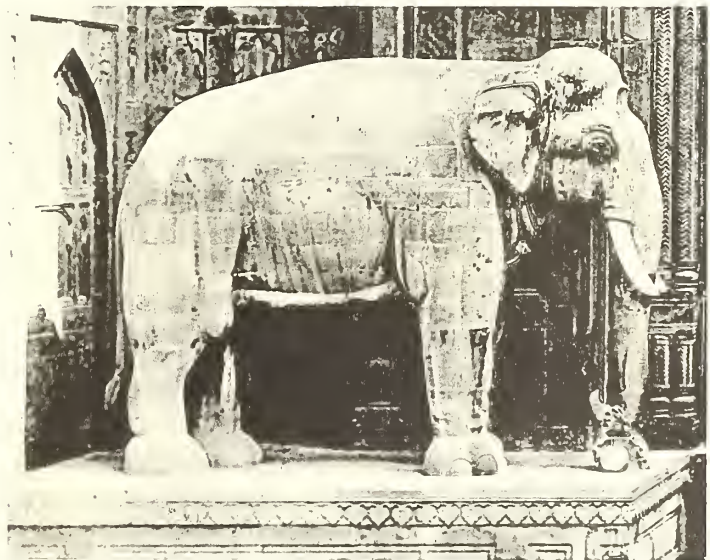


FIG. 26.—ELEPHANT STATUE, SOUTH GATE, RED FORT, DELHI (ORIGINALLY AT AGRA, RESTORED 1905).





FIG. 27.—PILLAR CAPITAL WITH ELEPHANT HEADS, PANCH MAHAL, FATHPUR SIKRĪ, CA. 1575-80.



FIG. 28.—MAN GATHERING FRUITS. RELIEF ON A CAPITAL, PANCH MAHAL, FATHPUR SIKRĪ.



FIG. 29.—LIONS IN THE JUNGLE. RELIEF IN THE "TURKISH SULTĀNA'S HOUSE," FATHPUR SIKRĪ, CA. 1575-80.



FIG. 30.—RELIEF NEAR THE PETLA BURJ, GOLCONDA, CA. 1520-40.

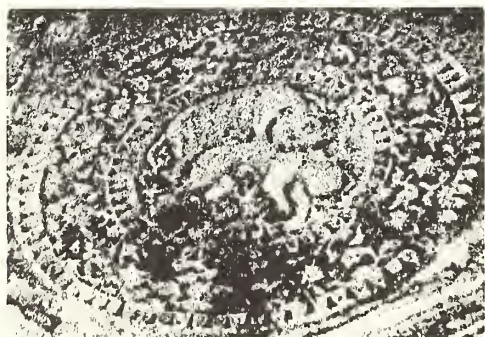


FIG. 31.—LION ATTACKING A BUFFALO.



FIG. 32.—HERALDIC EAGLE.

FIGS. 31 AND 32.—Reliefs on the walls of the North Aiwan opposite the principal entrance to Golconda Fort, ca. 1580.





FIGS. 33, 34.—TWO RELIEFS,  
BANJARĪ GATE, GOLCONDA,  
CA. 1520-40.



FIG. 35.—BALCONY  
BRACKETS ON A BASTION  
NEAR THE PRINCIPAL  
ENTRANCE TO GOLCONDA  
FORT, CA. 1520-40.

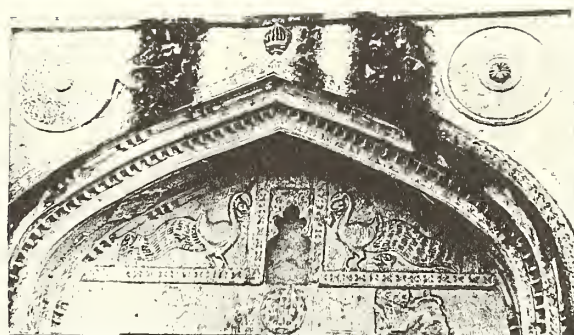


FIG. 36.—PEACOCKS AND LIONS. RELIEF AT GOLCONDA,  
EARLY 17TH CENTURY (?).

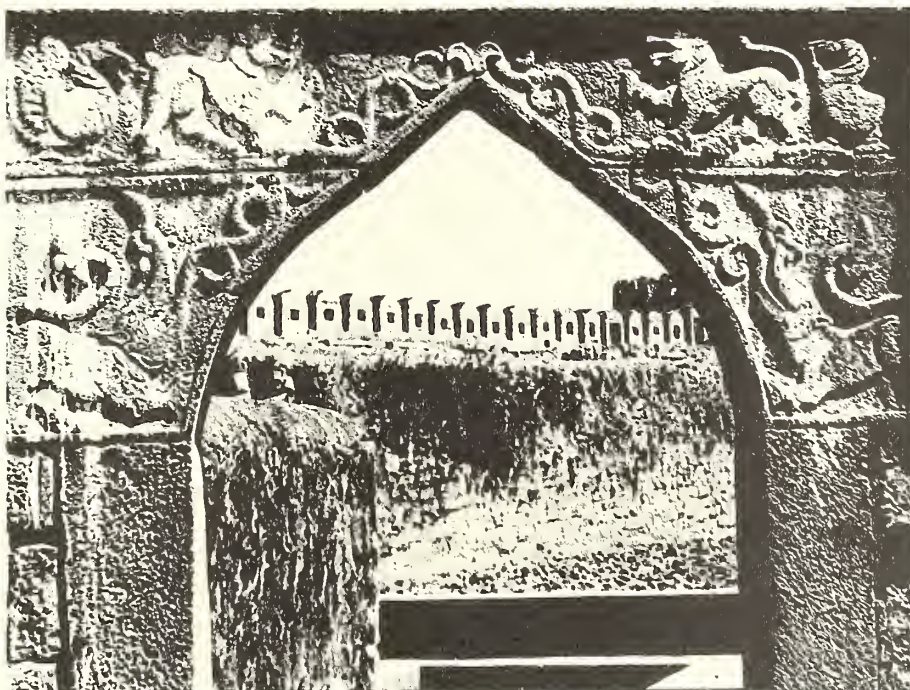


FIG. 37.—RELIEFS ON THE ENTRANCE TO A CISTERN BY THE SIDE OF THE GATE  
NEAR THE PETLA BURJ, GOLCONDA, 16TH CENTURY.

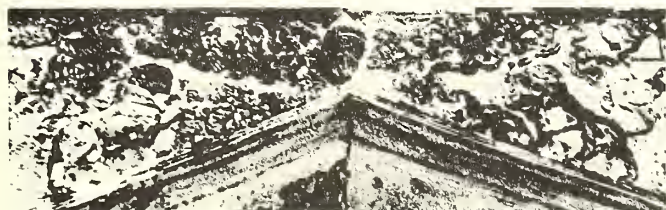


FIG. 38.—LION RELIEFS ON TOP ON THE NORTHERN AIWĀN  
OPPOSITE THE PRINCIPAL ENTRANCE TO  
GOLCONDA FORT, CA. 1580-1620.

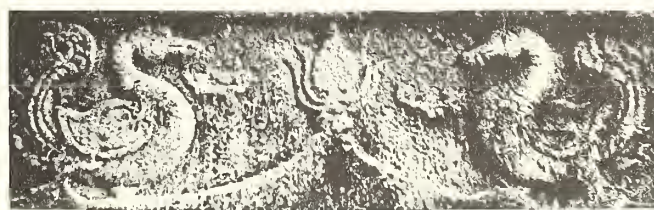


FIG. 39.—HAMSA RELIEF FROM BANJARĪ GATE,  
GOLCONDA, CA. 1540.



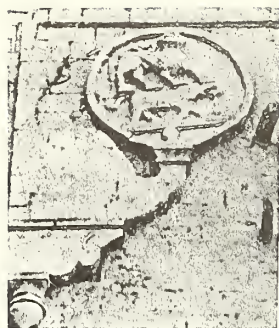


FIG. 40.  
GANDABHERUNDA  
RELIEF ON THE HUGE  
ARCH, DARGĀH OF  
HAZRAT GESU BANDA-  
NAWĀZ, GULBARGA,  
CA. 1460-1500.

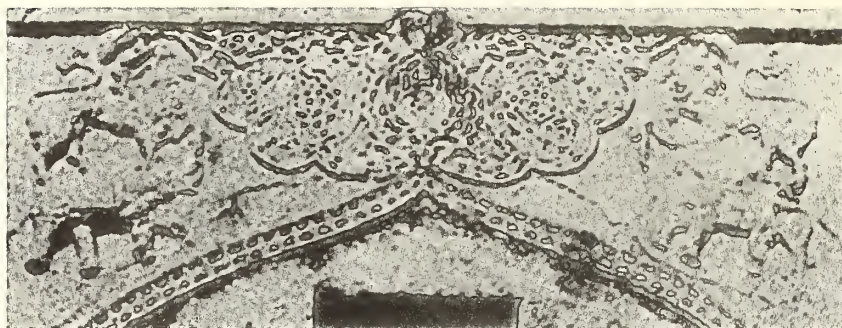


FIG. 41.—GANDABHERUNDAS ON TOP OF ELEPHANTS, STUCCO RELIEF, DARGĀH OF HAZRAT GESU BANDA-NAWĀZ, GULBARGA, CA. 1500-10.

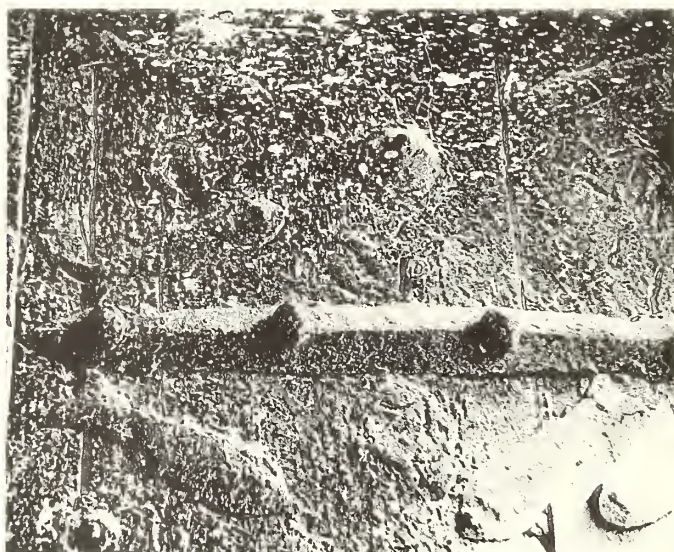


FIG. 42.—FISH AND GANDABHERUNDAS. CUT-IRON RELIEFS ON A GATE WING IN THE DARGĀH OF HAZRAT GESU BANDA-NAWĀZ, GULBARGA.



FIG. 43.—ONE OF THE TWO LION STATUES NEAR AKBAR'S BRIDGE, JAUNPUR, 16TH CENTURY.



FIG. 44.—LION HANDLES ON A DECCANI-MUGHAL CANNON, JODHPUR FORT, 17TH CENTURY.



FIG. 45.—DRAGON HANDLES ON A DECCANI CANNON, JODHPUR FORT, 16TH CENTURY (?).



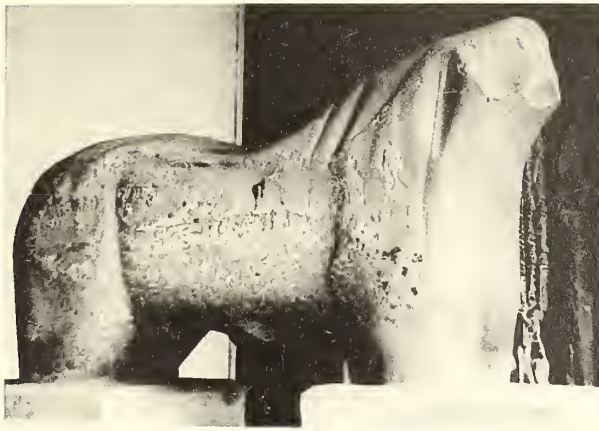


FIG. 46.—HORSE STATUE, PROVINCIAL MUSEUM, LUCKNOW.

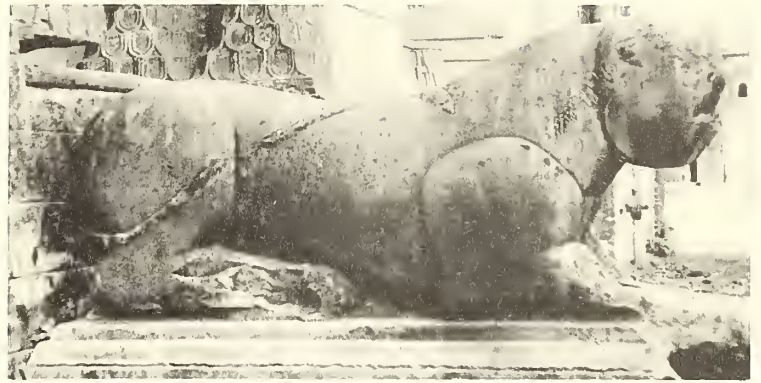


FIG. 47.—LION STATUE, PROVINCIAL MUSEUM, LUCKNOW, 16TH CENTURY (?).



FIG. 48.—TIGER BUST FROM THE NĀHAR JHAROKHĀ, MANDŪ, CA. 1617.



FIG. 49.—ELEPHANT RELIEFS AT THE ENTRANCE OF THE NISHĀT BĀGH, DAL LAKE, KASHMIR, 1633.



FIG. 50.—MEMORIAL STATUE OF AKBAR'S HORSE AT SIKANDRA, LATE 16TH CENTURY.





comparatively late date, ca. the later 17th or early 18th century.

Indo-Islamic sculpture thus reveals a rather complicated picture, but a picture such as one has to expect in a subcontinent with such manifold cultural traditions. What is interesting is that, with few exceptions, it has been restricted to a definite period, i.e., from the later 15th to the early 17th century (on a smaller scale again in the late 18th century). Now the characteristics of this time (as well as those of the late 18th century) were a relative equality of status between Hindus and Muslims and, on the average, a considerable measure of religious tolerance. There were, no doubt, periodical fanatic persecutions of the Hindus by the Muslims, but also vice versa, as the Muslims were no more the uncontested ruling class. But broadminded rulers time and again attempted a synthesis between Hindu and Muslim culture. All these factors must have caused a more liberal attitude toward figural sculpture. Nevertheless, it is remarkable that only in very few cases have original Hindu motifs been taken over. Most statues and reliefs represent a genuine Islamic typology or are Hindu substitutes for it. This

substitution is not extraordinary, for from the very beginning the Muslims were compelled to employ Hindu masons and to allow them to use their traditional art forms as long as they did not clash with Islamic demands. Hindu animal figures instead of Islamic ones were in line with Hindu ornaments in place or by the side of genuine Islamic motifs. Yet this was merely one aspect of a syncretism in which also Islamic forms and motifs were taken over into secular, even religious, Hindu art. And thus also Islamic motifs, adopted by the Hindus, could after centuries reemerge into Indo-Islamic art. The average educational standards of the time were very low, and both Hindus and Muslims had rather hazy ideas of what represented their respective cultural background. They felt that they were different, but as the Hindu autocracy competed socially with the Muslims, it took over much of the cultural heritage of the latter; Muslims, on the other hand, took over the latest fashions from the Near East whenever they were afraid of being submerged in the Indian milieu. Thus in practice the distinction between both—outside the religious cult—boiled down to a somewhat more old-fashioned style of life among the Hindus. And in the long run this meant that “indigenous” motifs substituted for Islamic ones might well be archaic varieties of that very same tradition.

p. 1ff.; *Rājput sculpture and painting under Rājā Umēd Singh of Chambā*, Mārg, vol. 7, No. 4, 1954, p. 23ff.





## A STUDY ON HSÜ WEI

BY TSENG YU-HO

HSÜ WEI'S<sup>1</sup> PAINTINGS ARE TODAY INCLUDED in many publications and unanimously liked. His splashing manner, always charged with force and revealing a universal language, needs no explanation or interpretation. Chinese painters with styles similar to his were many, using little to express much. Scores of later Chinese painters employed such a technique, yet Hsü Wei, with comparatively few works surviving, stands like a giant among them. In appearance the fast dashes and speeding brushwork of all these painters are alike, including those of the so-called Ch'an masters,<sup>2</sup> but Hsü Wei's inspiration is essentially different from the latter's enlightened experience. He bursts out; his works are replete with feverish impetus. Even rational aesthetic theories are handled by him in a totally irrational way. His paintings are turbulence itself. "Out of ten units in Hsü Wei, nine are uninhibited personality, only one part luck," a Ming critic said of him, "yet he moved

between the two, a sage perhaps, a saint, a demon, or a devil. . . ."<sup>3</sup>

There exist at least two separate Chinese collections of tales on Hsü Wen-ch'ang.<sup>4</sup> In them, he is described as a man clever almost to the point of meanness and vindictiveness, who understood animal and bird language, and who had a strange tendency to play gruesome jokes. These tales, not one of them true to fact, are yet curiously attributed just to him. Elaborate discussions with biographical accounts have been devoted to him by Sirén and Cahill, and there is also a monograph on Hsü Wei.<sup>5</sup> From these tales and publications one may still come to the conclusion that Hsü Wei was just an eccentric, that his madness was simulated. In that case, little explanation would exist for the killing of his third wife. Fortunately, he was extremely self-conscious, and thus there is enough autobiographical material to help us investigate his character in detail and to define him as a poor, sick, and suffering man rather than a common criminal.

Before there is any further discussion of his painting, an analysis of his character must be attempted. In 16th-century China the notion of schizophrenia did not exist. It would seem that Hsü Wei's insanity was half-conscious. It was for this reason that Yüan Hung-tao,<sup>6</sup> who was a contemporary though

<sup>1</sup> Hsü Wei 徐渭 1521-1593. In his lifetime he adopted many different names—his *tzu*, or style name, Wen-ch'ang 文長; and a long series of *hao*: Wen-ch'ing 文清, Shui-t'ien-yüeh 水田月(渭); Ch'ing-t'eng 青藤 (lao-jen 老人, tao-shih 道士, shanjen 山人), T'ien-chi'ih 天池 (sheng 生, shan-jen 山人, tao-jen 道人, yü-yin 漁隱, shu-sheng 涑生), Shu 漱 (hsien 仙, lao 老, loa-jen 老人), Seng-hui 僧悔, Hai-li 海笠, Ta-huan 大環, Tu-hai 犢孩, Chin-lei 金壘, Fu-shou 佛壽, Ju-tzu 孺子, Ch'ang-ju 長孺, Shih-hsieh-weng 柿叶翁, Chin-hui-shan-jen 金回山人, Shan-yin-pu-i 山陰布衣, P'eng-fei-ch'u-jen 鵬飛處人, Pai-hsien-shan-jen 白閑山人, O-pi-shan-nung 鵝鼻山農. For a list of Hsü Wei's many publications consult Ho Lo-chih 何樂之, *Hsü Wei* 徐渭 Chung-kuo hua-chia ts'ung-shu 中國畫家叢書 (Chinese Artists' Series), Shanghai, 1959, pp. 14-16.

<sup>2</sup> These are usually thought of as Sung artists like Liang Kai, Mu Chi, Yü Chien, etc.

<sup>3</sup> I-chih t'ang i-kao 一枝堂逸稿, preface by Hu T'ing 胡廷, edition of 1617.

<sup>4</sup> Hsü Wen-ch'ang Ku-shih chüan-chi 徐文長故事全集, Hong Kong, 1953, Hsü Wen-ch'ang ch'ü-shih 徐文長趣事, Shen Wen-hua 沈文華, Hong Kong, Kuo-kuang, publisher.

<sup>5</sup> Osvald Sirén, *Chinese painting*, London, 1956; James F. Cahill, *Chinese painting*, Skira, Geneva, 1960; *Hsü Wei*, *op cit.*

<sup>6</sup> Yüan Hung-tao 袁宏道, 1568-1610, Chung-

he never met him, was his great admirer; also Chang Ju-lin<sup>7</sup> was a personal friend of Hsü Wei. They have both stated that at first he pretended madness, but that later the derangement went out of control. According to three psychiatrists, the symptoms shown by Hsü Wei indicate indeed an interesting case of schizophrenia. The state of his split personality made it possible for him, to some degree, to be aware of his own derangement, but he could not have been pretending entirely, even from the very beginning. There was something in his condition which made him what he was.

His father, Hsü Ts'ung 徐鏞, had been prefect, who held office in many places and who traveled much. His first wife had borne him two sons. After she died in Yünnan, he married there a girl with a fine education, the daughter of Licentiate Miao 苗有文之女. When Hsü Ts'ung retired to his hometown, Shang-yin (the present Shao-hsing 紹興) in Chekiang 浙江, a concubine bore him a third son in 1521, and this was Hsü Wei. His elder stepbrother, Huai 淮, was 29 years older and his second stepbrother, Lu 潞, 19 years his senior. His stepmother, Miao, had been neurotic and lonely since leaving Yünnan. Now a widow, she took over Hsü Wei completely and lavished her love upon him, and he in turn responded with equal love and devotion. He hardly knew his own mother, referring to her only as his "mother-of-birth."

lang 中郎, native of Hu-pei, an outstanding writer with many publications. Together with two brothers he created the School of Kung-an which was so influential in Ming literature. They stood against the formal rules and styles of a literature dominated by traditionalism, and believed in free individual spirituality and in psychology.

<sup>7</sup> Chang Ju-lin 張汝霖, active 17th century, son of Chang Yüan-pien (張元忭). Three generations of this family were friends of Hsü Wei. His father helped free Hsü Wei from prison. With his son he published the Hsü Wen-ch'ang i-kao 徐文長逸稿.

There exists a year-by-year biographical table compiled by Hsü Wei himself,<sup>8</sup> down to the year of his death. In it the statements are condensed, but they show what had been important in his life. Of the year 1531, when he was 10 (11 by Chinese count), there is a note: "My stepmother Miao brought me up with love no greater on earth. A hundred lives of mine would never repay my gratitude. In this year, she sent away my mother-of-birth. I do not remember very well now, but I think it was this year." Although he never knew his father, he claimed he had had a very happy childhood, with everything to his fancy. There is enough evidence to show that his stepmother overwhelmed him with her own emotion, that the seeds of confusion had long been set. Hsü Wei was a precocious child, and the family never hesitated to celebrate the fact. When he was 14 years old his beloved stepmother died, and he wrote, "I begged heaven, kneeling, kowtowing, knocking my head against the ground, and made my blood stream without knowing. I implored heaven to take my life instead of hers. Running to temples and doctors, I was assured by all that her condition was hopeless. For three days in succession I was without food . . . but she died anyway." The relation between the brothers was affectionate. He adored his two stepbrothers, who were old enough to be his father. From then on he was under the care of his elder stepbrother, Huai.

When 20 years old, Hsü Wei for the first time passed the entry test for the government examination and became a "chu-sheng" 諸生. The same year, 1540, he was engaged to the daughter of P'an K'o-ching 潘克敬, a deputy-magistrate, who was a scholar of law. Admiring Hsü Wei's talent, P'an took paternal care of him, helped him, and kept his faith

<sup>8</sup> Fu Hsü Wen-ch'ang sze-chu chi-p'u 附徐文長自著畸譜 from *Hsü Wen-ch'ang i-kao* 徐文長逸稿, Taiwan (Tan Chiang Press), 1956.



in him until death severed their ties. Hsü Wei went to Canton with him, and there married his daughter, becoming adopted completely into the family. Hsü Wei lived with the P'ans even when they all returned to their hometown. After four years of marriage, his wife gave birth to a son who was named Mei 枚. Hsü Wei was then 25 years old. His wife never recovered from the birth and died the following year. During these five years both his stepbrothers also died, none of them leaving children. A lawsuit in which he was involved concerning property matters brought him to bankruptcy. A year after his wife's death, he moved out of the P'an's home and started his own household. He then found his mother-of-birth and invited her to live with him, buying a maid to attend her. This girl turned out to be abominable, and when he tried to get rid of her, she brought an ugly lawsuit against him. By now, at the age of 31, he was financially in great difficulty. Finally he had to move into a temple, living on a friend's bounty. Meanwhile he failed repeatedly in the government examinations. The next year, fortunately, he was given a district scholarship,<sup>9</sup> which entitled him to receive a monthly amount of rice and meat. To earn a livelihood he became a professional writer, working for cash. His interest in drama now flourished, and during this period he began to write some excellent plays and two important studies on southern-style opera.<sup>10</sup> His increased bitterness was thus elegantly disposed of in his dramas. It was about this

<sup>9</sup> A Ming Court establishment, *lin-sheng* 廩生 or *lin-shih* 廩食, meant to help the student who won entrance, to further advance him in his preparation for government examinations. According to the district, a certain number were admitted. Generally they were granted six bushels of rice per month, along with fish and meat.

<sup>10</sup> *Nan-tz'u hsü-lu* 南詞叙錄, and *Shih-san tiao nan-ch'ü yin-chieh p'u* 十三調南曲音節譜.

time, also, that he began to practice painting.

His reputation then came to the notice of the Commander-governor Hu.<sup>11</sup> Hu was at this time in charge of seven provinces with full military and civil power. A wish of his was a command. Hsü Wei, reluctant at first, worked for him on occasion. Governor Hu graciously supplied him with funds and showed him respect, and eventually Hsü Wei became his full-time secretary. Hsü Wei wrote under Hu's name, and as a result won smashing success at the Imperial court. The Governor generously repaid him and finally built him a house of 22 rooms on 10 acres of land, complete with two fish ponds and a bamboo grove. Hsü Wei titled it *Ch'ou-tzu-t'ang* 酬字堂,<sup>12</sup> which means *The hall of award for words*. It was said that Hsü Wei was the only

<sup>11</sup> Hu Tsung-hsien, 胡宗憲, a native of Anhui, had an active career, mostly owing to his successful military defense of the border provinces. At the height of his career he held the joint ranks of Minister of the Board-of-War and Chief Censor. He was Commander-governor of the seven southeast coastal provinces from 1554 to 1562. He had much to do with fighting the Japanese pirates along the coast.

<sup>12</sup> Hsü Wei wrote an essay on this home which was built for him by the Commander-governor. His description indicates an elaborate setting. It seems that after his wife was killed, he did not live again in that house. Much later, the house was occupied by the artist Ch'en Hung-shou. The house has been illustrated in the monograph on Ch'en Hung-shou *Chen Hung-shou nien-p'u* 陳洪綬年譜, Peking, 1960, also in a short article on the house by Lou Tze-k'uang 婁子匡, Hsü Wen-ch'ang yü ch'ing-t'eng shu-wu, 徐文長與青藤書屋, *Ta-lu-tsa-chih* 大陸雜誌 (*The Continental Magazine*), vol. 10, No. 10, pp. 17-27. The two latter descriptions indicate an undersized remainder of the one originally built. A painting depicting his own retreat, attributed to Hsü Wei, is published in the *Pageant of Chinese painting*, Tokyo, 1936. It may be merely a romantic recapture not resembling the actual house. For description see Ch'ou tzu t'ang chi 酬字堂記 in Hsü Wei, *Hsü Wen-ch'ang wen-chi* (compiled by Kung-an Yüan Hung-t'ao) 徐文長文集, 公安袁宏道 edition of 1614, ch. 24/12.

one who could move before the Commander-governor in home clothes. Often, when Hu needed him, he found Hsü intoxicated at the wine inns, but Hu tolerated him and heeded his advice.

Hsü Wei was a very conscientious writer,<sup>13</sup> and his interests covered a wide range, from history to the problems of political systems, from medicine to military science. He compiled the Gazetteer of K'uei-chi (會稽), discussed Confucian metaphysics, Taoist and Buddhist philosophy, wrote prose and literary criticism, biography and epigraphy, drama, riddles, and notes on the art of tea and wine games. Anything, everything, could be the subject of his writing. An old hat, as well as a louse, might be the topic of his poetry. He cursed and joked playfully, using the most complex classical references and common slang with equal ease. But oftentimes his writings went out of hand; like riddles they became obscure. His formal writing, like his painting, was an intuitive process, replete with torrents of force, while the more informal ones were sarcastic. After his death, when Yüan Hung-tao discovered the first edition of his writing at T'ao Wang-lin's<sup>14</sup> library in Hsü Wei's native Shao-hsing, he jumped and screamed in delight. Hsü Wei was then little known beyond his home district. Yüan and T'ao hence published his collected writings with extravagant prefaces, rating Hsü Wei as the best of all Ming literature. If only he could have known this! Hsü Wei resented the fact that he had to write under someone else's name. He collected these writings. In the preface to his collection of these writings he wrote, "There were ever so many men-of-

letters in the past, but none of them served as a ghost-writer for others. For those who could write were either known as they were, or withheld their talents and retreated. . . . I, a writer, have the ill fortune of being like a horse forced to work in the fields. I am neither one who is known nor one in retirement. . . .<sup>15</sup> Although financially he was much better off by now, his humiliation was still serious. A friend described him as tall and well built, on the portly side, of fair complexion, having a high voice like a crane. He was also witty and sarcastic, not a person easy to get along with.

Among his own writings, a great number concern his dreams. In a poem of this kind he wrote, "I often dreamed of things which I never would intend to do during the daytime. I was much troubled by this. But when reading in the *T'ang shu* the biography of Li Chien-chen<sup>16</sup> of the T'ang Dynasty, who had guilty dreams in the night, but remained a perfect gentleman throughout his life, I was relieved." To this he added the following poem:

Chien-chen at the age of seventeen respected  
life, held death in honor,  
He dreamed of people bribing him with  
hundreds of gold.  
He felt sick when he awoke, and puzzled.  
Such symptoms appear also to me.  
My features were unchanged, yet I felt as  
if I had had no bath, hair filthy, the skin  
dusty, and clothes rotting, like leaves fading  
before the fall begins. . . .  
Such is sleep in the night and awakening  
in the morning.  
As the sparrows burrow through from the  
roof,  
And basked ripe plums,<sup>17</sup> time ravaged.

<sup>13</sup> For the list of Hsü Wei's publications, see Ho Lo-chi (footnote 1).

<sup>14</sup> T'ao Wang-lin 陶望齡, active in the 17th century, president of the Academy of Learning, a fine scholar who lived in K'uei-chi, the home district of Hsü Wei.

<sup>15</sup> Ch'ao tai chi hsiao-hsü 抄代集小序, *Hsü Wen-ch'ang wen-chi*, ch. 20/10.

<sup>16</sup> Record of Li Chien-chen 李堅貞, *T'ang Shu* 唐書, K'ai-ming edition.

<sup>17</sup> Referring to the poem "Fallen plum," *Piao-yu-mei* 標有梅, in the *Shao-nan* 召南 (Southern



The relation of body and soul though  
 smelling,  
 Reason takes no pleasure in ants.  
 Moreover, a mere matter of flesh, why the  
 feel of emmets?  
 If there are involvements, whom to question  
 and to object?  
 Oh Heaven, supreme-Ruler! what would  
 you say to that?

Some of the dreams he recorded seem rather commonplace, but the point is that he should have been burdened by them. He was aware of the other self, and this other self began to be predominant.

For years he had refused to remarry. When he was 39 he changed his mind and accepted a match. It seems curious that he should prefer again to live in his wife's home. The marriage was a failure. He wrote, "In summer, I married into the Wang family of Hangchou. It was awful. I was thoroughly cheated. In autumn, I renounced the bond, until now it disgusts me." When he was 41 he was married once more, to a woman named Chang, settling this time into his own home. In that year he wrote, "I married Chang. I failed again in the examination. From now on, evils began to possess me. I desperately fought them. This was the last time I had anything to do with the government examination."

Shao) section of the *Book of poetry*. (See James Legge, *The She king*, London, 1876, Book II, *The odes of Shaou and the south*, No. 9, p. 72.) The poem says that a maiden should marry at the right age. By collecting plums at the season when the fruit is ripened and some begin to fall by themselves, one realizes that the time is gone. The Chinese of the last seven lines is as follows:

角雀謝穿	萬有膠輻
筐梅罷標	曷可詰呵
卷婁雖羶	皇矣上帝
理不樂蟻	其將謂何
矧已肉矣	
曷感而蛾	

The following year, a second son, Chih 枳, was borne by this wife. His protector, the Commander-governor Hu, suspected of being involved in the case of Yen Sung and Lo Lung-wen,<sup>18</sup> was put into prison, and subsequently committed suicide there. Hsü Wei went to the capital and worked for a certain official by the name of Li, a heartless person, lacking in understanding. Annoyed with Hsü Wei, he deprived him of his right to join further in the government examinations. He was then 45 years old. Back home he collapsed. Wrote he, "Derangement seized me. I hurt my ear." He termed his illness *yi* or *yi ting*. According to the *Dictionary of Chinese medicine*, *yi* is one type of madness. When seized by a fit, a person would run around wildly. The idea of attempting suicide obsessed him. His attack on his ear has been referred to by others as "the incident with the awl." In an essay he thanked the doctor who saved him, saying, "Upset by current affairs, I was afflicted with derangement (*yi*). When attacked, I had to run around as if possessed by a demon. While thus running, I pulled out a nail about three inches long from the wall and stuck it into my left ear. I tumbled and fell. The nail penetrated deep into my ear, but I felt no pain. Several weeks (*hsün*, the Chinese 10-day period) later, the wound became inflamed. Every three days blood streamed out by the cup. . . ." <sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Prime Minister Yen Sung 嚴嵩 and son Shih-fan 嚴世蕃 were found deceiving the court and committing many other offenses. They were impeached for accepting bribery from the enemy, the Japanese. In the home of his chief henchman, Lo Lung-wen 羅龍文, there was found a lot of correspondence with Governor-commander Hu, who was then responsible for the coast defense. He was involved as a suspect. He was arrested and put in prison for four years, released, and again sent back to prison. Soon after, he committed suicide in his cell.

<sup>19</sup> Hai-shang-sheng Hua ti hsü 海上生華氏序, *Hsu Wen-ch'ang wen-chi*, ch. 20/19.

Medical experts confirm that during attacks of this kind the patient feels no pain. In other states of being possessed, he cracked his head with an ax. According to some records, he squeezed the cracked bone until sound could be heard. He also smashed his testicles. Such gruesome self-destruction, of course, cannot be faked.

He wrote his own obituary in the same year. To indicate his emotion it is included here.

Hsü Wei of Shan-yin. In younger years he had the desire to pursue the study of the Classics, and his anxiety grew with the years. He admired Taoist philosophy and studied it with Master Wang of Ch'ang-sha. Finding that the idea of Tao is similar to that of Ch'an, he turned his devotion to the search for Ch'an. After a long period, it was granted that he had made some headway, but he captured neither the wisdom of the Classics nor the Way (*Tao*). He was morose and lazy, but honest. He seemed proud, afraid to get acquainted with the rich. He appeared to be a cynic in the crowd and made people feel ill at ease. But neither pride nor cynicism were basic to his nature.

When 9 years old he was able to write the thesis required for a civil service career, and thus he came to waste 10 odd years without really studying. Later he repented and roamed deeply and widely through history, the Classics, and all schools of thought. Minute problems he investigated to the very bottom, often forgetting meals and sleep. Books and paintings were scattered over every vacant space in his study.

Now he is 45 years old. He has been admitted to the scholar class for the last 26 years. For 13 years he was one of the 20 supported by a district scholarship. Eight times he failed in the government examination. Others might laugh at him, but he was not defeated by this. With dignity he lived in poverty. After 10 years of modest living he was suddenly summoned to join the secretarial staff of his Excellency Hu. Several times he was asked to remain; on each occasion he declined, and as soon as he had finished his assignment, he would throw down his brush and walk out of the mansion. When an invitation was brought to his door, he would go to bed and reject it. People thought him a fool and were anxious about him. He, however, felt safe and secure. Later, His Excellency, deigning to equal him-

self to a commoner, received him as an honored guest, and bestowed on him silver by the hundreds. He fed him fish and housed him in a cottage. Everybody envied him and thought him secure. But now he was filled with anxiety. Having reached this point, he abruptly thought of death.

People may have wondered, saying that Wei was a cleanly scholar who did not have to die. But they forgot that there were many erudite men of the secretarial staff who died for the sake of cleanliness. Wei died for himself, not for anybody else. When integrity was not in question, he was not bound by petty Confucian morality. But in matters of integrity, questions of being dirty or clean, of shame or honor, then death is the only solution. His friends and relatives will not understand this death, and will do nothing about it.

He was unable to manage a living, nor could he manage his burial. What was left by him were several thousand volumes of books, two stone-chimes, an ink-stone, a sword, and some paintings. His poetry and articles are so-and-so much. The sword and the paintings are entrusted to so-and-so for sale, to cover the expense of the burial. His manuscripts are in the hands of a friend.

Wei used to say that he studied books on various side issues, believing that he had true insight into the *Shou-lung-yen Sutra* 首楞嚴, *Chüang-tzu* 莊子, and *Lieh-tzu* 列子. He also studied the *Su Wen*, the ancient medical books of the Yellow Emperor 黃帝素問. If time had permitted, he would have unveiled the truth to their readers. Of the *Su Wen* he had a particularly profound understanding.

In the years to come his son was to be married and thus he consigned his mother to him. Wei traveled extensively, escaping only to become a living corpse. He never hid his faults. Things unknown to him he never pretended to know. These are honest statements.

He originally was named Wen-ch'ing 文清, then his name was changed into Wen-ch'ang 文長. He was born in 1521, during the Cheng-te reign of the fourth day of the second month. He was a son of a concubine. His father was Prefect Ts'ung of K'uei-chou 夔州. The Prefect died a hundred days after his birth. He grew up under the care of his step-mother Miao. When he was fourteen she died. . . .

(A section on his life which repeats a previous passage is omitted here. )

Ten years later (in the winter of 1562) he was deposed from his position as secretary which he had



occupied for five years. After another four years, in 1565 (by Chinese reckoning), month *x*, day *x*, he died. He is survived by two sons: Mei, from his first wife, P'an; and from his present wife, Chih, who was only 4 years old at the time of his father's death. As to his ancestors and his family background, consult the biography of his father, which is left out here. He is buried in Shan-yin, Mu-cha 山陰木柵, date still unknown. A stanza for the stone inscription reads:

He survived child disease brightly, and does  
not deserve to die;—death hurts faith.  
Tied in dread, persistently locked in, no need  
for him to live;—lived for nothing.  
Afraid of drowning he jumped in first.  
Laugh at Wei, who had a bald head, it is  
too late to turn him into a monk.  
Have pity on his misfortune, once he was an  
intelligent lad.  
He wore the ancient sage's outfit and simulated madness.<sup>20</sup>  
Fought time and again to be a normal being.  
He was guilty of that,  
Now, all is intelligible.<sup>21</sup>

Maybe owing to this verse, people of the old days believed Hsü Wei was only pretending madness. According to psychiatrists, however, pretending can never lead to true insanity. The fact is that Hsü Wei, highly sensitive like van Gogh, was conscious of himself, but confused as to his own conduct. His accumulated depression bred violence. Ideas which formerly were only on his mind, something merely dreamed of, he now began to act upon. As he himself believed, his violence sprang from a subconscious intention. When Hsü Wei was able to achieve such a degree of cruelty in self-torture, he was truly insane. He wanted to strike back at fate, to get rid of the affliction which had been imposed upon

him, by killing parts of his physical self. Notwithstanding the terrible physical destruction, he never actually killed himself. But he did kill his wife Chang. Some records mention that she had been a talented and handsome woman. Hsü Wei is said to have been suspicious and jealous by nature, both symptoms typical of schizophrenia. He believed she had been unfaithful to him. In one of his moments of passion, he struck and accidentally killed her. On the whole Hsü Wei was quite communicative about his own affairs. He composed an affectionate obituary for his first wife P'an and numbers of poems. Two other women who were involved in his life he condemned without hesitation. But nowhere can be found anything about his third wife, Chang. In two sets of verses he wrote concerning his imprisonment, he tried, as in his self-obituary, to demonstrate a kind of moral attitude, wishing to show that he was a man of integrity. It is interesting to consider these verses:

There was a creature, shaped in his own distinct way, with the beak of a crane, unable to pick, with the body of a lute, but without a string.

Two friends are wood and metal.<sup>22</sup>

Three parts: head, hands, and feet.

Adhering to these, a man is formed.

Not in coffin already corroded.

Loyalty haunted me for four years (since Hu's imprisonment).

I wished to bury the parts piece by piece, not abandon them. . . .

But spirits guard them,

And cause in me clashing and splitting. . . .

O, O, while you are intact, I died.

You are broken, and I am alive.

Broken and intact, an instant,

Life and death in one area.

<sup>20</sup> Referring to the case of Chi-tzu 箕子, during the end of the Shang period, ca. 1200 B.C. Refusing the new regime of Chou, he simulated madness.

<sup>21</sup> Tzu wei mu-chih ming 自爲墓誌銘. *Hsü Wen-ch'ang wen-chi*, ch. 27/5-6. The wording in the stanzas is very obscure and the translation here is a tentative one.

<sup>22</sup> Two of the five elements, metal, wood, water, fire, and earth. A person, according to the circumstances of the year, day, and hour of his birth, may have his share of the five elements. A very sophisticated symbolism believes them to influence the condition of one's fate and life.

Should one not be cautious?  
I beg the authorities' attention.<sup>23</sup>

This surrealistic notion is hardly an excuse for what he did to his wife. Maybe the murder was too terrifying an experience, and thus she was buried in dead silence, not to be remembered. It was not the custom to mention sex in the old puritanical days. Another possibility is that there was in this case a delicate matter which increased his suspicions and jealousy, a particular rooted hate or love for his wife. He thus considered his connubial relation taboo. This attitude might also be related to the smashing of his testicles. The third possibility is that he was simply too sick to remember what he had done.

He was sentenced to die, but, spared death through the help of friends, he lived in prison for seven years. This change of life calmed him. He read and wrote in his cell. There were faithful friends who came to visit him, and even feasted with him in the prison on his birthday. He was allowed leave to arrange the funeral of his mother-of-birth. Finally, Chang Yüan-pien,<sup>24</sup> who had won the *chuang-yüan* 狀元 degree, and who was then a Reader-of-the-Academy, bailed him out, and thus he was set free.

He certainly had suffered from the downfall of Governor Hu. But he was not, as people said, bent on avoiding the reputation of being involved with Hu and, for this reason, simulating madness. On the contrary, he made a point of proclaiming his indebtedness to the governor after the imprisonment. In this way he raised the questions of loyalty, honor, and shame. He suffered tremendously from his inability to help Hu in time of need, a man who had shown him so much trust and faith. Once out of prison, he was a more difficult person than ever. For a few years he lived

close to the Chang family to whom he owed his freedom. He went sightseeing around Peking and Nanking. But his old fits of derangement again appeared and now more frequently. He rarely showed himself in public, but spent most of the time by himself, with a dog, or with a few drunken loafers. Sometimes he would shriek, "I killed somebody, I deserve to be executed with one slice of my neck. Now they grind my flesh in bits!" He told the young Chang, "I was fine in the cage. Now I am all scattered. You misunderstand me!" His library was sold little by little, and so were his other belongings. During this period he did most of his paintings, making them, however, only for those people he liked. Otherwise he was most rude and disagreeable. When he was 61, his affliction became worse. He stopped eating hot cooked food, living on just cake and biscuits. There are records saying that his writings toward the end were even more odd, but they are not preserved in print. Two of his sons followed in his footsteps, living on their wives' families. Sheltered under someone's roof in his last 10 or 12 years, as though numbed, he wrote, "Son Mei moved me here . . . son Chih moved me there . . ." In 1593, in the house of his second son's wife, he died, a penniless old man of 73.

\* \* \* \* \*

What Hsü Wei himself claimed as his greatest talent was his calligraphy, after that his poetry, then his essays, and only finally, his painting. Most literary critics disagreed. They believed Hsü Wei's most valuable contribution was in drama, which he himself did not even mention. Under the title *Four cries of the gibbon*, he included four short plays.<sup>25</sup> They are *Three refrains of the mad drummer*;

<sup>25</sup> *Ssu sheng yüan* 四聲猿. The four plays are *K'uang ku sheng Yü-yang san nung* 狂鼓生漁陽三弄, *Yü-ch'an shih ts'ui hsiang i meng* 玉禪師翠鄉一夢, *Tz'u Mu-lan tai fu ts'ung chün*, 雌木蘭代父從軍, *Nü Chuang-yüan tz'u huang te feng* 女狀元辭凰得鳳.

<sup>23</sup> Hou p'o-chieh fu 後破械賦, *Hsü Wen-ch'ang wen-chi*, ch. 1/7.

<sup>24</sup> Chang Yüan-pien 張元忭, father of Chang Ju-lin (see footnote 7).



*The green dream of monk Yü-ch'an; Mu-lan, the maiden, serves in the army for her father; and Romance of the Lady Chuang-yüan.* In *The mad drummer* he was pouring out grievances, speaking for himself; the other three plays, though there is no positive proof, are suspected of being some of his actual experiences. The writer regrets, because of space problems, not being able to include here at least one of the plays in translation. A dramatic critic of the Ch'ing period commented, "In Ming drama T'ang Hsien-tsu<sup>26</sup> and Hsü Wei rank highest. The rhyme of Hsü Wei was not always correct, but his phrasing was like a dragon in fury riding with the storm, twisting and turning in mid-air. In history it is all right to have one such man, but not a second."<sup>27</sup> This criticism, as well as others similar to it, means that he was a nonconformist as a dramatist. He had weird talents, an individuality impossible to imitate, so that it was dangerous to take him as a model. Such an approach is often found in Chinese art creation. In painting, specifically, there are main streams of tradition, *cheng-tsung* 正宗 in Chinese. The school of Tung Yüan and Chü Jan, followed by the schools of the four Yüan masters, and then by Shen Chou and Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, is one important *cheng-tsung*. Because of the quality of their objectivity and a sound technique, their followers might find many possibilities to develop within it. At least, they would not ruin their skill and would preserve a right approach. But it was easy for some of the more adventurous artists to go to extremes and thus to arrive at a dead end.

In the Ming and Ch'ing periods this tendency was particularly strong. There is no doubt that when a creative artist expressed

himself in his purely individual way, it was impossible to imitate him. While the main stream or *cheng-tsung* artist preferred a kind of transformation of his private emotion, an attitude which is introverted and individual in a transcendental way, there were others who, preferring to exhibit their emotions, followed an extroverted attitude. An artwork of superior quality is in either case unrivaled and stands on its own merits. The danger lies with those who follow others but lack their own gifts, who will only attain mannerisms which lead to a cheap display of sentiment, sometimes using them as a means of releasing their resentment. Speaking relatively, the serious Chinese artist of the literary school was more intent that his art be a power for the sake of self-identification and self-expression, particularly so with the extroverted type. Philosophy and literary knowledge were instruments which supplied the artist with the resources to toy with the game of art. Of Hsü Wei a critic once said harshly, "He held his talents, was vain and self-centered. His mind was narrow, advocating spite and injury to others. It was in this way he brought on himself the disgrace of imprisonment."<sup>28</sup> Hsü Wei never knew how to control himself, nor did his condition allow him to do so. His attitude was that of the extrovert. His art expression was always an expression of his personality. He had abundant and complex gifts, released spontaneously with little premeditation. In dealing with the world at large he failed. In painting and drama, however, he succeeded with extravagance and excellence.

Concerning the problem of mental derangement, it is interesting to note what Karl Jaspers has to say in his study of Strindberg and van Gogh.<sup>29</sup> He analyzes the mental con-

<sup>26</sup> T'ang Hsien-tsu 湯顯祖, 1559-1617, author of *Mu-tan ting* 牡丹亭.

<sup>27</sup> The Ch'ing critic, Ch'en Tung-tseng 陳棟曾. Quoted in Ho Lo-chih, *Hsü Wei*, p. 20.

<sup>28</sup> *I-yüan lün hua* 頤園論畫, by Meng-ku Sung-nien 松年 (active 1897), from *Hua lün ts'un k'an*, vol. 4, p. 12, Peking, 1937 (Chun-hua shu-chü).

<sup>29</sup> *Strindberg and von Gogh*, Bremen, 1949.

dition of several artists in relation to their creativity. This writer, however, cannot offer an adequate discussion of the mental condition of Chinese painters. But it is a simple fact that abnormality does exist among some artists in China. The general conception is that Chinese painting is born out of an extremely sensible and rational philosophy which says much about balance, harmony, serenity, and repose. But an ideal in words is one thing; how an artist lives up to it is another. There exists a great difference between those art expressions that run away from reality and those that are born out of reality. We know, for instance, that Ku Kai-chih had the nickname of "idiot," and Liang K'ai was called the "mad" Liang.<sup>30</sup> From the lives of Mi Fu (1057-1107) and Ni Ts'an (1301-1374) we know that there were elements of the psychopathic in them, though their eccentricity is difficult to verify today. Since T'ao Yüan-ming and the Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove, Chinese art historians are, on the whole, inclined to tolerate eccentrics. We cannot overlook the fact that many an artist with his deeper sensitivity has been through emotional agonies that gave depth to his individuality and his creativity. Jaspers says that van Gogh had no intention of being metaphysical, but tried to paint with discipline, and that he had an anxiety to paint. It was his psychic condition, however, that gave a third, metaphysical, dimension impossible to achieve artificially. Van Gogh constantly craved a religious interpretation. Hsü Wei tried in vain to grasp some Confucian morality. In contrast to what he attempted in his writings, he never intended in his paintings to create a new vision. He tried only to paint with discipline, as everybody else did in his day. His painting was a physical expansion, where mat-

ter submits to the mind. Of Charles Meryon, Jaspers says, "... his deranged state of mind was dominated by hallucinations, persecution, and other typical symptoms. His productivity was not subject to a sudden change of style, but started from the outset with an uncommon degree of maturity, reaching its summit in the years between 1852 and 1854, then gradually losing in strength."<sup>31</sup> The mystery of Hsü Wei is that he burst into brilliance in drama at an early date, before his derangement became pronounced, and then suddenly stopped writing plays. It seems to this writer that after he gave up the drama he found a new medium, painting, and reached a climax in it after the age of 50.

Hsü Wei began to paint rather late. In a preface for a painter friend named Liu,<sup>32</sup> he mentions that at that time he knew something about painting but did not paint himself. No date is attached to this essay, but it shows a certain maturity which could not possibly have been attained at too young an age. In another preface, the one to the *Illustrated four classics*,<sup>33</sup> dated 1557, when he was 31, he described how, using differently colored inks, he marked the Classics, diagramming the construction and interpretation of the text. When necessary, he added pictures demonstrating the meaning. Because of this, some believed that he must have painted very well at that time. But according to the descriptions it does not seem likely that they were the ink paintings we know. Attached to the biographical table (see p. 244, note 8) is a list of the men with whom he had studied. Among them is a teacher who taught him the lute for a few months, and another who taught him swordsmanship, but not one is mentioned who had

<sup>31</sup> Jaspers, *op. cit.*, pp. 178-179.

<sup>32</sup> Shu Liu-tzu mei-p'u 書劉子梅譜, *Hsü Wen-ch'ang wen-chi*, ch. 7/22.

<sup>33</sup> Ssu-shu hui-hsü 四書繪序, *Hsü Wen-ch'ang wen-chi*, ch. 20/2.

<sup>30</sup> Ku K'ai-chih was called "Ch'ih-chüeh" 癡絕, and Liang K'ai, "Feng-tzu" 瘋子.





FIG. 3.—DETAIL: LOTUS.  
One of 11 flower sections of the handscroll in the collection of the Nanking Museum.





FIG. 1.—DETAIL: GRAPES.  
One of 11 flower sections in long handscroll (30.3" h. x 1049" w.). Collection of the Nanking Museum.





FIG. 2.—DETAIL: GRAPES.  
From handscroll in the collection of the Honolulu Academy of Arts. (See Plate 7.)

洛陽城中崔氏女  
 花園裏起在奴  
 玉肘邊十尖頭狂  
 石夢蘭新萬管醋  
 能嬌日第年珊瑚  
 上織紋綃明絲似  
 控羅衣夜半黃魚  
 鯨豚封姨事重不  
 雅杯酒都石夢蘭  
 以昌姨出如嬌  
 罵產人來產時  
 省有司然妻被  
 奎爾石夢蘭小  
 夜你朝少胆  
 金空不常從崔  
 吃手湯他姨借  
 問當時諸女五

54.8

FIG. 5.—CALLIGRAPHY FROM FREER GALLERY OF ART HANDSCROLL.



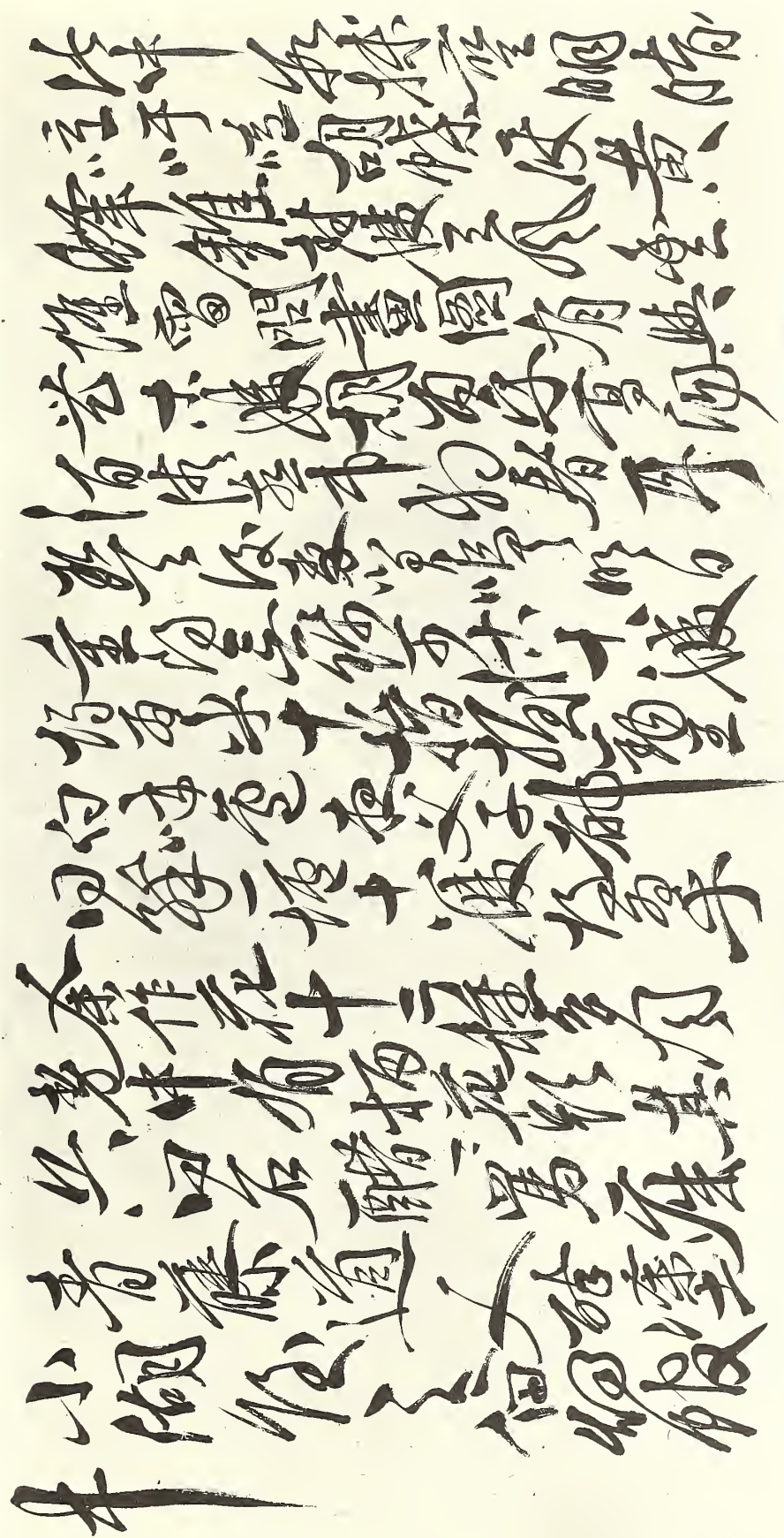


FIG. 6.—CALLIGRAPHY FROM FREER GALLERY OF ART HANDSCROLL.

我學彭城風寒何復春  
 急黃煙已如三醉立陽春時話有  
 樓白牡丹

54.8

蘭亭舊迹越王蘭伯名浪紅香天傳  
 此日桂香成事來一盤不且五文錢

FIG. 4.—DETAIL: PEONY (AND ORCHID) FROM FREER GALLERY OF ART HANDSCROLL. (See Plate 8.)





vii.



ED.  
 7 the artist follows the  
 eer Gallery of Art.

臘尾春頭試爆餘竹根驚笋  
兩三枝有漂一已疏葉末竟春  
雷竹枝臥猶



漂星為花餘小橋甜  
香也覺入清喉何因  
物向金溪後去短極長  
丁汝若題



枝之葉自成排嫩結  
向上裁信手掃來非  
着意是晴星雨悠人猜



海國名卷說水僊畫中類  
色更嬋娟若非酒竹來湘浦  
定是凌波出洛川







豐采點嬌姿小緣勾策中亦之  
賞青春長安醉客難為崇去  
踏沉香亭上塵



我學彭城雪。歲寒何後春。  
色忽黃檀石。如三醉岳陽客。  
時訪青樓白牡丹。







FIG. 7.—TWELVE FLOWER SUBJECTS, EACH WITH A POEM BY THE ARTIST ATTACHED.  
Painted ink on paper. 12½" H. by 205½" L. (painting proper). Collection of the Honolulu Academy of Arts, Hawaii.



FIG. 8.—TWELVE FLOWER SUBJECTS, EACH WITH A POEM BY THE ARTIST ATTACHED.  
Painted ink on paper. 12½" H. by 210½" L. (painting proper). A long poem composed and written by the artist follows the painting on a separate sheet of paper. It is a fine example of his handwriting. Collection of the Freer Gallery of Art.







taught him painting. In a poem he wrote on a painting, he said,

(I) know it is impossible for me to be a professional artist.  
Let the moss-dots be poured and the banana leaves smeared.  
Be (my) ugliness disguised with mere ink,  
Evade rough embellishments on a pimpled cheek.<sup>34</sup>

He obviously picked up painting by the way. He painted only in ink, frequently repeating similar subjects and poems, and did not produce studious discussions of painting. From many of his poems and letters we learn that he gave away paintings as presents, or in exchange for fresh crabs and wine. He often painted under the influence of alcohol. This was offered as an excuse for his uncouthness, or his agitation, according to a poem of his, carrying a description of such moments:

The bean-wine of the Ch'en family is known the world over.  
So are the wines of the Chu family, only second in rank.  
Nephew Shih came with eight pints in hand,  
and held a roll like a rafter asking me to paint.  
Of little white lotus cups I empty thirty,  
Upraising my fingers, sounding thunders.  
Wonder flowers and grasses emerge, blooming in the sad evening,  
The hastening cheer is not from the Third-boy's drum.<sup>35</sup>  
The hare-brush, hundreds of lean crabs, a leg of lamb, and another two pints of Ch'en family wine.

<sup>34</sup> Pa-chiao mo mu-tan 芭蕉牡丹, *Hsü Wen-ch'ang wen-chi*, ch. 20/2.

<sup>35</sup> Referring to the well-known fable of the Emperor T'ang Ming Huang 唐明皇, who was the third in the family and had the nickname Shang-lang. One spring he became impatient, and as the ruler of the earth ordered the flowers to open. He and his palace attendants sounded the drum to cheer, and to hasten the blossoms. Next day the whole imperial garden was filled with flowers. In Chinese the story is known as "chi ku ts'ui hua" 擊鼓催花.

Humming verse, letting out the suppressed.  
For you, I paint like a roaring lion.<sup>36</sup>

This poem and the painting which accompanies it have survived and can be seen in reproduction.<sup>37</sup> It is dated 1575, when he was 55 years old. Ordinarily Hsü Wei rarely liked to date his works. The few dated ones that we know of are from between the ages of 50 and 60. It seems that from the time he was in prison and afterward, he had more requests for paintings, and paintings brought him some kind of income.

Hsü Wei traveled a great deal. On his trips he met many artists and saw art works. Hsieh Shih-ch'en, for instance, was one of his elderly friends. "Artists living in the Wu region all spare their ink," he wrote in a colophon on Hsieh Shih-ch'en, "only old Hsieh uses ink in quantity. His viewers are amazed, speculate and follow the critical judgment, nine out of ten. They do not know that what is false in a painting is not due to heavy or light ink. It depends on the liveliness. . . . Old Hsieh has been in the Yüeh region, and finally in Hangchou. He gave me four or five paintings. This was very generous. We parted, and he was gone forever."

Once he wrote about Shen Chou:

Shen's paintings are known mostly for their generous spontaneity. The more casual the better they are. This scroll is one of them. But in the Wu region, I saw a painting of his with a subject concerning the poet T'ao Yüan-ming. In it there were two figures about two feet high. Some old trees reaching into the mist are double the size of the figures. There his linear style has a polish close to that of Chao Meng-fu (1254-1322) of the Yüan, or Tu Chin (杜堇 [active ca. 1465-87]) of the Ming. I have also seen his *Eight views of Ku-su* 姑蘇八景. There his lines are like thread, while the figures are the

<sup>36</sup> Yu tu hui yin Shih-sheng chih so 有圖卉應史甥之索. *Hsü Wen-ch'ang wen-chi*, ch. 5.

<sup>37</sup> Harada, Kinjiro, *The pageant of Chinese painting*, Tokyo, 1936, pp. 622-3. The poem is also in this reproduction.

size of peas. He masters the detail as such, and he is able to master casualness equally well. Could it be possible that some one runs, before knowing how to walk?

There may have existed another style of Hsü Wei's painting, but that we may never know.

The person who inspired him most, without question, was Ch'en Shun 陳淳 (1483-1544). The two scrolls belonging to the Freer Gallery of Art and the Honolulu Academy of Arts clearly show his influence. Many of the poems attached to these two handscrolls at each section can be found included in his published poetry. The poems on orchids and narcissi in these two scrolls actually are the same. Numerous series of similar poems appearing in his books were collected from his paintings. These paintings may represent the style typical of his work done after his fifties. *Plates 7 and 8* show an even looser manner, splashing and dripping with ink, revealing the hand which had struck himself to pieces and his wife to death. It is of little significance to know how he held the brush and how he produced his strokes. In the dots and lines there can be felt sound and wind, a truly roaring spirit. Yüan Hung-tao described him in these terms:

He has in his chest a bulk of unperishable air, sadly like a hero lost with nothing to grasp. His poetry is like annoyance, like laughter, like a stream rushing in a precipice, like seeds merging from the soil, like a widow weeping in the darkness, a traveler sitting on his bed in the chill of night. When he lets loose, he gallops over a plain of a thousand miles; when he soars up, a ghost is talking in the cemetery. In his eyes is nothing of the past. He stands alone, by himself, in all time.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>38</sup> See Yüan Hung-tao's preface to *Hsü Wen-ch'ang wen-chi*.

Another friend preferred to comment on him thus: "Wen-ch'ang's sickness is stranger than his personality. His personality is stranger than his poetry, his poetry stranger than his calligraphy, his calligraphy stranger than his essays, and his essays stranger than his painting."<sup>39</sup> As his painting was well-known, it was the least strange, tamest of all that he created.

Hsü Wei painted also landscapes and figures. All his painting, however, when compared with that by Ch'en Shun, is far less controlled and skillful. Ch'en Shun has much nervous vivacity but retains an impersonal approach. Hsü Wei was full of controversy within himself. He had a more irrational spontaneity, great resistance, and not a drop of sweetness. His sensations were close to his tragic destiny and to his subconscious world. We may say that, while with many a gifted Chinese artist the subconscious became conscious and deliberate, with Hsü Wei consciousness and deliberation became subconscious. He and his follower Chu Ta (1626-after 1702) succeeded only because of their genuine psychopathic condition. It was not a new style or theory that he invented. For later Chinese painting, he stood against the orthodoxy for which change was long overdue. Thus the way was eased for the so-called "Individualists" like Shih-t'ao (Tao Chi [1630-ca. 1707]) and artists like the Eight Strange Painters of Yang-chou 揚州八怪. They certainly had an effective grasp of this attitude without real insanity. Compared with the tendencies of today, Hsü Wei was a moderate, still essentially Chinese. Nonetheless, his is an ecstasy long preceding that of 20th-century artists, an ecstasy with the true stamp of authenticity.

<sup>39</sup> *Idem*.



## CH'EN HSIEN, PAINTER OF LOHANS\*

BY ASCHWIN LIPPE

IN 1959 THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART received as a gift from Mrs. Eugene Vidal an album with paintings of the Sixteen Lohans, which formerly had been in the collection of her late father, Mr. Owen Roberts (pls. 1-4). The album is signed Ch'en Hsien (陳賢) and dated in concordance with 1634. It previously had been owned by the well-known archaeologist Lo Chen-yü (1866-1940) and has postscripts by him as well as by the famous Wang Kuo-wei (1877-1927), both dated 1921.

The monk-painter Ch'en Hsien is practically unknown in China and is not listed in any of the Chinese biographical dictionaries. He is, however, very well known in Japan—a situation which he shares with a number of other Chinese painters who were not particularly appreciated and sometimes even remained unknown in their own country while their works became very popular in Japan. We are thinking of the Ning-po school and of artists like Mu-ch'i, Yü-chien, etc., all of whom were in some way associated with the Ch'an (Zen) sect.

Probably for this reason, Otto Kümmel included Ch'en Hsien in Thieme-Becker's *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler*, where his dates are given as ca. 1610-80. Arthur Waley, in his *Index of Chinese artists*, quotes *Tōyō Bijutsu Taikan* (X) to tell us that Ch'en Hsien served under the Ming hero

Ts'ai Tao-hsien,<sup>1</sup> who fought the Manchu conquerors, and died with him in 1643.

Ch'en Hsien's paintings, as far as they are known to us, are all in Japan or now in this country. Nearly all of them bear inscriptions by the Ch'an (Zen) priests Yin-yüan (Japanese Ingen, 1592-1673) or Mu-an (Japanese Mokuan, 1611-84) who both immigrated from China. Yin-yüan founded, in 1661, the Zen monastery Mampukuji at Uji near Kyoto which today is one of the few accessible examples of Chinese temple architecture of the late Ming period. The Mampukuji still owns several important works by Ch'en Hsien. The earliest date of Ch'en Hsien's paintings is 1634, on the album now owned by the Metropolitan Museum of Art; the latest, 1654, is to be found on the album of the Patriarchs in the Mampukuji. Other dates are 1636, 1643, and 1647.

Consequently, Ch'en Hsien cannot be associated with Ts'ai Tao-hsien. A namesake of his<sup>2</sup> was indeed a soldier, but he was killed in 1415.<sup>3</sup>

Ch'en Hsien was a Buddhist priest or monk—he calls himself “disciple of the Buddha” (佛弟子, 佛子)—of the Ch'an sect. In the inscription of the Patriarchs album he signs as “the rustic monk (野衲) Hsien from the 'Yen-fu' (延福) Ch'an monastery on Mt. Chiu-jih (九日)” (or Hsü?) (旭). We have not been able to locate either the monastery or the mountain.

Ch'en Hsien's signature on the Patriarchs

<sup>1</sup> *Chung-kuo jen-ming ta tz'u-tien*, Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1949, p. 1533.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1100.

<sup>3</sup> *Ming-shih* 146, 7435/2, K'ai-ming edition, 1935.

\* This paper originally was intended to be a contribution to the *Festschrift Martin Ramming* (*Ostasiatische Studien, Martin Ramming zum 70. Geburtstag gewidmet*, Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften, Institut für Orientforschung, No. 48, Berlin 1959).

album is dated the first day of spring, 1654. The same album has a long inscription by Yin-yüan which is dated the full-moon day of the last summer month of the same year. On the twenty-first of this month Yin-yüan left China for Japan where he had been summoned by the Emperor Gōkōmyō. He arrived in Nagasaki on the fifth day of the seventh month.<sup>4</sup> Incidentally, Yin-yüan uses the loyalist nien-hao "Yung-li" of the Ming pretender, the prince of Yung-ming who fled to Burma in 1659 where he eventually was killed (1662). At the time of Yin-yüan's departure for Japan, the loyalists had been reduced to Kwangsi and Yünnan in the far southwest.<sup>5</sup>

The association of Ch'en Hsien with Yin-yüan consequently dates from before the latter's departure for Japan. Yin-yüan had been the abbot of the Huang-po (黃檗) monastery in Fukien. The Huang-po branch of the Ch'an sect was founded in 789 by the Ch'an master, Hsi-yün,<sup>6</sup> who took his name from Mt. Huang-po west of Fu-ch'ing hsien in Fukien<sup>7</sup> where he began his career. The mountain is named after the Huang-po trees (*Phallodendron amurense*) which grow there in abundance. The temple, originally called "Chien-fu" sze (建福寺), was burnt down by Japanese pirates in 1555. About a dozen years later reconstruction was begun; the temple got a new Tripitaka and changed its name to "Wan-fu" sze (萬福寺). In 1636, Yin-yüan took over and finished the work before leaving for Japan<sup>8</sup> where he founded another "Wan-fu" temple (Japanese Mampukuji) at a place

(in Uji) to which he gave the name "Mt. Huang-po" (Japanese Obaku-san). Ch'en Hsien's "Yen-fu" temple certainly was related to the "Chien-fu" or "Wan-fu" temple of the Huang-po shan Ch'an monks.<sup>9</sup> Yin-yüan brought Ch'en Hsien's Patriarchs album along to Japan, together with the Kuan-yin album of the Mampukuji and probably many others. Most of Ch'en Hsien's paintings have inscriptions by Mu-an who became Yin-yüan's successor at the Mampukuji; the latter all seem to date from after the crossing to Japan. The album of the Metropolitan Museum of Art possibly also was acquired by Lo Chen-yü in Japan, where he had lived for years before 1919. The Lohan handscroll now in the Freer Gallery of Art (*pls. 5-7*) is supposed to have come out of China (from Shanghai) in more recent years, in the Meiji era, as we are told by Mr. K. Yamanaka.<sup>10</sup> The scroll carries inscriptions and seals of three scholars (蔡希文, 李佺臺, 張潛士), one of whom passed his chin-shih examination in the early 17th century.

Ch'en Hsien was a painter of religious subjects. We have already mentioned the two albums in the Mampukuji. One, dated 1636 and inscribed by Yin-yüan, has 18 pictures of Avalōkitēśvara (Kuan-yin). The other, dated 1654 and also inscribed by Yin-yüan (in the same year), combines pictures of the 33 Buddhist Patriarchs (from Kāśyapa to Bodhidharma to Hui-neng), preceded by Śākyamuni on the lotus, Mañjuśrī (Wen-shu) on the lion, Samantabhadra (P'u-hsien) on the elephant, and two Avalōkitēśvara sitting on a rock, the first holding willow branch and cup, the second ambrosia flask and lotus. Kuan-yin also is the subject of six hanging scrolls which we

<sup>4</sup> Information kindly supplied by Prof. S. Shimada from *Tokugawa Jikki*, pt. 4, *Gonyūinden Jikki*, vol. 8, and *Ingen Nenpu*.

<sup>5</sup> v. Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing period*, Washington, 1943, vol. 1, p. 193; s.v. Chu Yu-lang.

<sup>6</sup> *Chung-kuo jen-ming ta tz'u-tien*, p. 368.

<sup>7</sup> *Tz'u-hai* ("Sea of Phrases"), Shanghai, 1941, pp. 124-125.

<sup>8</sup> *Fo-hsiieh ta tz'u-tien*, Taipei, 1956, hsia, p. 2060.

<sup>9</sup> The inscription on the Kuan-yin painting dated 1649, reproduced in *Shimbi Taikan XIX*, also mentions the Huang-po sect.

<sup>10</sup> *Kokka* 568, 1939.



仲秋高安祥深畫  
 徐賢



PAGE OF AN ALBUM OF THE SIXTEEN LOHAN BY CH'EN HSIEN, DATED 1634.

Ink and colors on paper. 59.81.

(Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.)

遊史陳賢



PAGE OF AN ALBUM OF THE SIXTEEN LOHAN BY CH'EN HSIEN, DATED 1634.



南和賢陳僧充半  
画



PAGE OF AN ALBUM OF THE SIXTEEN LOHAN BY CH'EN HSIEN, DATED 1634.

崇禎歲次甲戌秋十月  
陳賢寫



PAGE OF AN ALBUM OF THE SIXTEEN LOHAN BY CH'EN HSIEN, DATED 1634.





FIRST SECTION OF A HANDSCROLL OF THE EIGHTEEN LOHAN BY CH'EN HSIEN, DATED 1643.

Ink and colors on satin. 55.17.

(Courtesy of the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.) **55.17**



55.17

SECOND SECTION OF A HANDSCROLL OF THE EIGHTEEN LOHAN BY CH'EN HSIEN, DATED 1643.





55-17

LAST SECTION OF A HANDSCROLL OF THE EIGHTEEN LOHAN BY CH'EN HSIEN, DATED 1643.





know from reproductions; two others each show two Lohans; another, Bodhidharma; still another, Lao-tzu on a buffalo, with the guardian of the pass. The Metropolitan Museum of Art's album has pictures of the Sixteen Lohans. The handscroll dated 1643, now in the Freer Gallery of Art, which he painted "burning incense and worshipping" (焚香和南), is one of Ch'en Hsien's most important works. It is described in *Kokka* as showing "Dharma paying homage to Śākya-muni; Avalōkitēśvara and the Eighteen Lohan."

The cult of the Arhats (Lohans) is a relatively late development in Buddhist thought.<sup>11</sup> During the first centuries of our era, their number apparently was not fixed yet. Then the Five Hundred Arhats were worshiped; they are mentioned in sutras translated into Chinese at the beginning of the fifth century. The complete list of the Sixteen Arhats first appears in the *Fa-chu-chi* (Record on the Duration of the Law), which was translated in 654 by Hsüan-tsang from the Indian text by Nandimitra. The cult of the Arhats spread and developed during the late ninth and tenth centuries and became, in particular, associated with the Ch'an (Zen) sect. The group of Eighteen Arhats first appears in an inscription of 959. In 1101, paintings of the Eighteen Arhats were seen by Su Shih who describes them in one of his poems. Around 1100, they also were painted by Li Lung-mien. This enlargement of the older list by two additional figures created a problem of identification. The two new figures have been explained as being Kāśyapa and Kundopadhaniya,<sup>12</sup> the

first two of the Four Great Śrāvakas. (The other two members of this group, Pindola and Rāhula, already had been included among the Sixteen Arhats.) The Ch'ien-lung emperor identified the two additional figures as Nandimitra and Pindola (the latter already was part of the Sixteen Arhats series) or, on another occasion, as Kāśyapa and Nandimitra.<sup>13</sup> The latter is, of course, the author of the *Fa-chu-chi*. In Japan, the Zen priest Shunshō (ca. 1200) identified the 17th Arhat as Nandimitra.<sup>14</sup> In a Japanese work of the 15th century, in addition to Nandimitra, the famous painter of Arhats, the Ch'an priest Kuanhsiu (832-912), had himself become one of his subjects. A text by Unshō (1613-93), describing the Obaku-san Mampukuji, mentions the images of the Eighteen Lohans, again including two Pindolas.<sup>15</sup> The actual answer probably is to be found in the suggestion of Lévi and Chavannes that two Taoist figures associated with the Tiger and the Dragon, east and west, had been added to the original list.<sup>16</sup>

It seems a little surprising that Ch'en Hsien should have illustrated both iconographical versions of the Lohan group. We also know that the Obaku branch of the Ch'an sect at the Mampukuji worshiped both the Five Hundred and the Eighteen Lohans. However, it looks as if the iconography of these groups was rather loosely handled at the period. The Lohans on Ch'en Hsien's handscroll do not fit the sequence, nor in many cases the description, of the series as given by a Japanese text of 1690.<sup>17</sup> At the same time, the 16 seated figures of the scroll cannot each be identified with a corresponding figure in the album of the Sixteen Lohans, so

<sup>11</sup> v.S. Lévi-E. Chavannes, *Les seize Arhat protecteurs de la loi*, Journ. Asiatique, vol. 8, 1916; M. W. de Visser, *Ostasiatische Zeitschr.*, vols. 7-10, 1918-23, Berlin, 1923; W. Fong, *The Lohans and the bridge to heaven*, Freer Gallery of Art Occ. Pap., vol. 3, No. 1, Washington, 1958.

<sup>12</sup> de Visser, *loc. cit.*, p. 116.

<sup>13</sup> Lévi-Chavannes, *loc. cit.*, pp. 284-285.

<sup>14</sup> de Visser, *loc. cit.*, p. 139.

<sup>15</sup> de Visser, *loc. cit.*, p. 163.

<sup>16</sup> Lévi-Chavannes, *loc. cit.*, p. 285.

<sup>17</sup> de Visser, *loc. cit.*, p. 166.

that the original sequence of the album cannot be reestablished.

There is a distinction, however, on Ch'en Hsien's handscroll, between the 16 Lohans and the additional 2 which bring the group to 18: the 2 additional figures are shown standing or walking, whereas the rest of the group are all seated as in the album. The second of the additional figures is an old man leaning on a staff; he is faced by an acolyte holding a pitcher (*pl. 6*). This probably refers to the legend, which first occurs in a text of 519,<sup>18</sup> of a pitcher with endlessly flowing water. The first of the two additional figures shows a pilgrim walking along briskly, carrying a staff and, in his left hand, a rosary. A fly whisk sticks out of the bundle on his back and ribbons flutter in the breeze; the bundle surely contains the holy sutras. The conspicuous pilgrim's hat, in addition to the other details, makes us suspect that he is no other than Hsüan-tsang. If Nandimitra, the author of the *Fa-chu-chi*, had been added to the original group of 16, it does not seem unlikely that its translator Hsüan-tsang, the pilgrim who brought the scriptures back from India, should have joined him.

Taking another look at the figure holding an incense bowl in front of Śakyamuni (*pl. 5*) at the beginning of the scroll, we do not see any reason to identify him as Bodhidharma. It seems much more likely to interpret him as Kāśyapa, the first disciple of the historical Buddha. In this case, Kāśyapa would here be shown not as one of the Eighteen Lohans, but in his historical role which initiated the whole concept.

The *Kokka* article dealing with the handscroll by Ch'en Hsien points out, as the most remarkable feature of its style, the Western influence evident in the shading of faces. This statement is a little surprising. It is true that

the Portuguese had arrived in China as early as 1514 or 1515, but in 1545 their Ning-po settlement was massacred and in 1549 their trading colony in Fukien was wiped out.<sup>19</sup> From about 1550 on they were confined to Macao. It is also true that after Ricci's arrival in Peking in 1601 the Jesuits gained considerable influence in China, but their missions were centered in Peking, Nanking, and Shanghai. In 1630, Spanish Dominicans from Formosa entered Fukien. Their position, however, remained weak and precarious; monks were arrested and even executed. Only in 1655 were the Dominicans able to build a church at Foochow. Even if there were a few missionaries in the province during Ch'en Hsien's activity, it seems most unlikely that they should have had any contact with the Ch'an monks of Mt. Huang-po.

The Western influence is, in fact, a thousand years older and not European but Indian. It is evident in the wall paintings of Tun-huang. This Western influence, strong and alive in Chinese art of the Six Dynasties and the T'ang period, disappeared in the secular amateur painting which was to dominate the following centuries. Even painters like Ting Yün-p'eng (ca. 1584-1638) and Ch'en Hung-shou (1599-1652), who consciously made use of T'ang traditions, do not employ this method. On the other hand, examples like the famous portrait of the great Ch'an master, Wu-chun, in the Tōfukuji, which was executed in 1238, prove that this tradition of shading the flesh parts of the figures, especially the faces, was carried on in religious paintings. In the art of Ch'en Hsien, it was added to the style of the late Chê school which is the dominating feature throughout.

<sup>19</sup> For the statements in this paragraph, v. K. S. Latourette, *A history of Christian missions in China*, New York, 1929, p. 85ff.

<sup>18</sup> *Kao-seng-chuan*, v. de Visser, *loc. cit.*, p. 174.



## YÜAN CHIANG AND HIS SCHOOL

BY JAMES CAHILL

SCATTERED THROUGH THE OLDER WESTERN collections of Chinese painting, standing out as welcome relief in those wastelands of dull and dark-toned imitations over which drift the pale ghosts of the Sung masters, are a smaller number of pictures, likewise late in date, but not purporting (at least not at the time they were painted) to be any earlier than they are; works that can be called legitimate—that is, of ascertainable parentage, not disclaimed by their authors, signed or safely attributable. Often, however, the original signatures have been cut off at some later time, and spurious ones added, or quite arbitrary attributions made in the labels. In such cases, it is the task of the curator to see through these attributions and recognize the pictures for what they are—not only to “legitimize” them (a process that is sometimes the equivalent of adding a good new painting to the collection), but also to relieve studies of early painting from irrelevant material that can only induce false conclusions.

As often as not, one greets such paintings with mixed feelings; many of them, although genuine enough, are no higher in quality than the forgeries. Among the smaller number that are both genuine and interesting are the works of Yüan Chiang 袁江 and his followers. At a time when the virtues of other varieties of Ch'ing dynasty painting went unperceived by Occidental collectors and scholars alike, the grandiose landscapes and meticulous palace scenes of this school were brought back (along with countless saccharine portraits of willowy beauties, and bird-and-flower compositions in the shallowest decorator's taste) by travelers to China, or imported by dealers, in such numbers that they may still be encountered

with some frequency in the dark cupboards of museums and on the walls of private homes. Eleven landscapes of this school are in the Freer Gallery of Art, all purchased by Charles Lang Freer between the years 1911 and 1919, and all but one furnished with false attributions to earlier and more respected artists, even though in three cases the real painter's inscription or seal is still to be seen on them. The present study began as an attempt to rescue these 11 works from the obscurity to which they had been assigned as “forgeries,” and to restore them to their proper places in the history of painting.

Other museum curators, coming upon landscapes of this school, must have turned to the Chinese sources for information and been, like the writer, disappointed with what they found: the neglect of Yüan Chiang and the others by Chinese authors is hard to explain, even allowing for the standard belittlement of professional artists in Ming and Ch'ing times. One would expect, for example, to learn something about Yüan Chiang and Yüan Yao 袁耀, both of whom served in the Imperial Academy, from the *Kuo-ch'ao yüan-hua lu* 國朝院畫錄, a 19th-century work treating the Ch'ing Academy painters. But the author, Hu Ching 胡敬, after devoting the body of his book to a group of artists who seem, on the whole, to make up one of the most lifeless movements in all of world art,<sup>1</sup> only mentions Yüan Chiang briefly in a list of Academy painters about whom no information was available to him.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Anyone finding this judgment extreme is invited to browse through the last half-dozen or so reproductions in almost any issue of *Ku-kung shu-hua chi*.

<sup>2</sup> Hu Ching, *Kuo-ch'ao yüan-hua lu* (included in *Hu-shih san-chung* 胡氏三種), ch. 2, p. 30b.

Of the hundreds of works by the two Yüans that must have been kept in the Ch'ien-lung Emperor's palaces, either inherited from his predecessor or produced in his own Academy, none is recorded in his catalog, *Shih-ch'ü pao-chi*; they were evidently regarded as decoration rather than as works of art. One of them, it is true, probably by Yüan Yao, has found its way into the Palace Museum Collection, to be much admired and often reproduced.<sup>3</sup> But it has attained this respected status (like the misattributed works bought by Mr. Freer) at the cost of denying its parentage: fitted out with a signature of the 12th-century painter Yen Tz'u-p'ing 閻次平, it masquerades as a Sung masterwork. Had its true identity been recognized by the Palace Museum authorities, it presumably would have been left behind in Peking with all the other works of the Yüans, to be replaced, perhaps, by one more of the tasteless productions of Tung Pang-ta 董邦達 (75 of which were carefully transported to the safety of Taiwan), or Ch'ien Wei-ch'eng 錢維城 (34 of whose works were so rescued), or Tsou I-kuei 鄒一桂 (49 paintings), or Chang Tsung ts'ang 張宗蒼 (51 paintings).<sup>4</sup>

Few Western scholars have taken any more notice of Yüan Chiang than have the Chinese, but at least two have written judgments of him that are generally sound, at least with respect to the paintings they reproduce. Sirén, who gives him a rather neutral paragraph in his recent *Chinese painting*,<sup>5</sup> offered a closer characterization in his earlier

study,<sup>6</sup> writing about two landscapes in the Kuo Hsi manner:

... In the translation [from the Sung model] something of the severe pathos of the old master has been lost; his mannerism has been accentuated to such an extent that the drawing has become ornamental rather than dramatically expressive. The distance from the Sung originals is enormous, in spite of faithful reproduction of stylistic peculiarities and the general decorative effect. These professional painters of the Ch'ing period were admirable men of the brush, but their pictures had no roots in the depths of their own consciousness.

Laurence Sickman has this to say of him:<sup>7</sup>

In strong contrast to the expressionism of the "literary man's" school, the careful drawing and fully descriptive style of the Northern Sung period was revived by Yüan Chiang. . . . His landscapes . . . are large in scale, suitable for the decoration of nobly proportioned halls. . . . The effect in single areas is strongly realistic, but the compositions of his mountains are so fantastic, and the interplay of broken curves so complex, writhing and twisting, that the total impression is curiously rococo.

All the above will serve to introduce our subject, and to define the problems involved in it. Our concern is with three artists: Yüan Chiang, his close associate Li Yin 李寅, and Yüan's adopted son Yüan Yao; and peripherally with a fourth, Yüan Hsüeh 袁雪. We shall, along the way, try to decide whether the critical neglect of these men is justified. To anticipate our conclusion, I think we shall find that it both is and is not. The individual work of Yüan Chiang can be facile and shallow, especially if it belongs to the decorative variety of palace scene that he produced in his late years, and that came to be considered

<sup>3</sup> *Three hundred masterpieces of Chinese painting in the Palace Museum*, Taichung, 1959, vol. 3, pl. 105; to be discussed in the second part of this paper.

<sup>4</sup> I mention this, not to criticize the selection made by the Palace Museum staff, but rather to illustrate the persistence of the prejudice against the Yüan Chiang school painters among Chinese scholars.

<sup>5</sup> O. Sirén, *Chinese painting, leading masters and principles*, London and New York, 1956-58, vol. 5, p. 93.

<sup>6</sup> O. Sirén, *A history of later Chinese painting*, London, 1938, vol. 2, p. 77.

<sup>7</sup> Laurence Sickman and Alexander Soper, *The art and architecture of China*, Baltimore, 1956, p. 194.



typical of him. But this is a case, of a type common in art history, in which the whole is greater—or at least more absorbing, richer in human significance—than the sum of the parts. What has survived and is accessible of Yüan Chiang's output, seen in sequence (most of his works are dated) and against a proper background, presents an artistic personality more fascinating than any single picture more than hints at. Moreover, he is the only important professional artist whose dated works survive in sufficient number to allow such a study.<sup>8</sup> From these works we can arrive at some understanding of Yüan Chiang's individual adjustments to the predicament of the professional painter in his time. The paintings themselves prove far more eloquent in this regard than any written report or appraisal could have been, so that the lack of literary sources becomes, in the end, a fact of minor consequence. From the paintings we can sense how it was to be a highly capable technician in Yangchow of the late 17th and early 18th centuries; to seek a place of dignity in artistic circles dominated by the amateur, the individualist, the eccentric; to find one's strengths regarded as weaknesses, and the exercise of skill, the wholly serious employment of traditional modes, endangering rather than enhancing one's standing as an artist in the eyes of viewers persuaded (like Sirén) that pictures so produced "had no roots in the depths of the painter's own consciousness."

### BACKGROUND

Yüan Chiang and Li Yin appear together on the Yangchow artistic scene some time before 1694; the earliest dated painting by each of them is from that year. They worked in close association, perhaps in the same stu-

dio, for 15 or 20 years. Li Yin's latest known dated work was painted in 1702, but other paintings signed by or attributable to him can be placed later on the basis of style, extending his period of activity perhaps 10 or 15 years. Beyond that, we know nothing of him. He may have been older than Yüan Chiang, who was still active in 1724; he was apparently the more learned of the two, or at least the more scholarly by temperament: he writes long and rather abstruse inscriptions on his pictures, while Yüan's inscriptions are invariably terse, supplying at most a title, a reference to the master he is imitating, a dedication (rarely), and a date, in addition to his signature.

Both were natives of Yangchow, that city of lush scenery on the Yangtze River that had become a rich center of the salt trade, and had begun to assume the prominent cultural position it was to maintain through the 18th century. The greatest of the early Ch'ing individualists, Tao-chi, had spent some time in Yangchow during the 1680's, and returned there after his trip to the north (1689-93) to stay for the rest of his life, with only an occasional absence. A lesser individualist who specialized in a dry-brush technique, Ch'eng Sui 程邃 (or Kou Tao-Jen 垢道人), was originally a painter of Anhui Province, but settled in Yangchow and was active there until around 1690. Many of the local artists were pupils or followers of one or the other of these two. Nearby in Nanking, several members of the Chin-ling group were still active; the greatest of them, Kung Hsien, was dead by 1689, but Fan Ch'i 樊圻, whose works seem to supply some part of the background for the Yüan Chiang school, was still painting in 1694. In Yangchow itself there was Hsiao Ch'en 蕭晨, a figure painter and specialist in fairly orthodox winter landscapes, of whom we shall have more to say below; and from

<sup>8</sup> An exception to this statement might be Lan Ying, who, however, is a special case, straddling the professional and literati schools.

the turn of the century, Kao Hsiang 高翔, probably the oldest of the so-called Eight Eccentrics of Yangchow and in his youth a friend of Tao-chi. Others of the Eight Eccentrics were active later; dated works of Hua Yen and Huang Shen begin around 1720, by which time Li Yin was probably dead, and Yüan Chiang either had left Yangchow or was soon to do so.

Such was the age in which Yüan and Li worked, an interim still pervaded by afterglow from the brilliance of the great early Ch'ing individualists, all of whom (with the possible exception of Tao-chi)<sup>9</sup> were now dead, and preceding the late, less intense flaring of individualist styles in Hua Yen, Chin Nung, Lo P'ing, and other Yangchow eccentrics. It was an age in which the Yangchow art lovers were inclined to take most seriously what the artists themselves pretended to take least seriously. Perhaps it was in this period that the mysterious Tien Tao-jen 顛道人, the "Mute Taoist" (whose dates are no more ascertainable than anything else about him), turned up suddenly in Yangchow, "no one knew whence," to wander drunk in the streets, occasionally dashing off paintings in a wet, free manner that had a "strange and distinct flavor." When his pictures became so popular that people began to ask for them he disappeared, "no one knew whither," and was never seen again. What chance had the ordinary, sane painter, however conscientious, against such counterattractions?

His chances were better if he had some education, and could pass as even a second-class literatus. Such, it would seem, were Hsiao Ch'en and Li Yin, who are spoken of

in the literary records as rivals. It is Hsiao who is allotted the more space in the local histories, and who seems to have received more attention in his time.<sup>10</sup> He was hardly Li's equal as a painter; we can speculate that it was because he was a better poet than Li, whose verses are not of a very high order.<sup>11</sup> Hsiao's figure paintings "in T'ang and Sung styles" treated Confucian subjects and bore long poetic inscriptions; they were much admired by his contemporaries. By the 19th century, however, his literati status was forgotten and his painting was accordingly dealt with more harshly by the critic Ch'in Tsu-yung 秦祖永: "The coloring is beautiful, the garment-lines pure, supple and flowing, the whole extremely skillful. But in the placing and drawing of eyes and eye-brows, he failed to achieve a pure refinement; there remained a good bit of crude vulgarity. It is this sort of thing that separates the scholarly tradition from the various others." A note written above comments loftily: "Such masters as Ch'ang-k'ang [Ku K'ai-chih] and Yu-ch'eng [Wang Wei] all painted as gentlemen-scholars, and therefore could enter the realm of the sublime, naturally free of the taint of vulgarity."<sup>12</sup> Directly after this is a brief treatment of Li Yin, in which words of praise for the skill and beauty of his style are followed by a similar qualification: "But from time to time he failed to escape from the vulgar attitude and skilfulness of the professional painter. His pictures have a certain profundity, but are deficient in elegance and har-

<sup>9</sup> The exact date of Tao-chi's death is not known; it may have been as late as 1717. See Wen Fong, *A letter from Shih-t'ao to Pa-ta-shan-jen and the problem of Shih-t'ao's chronology*. Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America, vol. 13, 1959, pp. 22-53.

<sup>10</sup> This higher regard for Hsiao Ch'en, having nothing to do with artistic quality, has continued into recent times; his works are reproduced in publications (*Ku-kung shu-hua chi*, *Chung-kuo ming-hua chi*) that ignore Yüan Chiang altogether.

<sup>11</sup> I am indebted to Mr. Li Lin-ts'an for this judgment, which I felt unqualified to make myself.

<sup>12</sup> Ch'in Tsu-yung, *T'ung-yin lun-hua* 桐陰論畫 (preface 1866), p. III, ch. 2, pp. 3b-4a.



mony." And again a note above: "Painting, to be respected, must have a scholarly spirit, so that the ink falls naturally, elegant and refined, quite free of the afflictions that arise from the vulgar attitude of the professional painter."

Professionalism in painting had carried a general stigma of "vulgarity" for centuries. Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, in the late Ming period, had delivered to it what he must have thought to be a *coup-de-grace* by equating it roughly with his "Northern School," which was made up chiefly of *hang-chia*—a term corresponding roughly to "professionals" but carrying stronger connotations of commercialism. Tung's judgment had seemed safe enough in his time; the last important school of professional painters before him, that of Chou Ch'en, Ch'iu Ying, and T'ang Yin, had produced no significant following. But artists still capable of, and committed to, the finished, skillful styles were not altogether crushed by Tung's pronouncements and the climate of opinion they reflected; they only turned to new expedients. One of these, perhaps the most important, was the development of what may be termed the fantastic landscape. From the early decades of the 17th century, a number of artists (who belong to quite separate schools in the traditional Chinese classification) revived the careful techniques, the relatively realistic drawing, and something of the grandeur, of Sung painting.<sup>13</sup> But they did this in ways that recall the Surrealists in our time: through the application of representational styles to imaginary worlds, the landscapes of dreams and visions. Landscape paintings in China had for the most part been intended and accepted as images either of nature, as understood and

experienced by the artist, or of the artist himself, as revealed in the brushwork and forms of the painting. Now landscape took on another function, which, to be sure, had been recognized before, but had never been so systematically exploited: the visionary, or vision-inducing.<sup>14</sup> Convincingly "literal" delineation of details, "naturalistic" rendering of volume and texture, persuade us of the concrete existence of what the artist presents; but then, having won our confidence, he takes advantage of it to carry us on high flights of fancy, to a world over which the logical necessities of material existence have no hold, where we are allowed a momentary escape from reason and order. In much the same way that the religious icon provides a sensible focus for meditations on divinity, the fantastic landscape serves as stimulus for imaginary extramundane experience.

The founder of this movement, if it can indeed be considered a movement and credited with a founder, was Wu Pin, whose stature we are only beginning to recognize. Born in Fukien Province, he lived for some time in Nanking, and ended as a court painter under the Wan-li emperor. During the period 1600–1615 he created, largely single-handed, the new mode of fantastic landscape, for which true precedents would be hard to find. Later stages in the development of this mode can be recognized in certain works of Wang Chien-chang 王建章, notably the *Landscape of Mt. P'eng-lai* dated 1633;<sup>15</sup> of Fan Ch'i, such as the handscroll owned by C. C. Wang, dated 1646, in which the influence of Wu Pin is unmistakable (*fig. 14*); of Lan Ying and his followers;<sup>16</sup> and, still later, of Fa Jo-chen

<sup>13</sup> All such terms as "realistic," "naturalistic," "careful," etc., must of course be understood in a relative sense within the context of the period and of Chinese painting as a whole.

<sup>14</sup> The latter term is that of Aldous Huxley, who discusses this function of art (to the undue exclusion of others equally important) in his book *Heaven and Hell*.

<sup>15</sup> *Tō Sō Gen Min meiga taikan*, pl. 378.

<sup>16</sup> Examples are a landscape by Lan Meng 藍孟,

法若真, the master of the shivering terrain, who lived until 1696.<sup>17</sup> The visions of these masters, whatever affinities they may have among them, are essentially private visions, and did not encourage close imitation. But by the end of the century this fantastic mode had evidently come to be more widely recognized as offering a way out for the discredited professional, and a means by which he could free himself from the staleness that by then afflicted most works executed in traditional styles. Applied to standard compositions, these styles no longer interested anyone; but when used to construct landscapes of real imaginative power, they carried with them a sense of conviction and "reality." The artists could thus display their mastery of traditional techniques and be (or appear to be) original, all at once. The perils of this stratagem are obvious: fantastic forms can become quite as stereotyped as standard ones, if too often reused; and when, in carrying out the frequent shifts in style that the demand for novelty forced upon him, the painter allowed his faculty for invention to relax, the unhappy result would be arbitrary and empty fabrication (such as we find in some later works of Li Yin), or would-be monumental compositions produced through dull accretion of painstaking detail. A good example of the latter is provided by another Yangchow painter of the period, Ku Fu-ch'en 顧符稹.<sup>18</sup> It is a road beset with such traps that lies before Yüan Chiang and Li Yin as we see them at the beginning of their careers.

*Tō Sō Gen Min meiga taikan*, pl. 385, and a painting in the Freer Gallery of Art (fig. 4).

<sup>17</sup> *Sō Gen Min Shin meiga taikan*, pl. 241 (dated 1692), and Sirén, *A history of later Chinese painting*, vol. 2, pl. 184.

<sup>18</sup> See, for example, the landscape by this artist in the National Museum, Stockholm; *Tō Sō Gen Min meiga taikan*, pl. 399 (under the painter's *hao*, Ku Yün-ch'ao 雲巢).

## EARLY WORK

Yüan Chiang's and Li Yin's earliest dated works, the two landscapes of 1694, exhibit mature styles, and we can only speculate about what preceded them. If we suppose the point of departure to have been something akin, in orthodoxy of composition and execution, to the work of their contemporary and rival in Yangchow, Hsiao Ch'en (fig. 1), we may recognize in an "Anonymous Sung" picture titled *Snowy Peaks* (fig. 2) a stage midway between that and the developed Yüan-Li style. The main mass rising up the center of the composition in a series of abrupt, arc-shaped thrusts, with a stream winding into the distance at one side; the deeply fissured slopes, with erosion gullies beginning so close to the upper contours as to make the ridges seem narrow and undercut (a device used also by Fan Ch'i—cf. fig. 7); the small, uniform rocks along the shore, familiar from works of both Yüan and Li; the long curves, especially in shorelines; the drawing of trees and houses—all these features and others relate the picture unmistakably to the Yüan-Li School. Comparison with Li Yin's painting of 1694 (fig. 10) suggests that this could well be an earlier work of his. But hardly a successful one; the distortions of natural form are not radical enough to seem quite purposeful, there are too many clichés, and the hardness and dryness of the style seem unrelieved by a truly creative imagination. In relation to Hsiao Ch'en's picture, this can be seen as an attempt at animating the landscape, overcoming the hard-cut, frozen immobility of the other. But much remains to be accomplished.

Two other paintings, both anonymous and arbitrarily attributed (to Kuo Chung-shu and Fan K'uan) but related closely to this earliest stage of the Yüan-Li style, are pertinent in that they exhibit the same transition from orthodoxy into the fantastic landscape mode



(*figs. 3, 4*). The two correspond so perfectly in details—trees, figures, bridges, temples, villages in hidden valleys, mists in gorges and behind trees, contour drawing and dotted “texture” of rocks—that we might take them to be works of the same artist. He appears to have been a follower of Lan Ying.<sup>19</sup> Seeing the two paintings in the only sequence that makes them intelligible, we observe a standard, static arrangement of fairly orthodox forms burgeoning, as if endowed with unnatural vegetal life, into an exuberant growth. The later picture, at once lighter and more powerful, is also, paradoxically, the more “real” of the two, in that its cavities seem more penetrable, its spatial relationships more convincing; it invites the viewer, quite persuasively, to climb in fancy up its twisting ravines.

Through some such process did the Yüan-Li style come into being. A further stage is represented in another snow scene, of which versions by both artists exist (*figs. 5, 6*). Apart from some later trimming (Yüan Chiang’s version at top and bottom, Li Yin’s at both sides), the two paintings are identical in composition. Yüan’s version bears two of his seals; Li’s, a long poetic inscription, signed and dated 1695. A comparison of details leads to the conclusion that Li’s version is the copy and Yüan’s the original, which might thus be several years earlier, and precede his painting of 1694. In any case, it makes better sense as an earlier work. Its similarities with the anonymous picture (*fig. 2*) are evident—trees, texturing of rock surfaces, formation of cliffs and ridges—but its superiority is even plainer. Depending heavily on Fan Ch’i for his basic forms (*figs. 7, 8*), Yüan makes of

his picture a coherent organism, subjecting his masses to sweeping, surging movements in a manner distantly inherited from Kuo Hsi. We may note here the first appearance of a device that was to run through the whole course of this school: a basically simple form, a round-topped mountain, is scooped out, eaten away, its surface continuity and solidity powerfully violated until what remains is skeletal and fragile. In just such a way did Ch’ing dynasty artisans sometimes work a lump of jade or a tusk of ivory, carving deeply into it and through it, retaining only scattered patches of the original surface, but never abandoning outright the simple shape with which they began. In contrast to the landscape by a Lan Ying follower (*fig. 4*) in which the forms might have come into being through some uncontrolled vegetal growth, this seems the product of the cutting and wearing away of something once solid and complete. Otherwise, the two pictures have a good bit in common. The distinctive splaying of terrain forms in the Lan Ying school work may be seen in parts of Yüan Chiang’s, for example, in the way the ridge in the lower right, just above the gate, flares out suddenly into a broad, flat face. (The misunderstanding of this same passage in Li Yin’s version is one of the arguments for the primacy of Yüan’s.) On the other hand, the strange cavity in the flat-topped peak of the Lan Ying school picture, a motif quite unknown in standard productions of that school, would seem to indicate, along with certain features of the drawing, some contact with the Yüan-Li style.

In these paintings Yüan Chiang and Li Yin have begun already to experiment with a formal device that was to be the basis of many of their landscape constructions: by juxtaposing suggestions of naturalistic space and recession with harsh denials of it, they create a special tension that is entirely in keeping

<sup>19</sup> The connections of the style with Lan Ying’s paintings may not be immediately apparent, but become so when the works of followers, such as Chan-fu 湛復 (*Sō Gen Min meiga taikan*, pl. 197), are seen as intermediary stages.

with the aim of this kind of picture, carrying the viewer constantly back and forth between the painting as a pictorial surface and an imagined "reality" existing, after a fashion, in space. The main mass rises through the center of the composition, from the base to the summit, in what is essentially a vertical movement, with only a slight recession implied by overlappings and inward-curving ridges. At both sides of this main mass, however, river valleys penetrate deep into the picture. The peak that occupies the farthest plane must, then, be more distant than the deepest reaches of these valleys, very far from the picture plane, but at the same time appears quite close to it. The contradiction cannot be resolved sensibly. It is worth noting here that this school seldom makes use of atmospheric perspective (paler and dimmer rendition of distant objects), which would have clarified the distance relationships; the ambiguities are deliberate.

These landscapes, which we have taken, perhaps on rather shaky grounds, to represent the earliest styles of Yüan Chiang and Li Yin, only foreshadow, without really displaying, their developed manner. The artists seem still bound to modes common to their period; their individual departures are timid and tentative. It is a long jump from any of these to the two landscapes of 1694 (*figs. 9, 10*), in which the painters on the one hand are more conscious of their heritage—Yüan refers to Kuo Hsi by name in his inscription and by style in the painting, and Li Yin makes a similarly stipulated use of the Li T'ang manner in his—while on the other hand they work with the air of people creating something new and viable, founding their own school. The compositions of the two landscapes are alike in being based once more on the interplay between surface elaboration and an insistent burrowing into depth, the latter now reinforced in both cases by a more effective use

of graded wash to suggest volume. The individual forms are modeled and given some texture; their relationships in space are established (allowing for some ambiguity) by transitions, overlappings, recessions; but the whole effect of all this is negated in the most systematic way. The towering structures of rock exist in single vertical planes, even though this vertical ordering is constantly qualified, contradicted, by hints and half-realized movements back and forth in depth. The composition of Yüan Chiang's picture, with the two dark tree groups at the bottom initiating an upward movement continued in the ridges above (the weaker group of trees "supporting" the heavier mass, and vice versa), and the roads paralleling these, emphasizes this verticality very deliberately; the straight-back recession was most difficult for the Chinese landscapists, since it was always in danger of being read as straight-up, and Yüan Chiang, surely not unaware of this, seems almost to intend the latter reading. The "horizontal" elements (roads, water surfaces, banks) are so sharply tilted upward, and the "vertical" elements (cliffs, trees) so tilted backward, that the angle between them becomes small, far less than the understood angle, which must be 90°, since these belong supposedly to perpendicular planes. This spatial conception is of course not without precedent, and something like it runs through much of Chinese painting, but it seems to have been used in this school with unusually conscious purpose. This is not a matter of period, or even of locale; the Hsiao Ch'en picture (*fig. 1*) is organized on very different principles.

In these early works Yüan and Li follow the fashion of working "in the manner of" great early masters; they do this also later, but more often without acknowledgment. The favorite models are Kuo Hsi and Li T'ang, but in one instance (*fig. 11*) Li Chao-tao is named in the inscription. The "Kuo Hsi" ele-



ments in Yüan Chiang become apparent if we put the latter's landscape of 1694 (*fig. 9*) beside the former's great "Early Spring" of 1072.<sup>20</sup> Yüan's borrowings are too numerous and too obvious to point out here; his departures are more interesting. He has flattened out the picture by the devices noted above; his mountain mass is far more complex, more nervous. Beside Kuo Hsi's painting, which seems so extraordinarily dynamic in the Northern Sung context, Yüan Chiang's is positively convulsive. However, Yüan's contribution to this tradition cannot be understood simply as a further degree of mannerism, or surface elaboration; the extremes of both had been reached long before, notably in the work of Chu Tuan in the 16th century.<sup>21</sup> Yüan Chiang's forms are *less* flat, his contours *less* playfully scalloped, his trees *less* reduced to arabesques, than in the works of some earlier Kuo Hsi imitators. Seen in relation to those—Chu Tuan, or Lan Ying<sup>22</sup>—he is seen in fact to have restored to landscapes of this tradition some sense of convincing corporeality, of genuine height and mass and grandeur, much as Wu Pin had reintroduced these same qualities to landscape painting of his age. Also like Wu Pin, he inserts "realistic" touches throughout the picture: note, for example, the depiction of carriage tracks on the surface of the road. His drawing of figures, oxcarts, and buildings is sure and skillful; in a later phase of his career, when he specialized in palace scenes, this was to become the most highly praised feature of his style.

Li Yin's landscape of the same year (*fig. 10*) similarly blends grandeur and fantasy. The same devious movements inspire rocks and peaks; the same spatial ambiguities be-

lause the eye. Li Yin appears, now as later, to exercise less restraint; his is the wilder imagination, and the less sure technique. His references to the Li T'ang mode are the standard ones: a derivative of the "axe-cut" texture strokes on the rocks, a shoreline disappearing into mist in the middle distance, suave and flowing contours, well-groomed pines, a general impression of sleekness. The buildings, boats, bridges, and figures are less accomplished than Yüan Chiang's, but have the same air of "mundane naturalism" (to use Sickman's phrase).

The details reproduced in *figures 13 to 17* should serve to place the two works of 1694 firmly within the movement (as we have chosen to call it) that includes Wu Pin and Fan Ch'i, and should require little comment. *Figures 13 to 15* reveal how Wu Pin's great corniform sweeps of rock are adopted fairly directly by the two later painters, as is his texturing in short, dry-brush strokes, applied rather sparsely and evenly over graded washes. (Li Yin has broadened them a bit in compliance with the "Li T'ang" character of his painting.) Isolated wisps of mist are used in the same way by all three artists to break long, otherwise continuous contours (note this use of mist in the lower corner of Li Yin's picture, *fig. 10*, a portion not included in the detail). From Wu Pin also comes a favorite motif of Yüan Chiang and Li Yin: the sheer or overhanging cliffs that press a short way into the picture from the sides, often dropping close and parallel to the edges. Landscapists of other schools generally avoided such disturbingly "chopped-off" elements, the occurrence of which in earlier painting is customarily taken to indicate that the composition has been trimmed. The details reproduced from Wu Pin's landscape of 1617 and Yüan Chiang's of 1694 (*figs. 16, 17*) share such motifs as the distinctive round-bottomed, trough-

<sup>20</sup> Sirén, *Chinese painting, leading masters and principles*, vol. 3, pl. 175.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 6, pl. 166.

<sup>22</sup> See, for example, the painting in *Sō Gen Min Shin meiga taikan*, pl. 177.

shaped gorge, along with something less specific: the imposition of plastic rendering upon forms that have not in themselves been conceived or drawn in terms of volume.

From the year 1698 we have again a pair of landscapes, one by each artist. The two are still moving on parallel courses; both seem even more confirmed in their determination to flatten out the picture. Yüan Chiang (*fig. 11*) does it by the most radical tilting, and by avoiding even more rigorously than before any horizontal shorelines or other means of placing successive planes convincingly in depth; instead, steep diagonals "recede" so impetuously as to destroy any real sense of recession. The distortion is strangely effective here, suggesting the headlong descent of the rapids. Yüan tells us in his inscription that the painting is in the manner of Li Chao-tao, but it is hard to see why, unless it is a matter of bright blue-and-green coloring; otherwise, one would have thought rather of Li T'ang.

Li Yin (*fig. 12*) eliminates space in a different way in his landscape of the same year, crowding the whole area of it with rocks, trees, buildings, and figures, all fairly uniform in size, none dominant enough to give the picture either a solid structure or a pervasive movement. His mountaintop is an elaboration of a theme by Wu Pin (*cf. fig. 13*), but has far less of cohesion and power. Li Yin has fallen, it would appear, into the fussiness that afflicted so many of his contemporaries, and like them has subscribed to the fallacy that grandeur can be attained through accretion of the trivial. He is still very competent as a draftsman; such details as the leafy trees, the mounted travelers, the thatched sheds of the hostel in the lower left, are skillfully and delightfully portrayed. According to the long inscription, the locale of the painting is the wild mountain scenery of Szechwan Province, as the artist imagined it to look. (Since I haven't

been there, he says, parodying Chuang-tzu's parable of the Pleasure of Fish, I can't say for sure that it looks like this; but can you, who haven't been there either, say for sure that it doesn't?) Its relation to the real world is in fact so tenuous that it might as well be the mountains of the moon.

The reference to the rugged mountain roads of Szechwan recalls the most famous painting of that subject, the *Emperor Ming-huang's Journey to Shu*, thought to be a copy after an eighth-century design.<sup>23</sup> Li Yin, who probably knew a version of that picture or others like it, has returned to the archaic plan of landscape it represents, in which the painting, not easily grasped in its entirety, is a multifarious world in itself, through which the viewer wends his way like the travelers seen in it, absorbing only the scenery of his immediate surroundings at any one time. Landscape of this kind had been largely confined, from the 10th century onward, to the handscroll form, where the painter could better control the succession in which parts of his picture are seen, and be sure that they would not all be seen at once. Li Yin's attempt at restoring the same episodic treatment to the hanging scroll does not quite succeed.<sup>24</sup>

It is difficult to see how either Li Yin or Yüan Chiang could have proceeded much farther along these lines. Of the various approaches to landscape tried out in their early paintings, most had proved blind alleys. Wisely, perhaps, the two painters abandoned all of them but one—their interpretation of

<sup>23</sup> *Three hundred masterpieces of Chinese painting in the palace museum*, vol. 1, pl. 35.

<sup>24</sup> A painting of the same subject arbitrarily attributed to Liu Sung-nien (*Tō Sō Gen Min meiga taikan*, pl. 84) appears to be the work of some more orthodox, less interesting painter imitating Li Yin. Other than a few scattered pictures such as this, we have no evidence that Yüan and Li had followers or imitators in this early stage of the school.



the Kuo Hsi manner. What they did with it, on the other hand, might properly be described as fascinating, but hardly as wise.

#### FROM THE FANTASTIC INTO THE BIZARRE

We have already suggested that the adoption of the fantastic mode by Yüan Chiang, Li Yin, and some others who painted for a living in the late 17th century may have been motivated more by their patrons' demand for novelty and the apathy that surrounded conventional landscape styles than by any purer aesthetic urge. The same motive may have been behind the radical change of style that we are about to consider. This is speculation; if we cannot know which of our contemporary artists paints as he does in response to public or critical preference and which out of personal conviction, we can hardly claim a sharper insight into the motives of a K'ang-hsi period Chinese. It seems also that the styles they practiced tended to slip all too easily into mannerism, as they themselves must have realized. Moreover, the experimental temper of the individualists surely had its effect on the professionals. Whatever the causes, what we know of painting in this period indicates that styles were being worn out and replaced with a rapidity scarcely to be matched elsewhere in premodern times; a painter could not stand still for long.

Li Yin's inscription on his landscape of 1702 (*fig. 19*), in which the new manner is seen for the first time, is revealing and worth quoting:

Of all the Kuo Hsi paintings I've seen, about half were genuine and half fakes. The genuine ones that I happened on, I genuinely studied, and the fakes I studied as fakes. But from the time of my boyhood, my understanding hasn't been too profound, and it is easy to confuse the two. Altogether,

I must have come upon some hundreds of thousands.

All of those who esteem me take me to be a genuine Kuo Hsi; and I am not above considering myself a genuine Kuo Hsi. Because of this, people compete in offering me money and gifts to get my paintings, afraid they will be too late. At such times, I am troubled by self-doubt. But about this painting there needn't be any doubt at all.

We can discount some of this as self-consciously colorful language, and question whether Li had ever seen a single genuine Kuo Hsi landscape; but the significance of the last paragraph, however stereotyped its phrases, should not be missed: Li Yin was now being taken seriously, at least by some, and his works were in demand. Moreover, he had reached success as a practitioner of the Kuo Hsi manner. For this, it mattered little whether or not he was familiar with any genuine works of the Sung master; what mattered was what new and interesting twist he could give to the "Kuo Hsi" landscape type, which for him and his contemporaries meant convoluted mountains with clumps of bare trees, and pockets of mist in the gorges; temples on mountainsides, travelers on lonely paths; twisting masses of earth with no texture strokes on their surfaces, excepting sparse flecks of ink; contours drawn in shaky line; recessions along river valleys, by a system of piled diagonals, or a zigzag progress into distance.

The composition of Li Yin's 1702 landscape (*fig. 19*) obviously derives from the type seen in his work of 1695 (*fig. 6*), but in place of the dominantly vertical emphasis and comparative stability of that painting, the movement is now swift and free-swinging, back and forth in long arcs along shorelines and ridges, into the depths of the picture. Set against these smooth curves are tightly scalloped lines used for some contours, a lineament that suggests nervousness, or playful-

ness, but which one suspects in the end of being more a forced mannerism than a true reflection of the artist's temperament—of being, that is, more activist than expressionist.

An odd motif is the serpentine mass of earth that curls, seemingly unsupported, around the right shoulder of the mountain, disappearing behind it. A precedent for this, representationally more reasonable, is to be seen in Yüan Chiang's landscape of 1694 (*fig. 9*). In the earlier picture, it is another means of insisting on the three-dimensionality of the mountain; now it is merely a bizarre touch.

Another landscape in the Kuo Hsi manner by Yüan Chiang, painted in 1707 (*fig. 20*), shows that the two artists are still working essentially in unison: the same sweeping movement along bowed diagonals into distance, the same palsied brush lines elsewhere. Seen beside his 1694 painting, Yüan Chiang's seems the work of some one less anxious to convince than before, more to entertain. Anecdotal material—the drawing of heavy ox carts by ropes and pulleys over a mountain pass—is enlarged, and is essential to the painting, which would be of little interest without it (*fig. 18*). The main mountain, which was the monumental subject of the earlier picture, is here subsidiary, crowded to the side of the frame and greatly reduced in area. The recession is now established quite independently of it, the band of mist around its base—unlike the same motif in Sung dynasty painting—serving to dismember the picture. The principal effect of the mountain, in fact, is to negate whatever sense of spatial continuity the rest might convey—an effect one can easily test by covering it and observing how much more plausible the remainder becomes. Moreover, the mountain has lost almost all substance; what once had the character of an organism is reduced to an assemblage of squiggles of the brush and small flecks. Sur-

face agitation has replaced the more powerful movement implied by the unquiet masses in the earlier landscapes. This replacement is, in fact, the key to the new manner of both Yüan Chiang and Li Yin. Here, it is still confined to a segment of the composition; later, it pervades the whole.

It does so, for example, in an autumn landscape painted by Yüan Chiang in 1712, which is inscribed as "in the manner of Kuo Hsi" (*fig. 21*). The enlargement of the foreground bridge, rocks, house, and trees, and the absence of the usual zigzag or other forced recession, bring the whole picture closer up, and reduce the scale. Nothing imposing remains; only a mild autumn scene. The lineament, much of it composed of tight curls and hooks, also robs the picture of any real depth by fixing the surface plane so strongly that the forms can scarcely break free of it. In his renunciation of the "grand manner" and concentration on textural unification of the picture surface through consistency of brushwork, Yüan Chiang appears to have abandoned, for a time at least, the fantastic landscape mode, and taken up something closer to the approach of the literati artists, in aim, if not in spirit. As we shall see in the latter part of this study, he was to go much farther in that direction.

Li Yin's landscape of 1702 is his last dated work known to me,<sup>25</sup> but five other pictures remain to be considered, all probably painted after that date. Only one of them still bears an inscription by the artist—inscriptions and signatures were presumably cut from the others when they were given more impressive attributions (three of them to T'ang dynasty artists!)—but they can be ascribed with con-

<sup>25</sup> The painting dated 1705 that appears among Li Yin's works in Sirén's "Annotated List" (*Chinese painting, leading masters and principles*, vol. 7, p. 376) is by another artist of the same name.



fidence to Li Yin on stylistic grounds. One of them, an autumn landscape, is a relatively quiet essay in the mixed Li T'ang-Kuo Hsi manner, with more of the former (*fig. 22*). A comparison of the tree groups in middle ground with those in Li Yin's 1702 painting (*fig. 19*) leaves little doubt that this is his work; Yüan Chiang's trees, although similar (e.g., in the scaly treatment of bark), are products of a different hand altogether (*figs. 27, 28*); the contours of the trunks thicker and more wavering, the patterns of branches and twigs less formal. Both this and Yüan Chiang's picture seem rather haphazardly put together, and, beside their earlier creations, facile. Perhaps both painters were stimulated by a degree of success to step up their rate of production.

Two other autumn scenes, closely related but probably later, reinforce this supposition (*figs. 23, 24*). They are fairly routine performances in a set manner, such as Li Yin probably turned out by the hundreds. Time once spent on planning well-integrated compositions is now saved, and the consequent weakness of design disguised by clever and pseudo-energetic drawing. The artist's goal, just as in the early paintings, is an effect of novelty and originality, but he now pursues it through exactly opposite means: instead of depicting scenes of fantastic grandeur in orthodox, "realistic" styles, he treats scenery of no particular interest in what he hopes will be an exciting manner of drawing. Li Yin would have done well to recall the late phases of the Che School in the Ming dynasty, when a professional tradition was diverted into a similarly misguided attempt to break free from orthodoxy by substituting supercharged brushwork for power of conception and design. The outcome is exactly the same: hard, unfeeling mannerism, and an irritating impression of nervousness. The shaky line is now

an obsession, the rocks are uncomfortably hirsute in appearance. It seems odd to find, in the midst of all this willful heterodoxy, a distinct allusion to the past: the pads of long grass around the roots of the trees, a motif found in the works of Li T'ang and a few of his followers, which had seldom been seen, if at all, since the Sung dynasty.<sup>28</sup>

Two winter landscapes, one of them furnished with a long inscription and signed (*figs. 25, 26*), are Li Yin's most interesting works in this manner; the bizarre style of drawing is better suited to such compositions, which are themselves no less bizarre. In the inscribed landscape (*fig. 25*), the long, transverse arcs already prominent in the landscape of 1702 (*fig. 19*) have become the main theme of the picture, to which all else is subordinate; so violently do they swing the eye from one side of the frame to the other, up and back until the last shoreline vanishes into fog at the top, that one must make a deliberate effort to stop and fix attention on details. All serious attempt to establish a receding ground plane has been abandoned; the masses of earth are not stably situated, but appear to overhang one another threateningly, or to be about to slip sideways. The inscription still refers to Kuo Hsi, but the pictorial references are remote; if Li Yin was still considered a "genuine Kuo Hsi," it was by very indulgent patrons.

In the other winter landscape (*fig. 26*), Li Yin seems to be probing the limits to which an already extravagant style can be pushed. Little remains either of nature or of Kuo Hsi in this huge rocaille construction. The ground and water planes slope more precipitously

<sup>28</sup> For Li T'ang's own use of this motif, see his handscroll in the Palace Museum (*Three hundred masterpieces*, 98); later forms of it are to be seen in the *Red cliff*, probably by Wu Yüan-chih (*ibid.*, 132) and other pictures deriving from the Li T'ang style.

than ever before; spatial relationships are more outrageously false, rocks more impossibly hollowed and tunneled. Convexities are indistinguishable from concavities at many points, and overlappings and transitions incomprehensible. This is no more a carefully thought-out composition than is the autumn landscape (*fig. 23*), but here, instead of adopting a conventional design, Li Yin improvises one offhand, fabricating rather carelessly a preposterous world in which he himself clearly does not believe. The fantastic landscape, by its own inherent rules, had to carry at least an air of conviction, if it was to achieve its end of lifting the viewer out of this world and into another. The fascination of this painting lies elsewhere: it is diverting, in a way exciting, but not convincing. The last tie with reality has broken.

Or perhaps not the last. Looking back at the early landscapes of Li Yin and Yüan

Chiang, we realize that what has remained most constant is the *staffage*: the same mounted travelers and ox carts move placidly along the roads. They appear much larger than before, and are drawn less carefully, in heavier line (*figs. 29, 30*). But they serve the same purpose, allowing the artist to insist: this *is* real landscape, however unreal it may appear; for see, here are real people and oxen and camels and carts moving through it, real hostels carrying on their business in the midst of it. All these people accept their surroundings as natural; so should you.

The disappearance of Li Yin, whether by death or retirement, ends a phase in the development of the school. Yüan Chiang paints no more in this manner, but continues his devious career with further twistings and turnings, to be considered in the second part of this study.

(*To be continued.*)





FIG. 1.—WINTER LANDSCAPE, BY HSIAO CH'EN.  
Richard Hobart Collection, Cambridge, Mass.



FIG. 2.—"SNOWY PEAKS." ANONYMOUS, 17TH CENTURY (FORMERLY  
ATTRIBUTED TO THE SUNG PERIOD). After *Nanshū ihatsu*.





FIG. 3.—“A MORNING JOURNEY THROUGH SNOWY MOUNTAINS.” ANONYMOUS, 17TH CENTURY (FORMERLY ATTRIBUTED TO KUO CHUNG-SHU).  
Philadelphia Museum of Art.



FIG. 4.—“TRAVELERS IN SNOWY MOUNTAINS.” ANONYMOUS, 17TH CENTURY (FORMERLY ATTRIBUTED TO FAN K'UAN). Freer Gallery of Art. 17.127





FIG. 5.—WINTER LANDSCAPE, BY YÜAN CHIANG (FORMERLY  
ATTRIBUTED TO KUAN T'UNG). Freer Gallery of Art. 16.84

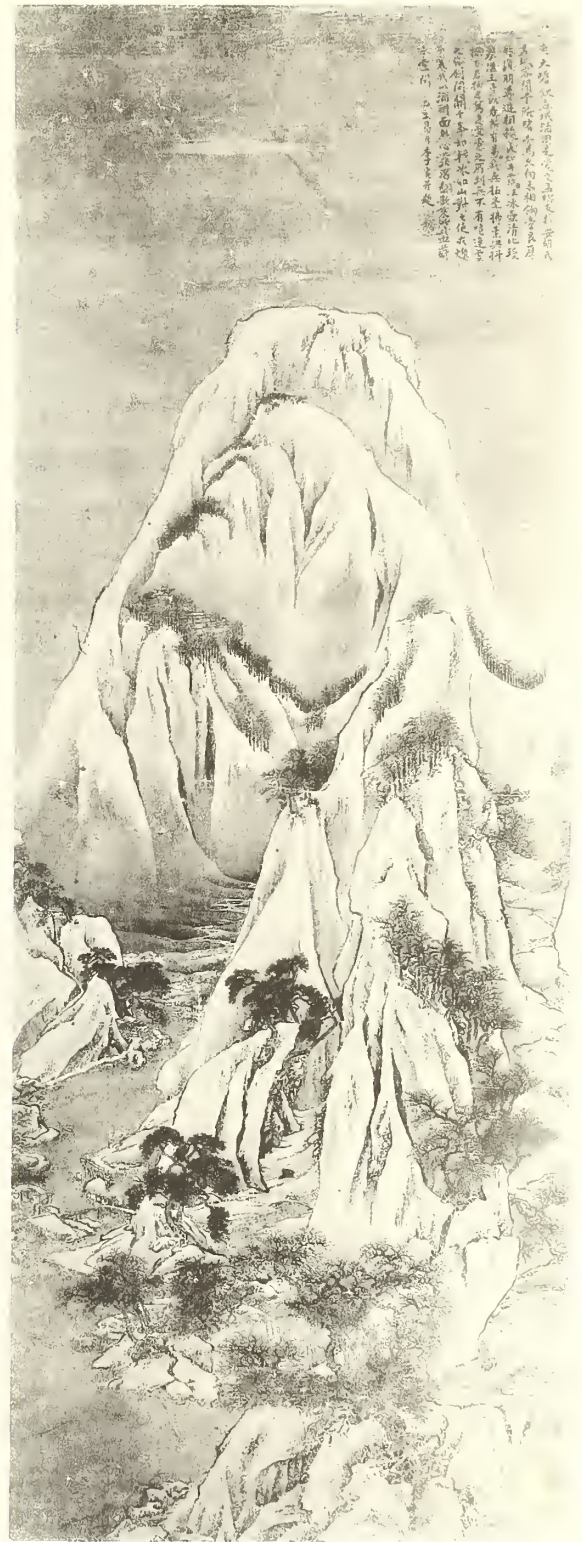


FIG. 6.—WINTER LANDSCAPE, BY LI YIN. DATED  
1695. After *Shen-chou ta-kuan hsü-pien*, vol. 7.





FIG. 7.—WINTER LANDSCAPE (DETAIL FROM A HANDSCROLL), PROBABLY BY FAN CH'1  
(FORMERLY ATTRIBUTED TO LI CH'ENG). Freer Gallery of Art. 16.139





FIG. 8.—DETAIL FROM FIGURE 5.

16.84





FIG. 9.—“CARTS ON A WINDING MOUNTAIN ROAD,” BY YÜAN CHIANG.  
DATED 1694. William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City.





FIG. 10.—"LANDSCAPE IN THE MANNER OF LI T'ANG," BY LI YIN. DATED 1694.  
Freer Gallery of Art, 11.262





FIG. 11.—“THE YANGTZE RIVER GORGES,” IN THE MANNER OF LI CHAO-TAO,  
BY YÜAN CHIANG. DATED 1698. After *Sō Gen Min Shin meiga taikan*.





FIG. 12.—“THE ROAD TO SHU,” BY LI YIN. DATED 1698.  
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.





FIG. 13.—“MOUNTAINS AND STREAMS FAR FROM  
THE WORLD,” BY WU PIN. DATED 1615.  
Hashimoto Collection, Takatsuki.





FIG. 14.—FANTASTIC LANDSCAPE, BY FAN CH'I (SECTION OF A HANDSCROLL). DATED 1645.  
C. C. Wang Collection, New York.



FIG. 15.—DETAIL FROM FIGURE 10.



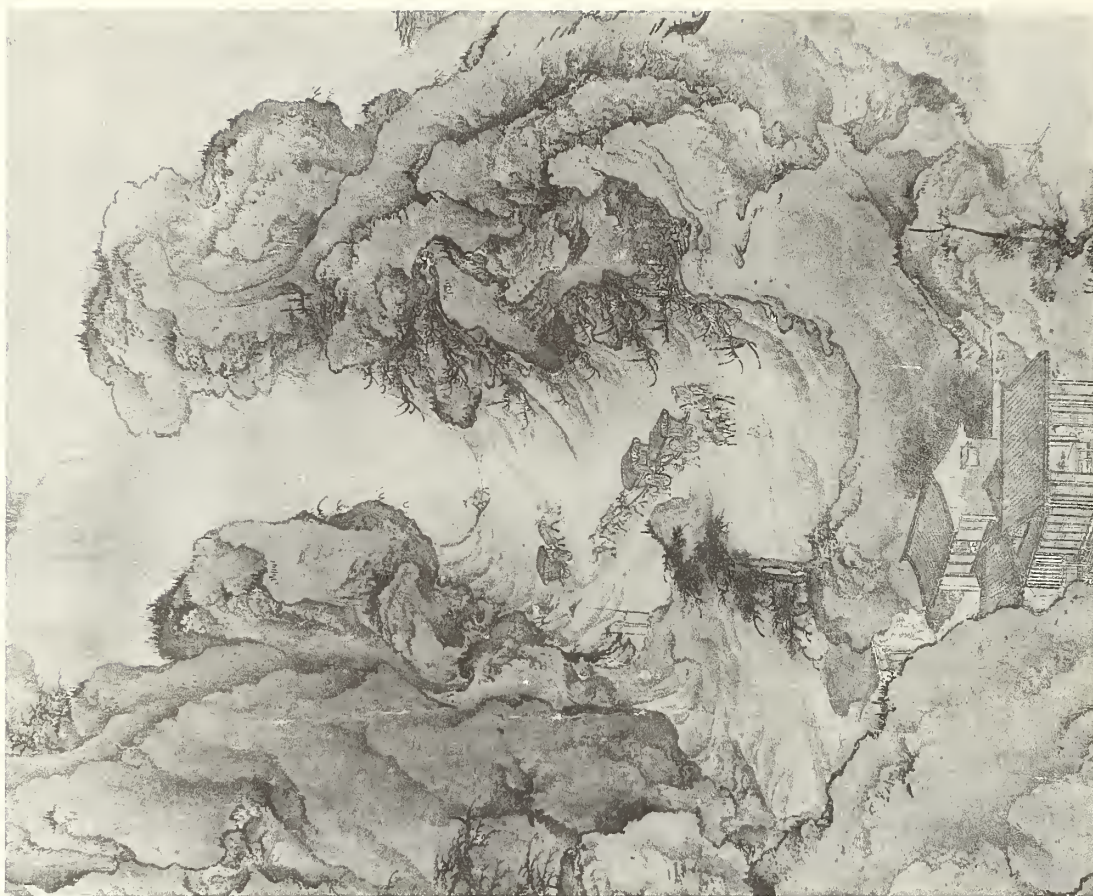


FIG. 17.—DETAIL FROM FIGURE 9.

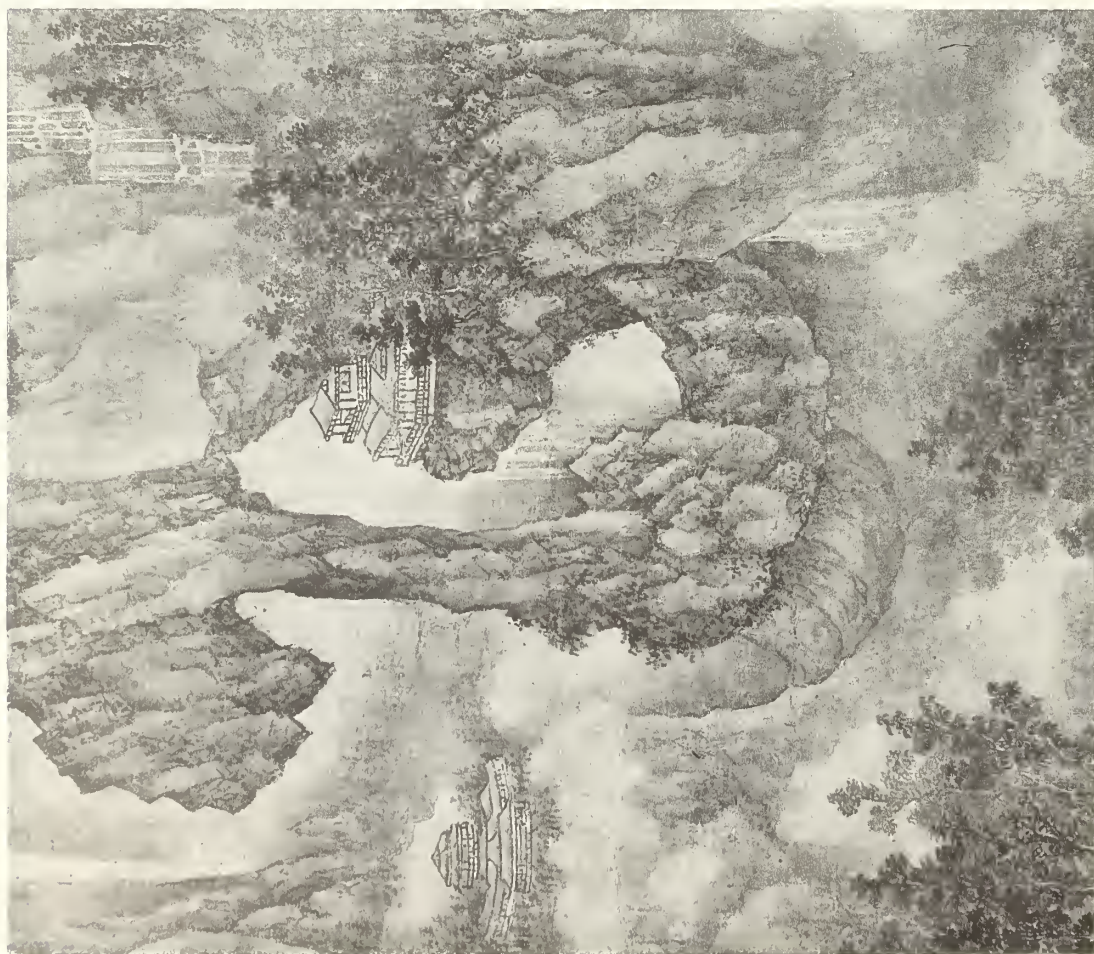


FIG. 16.—“A THOUSAND PEAKS AND MYRIAD RAVINES,” BY WU PIN (DETAIL).  
DATED 1617. Private collection, Washington, D. C.





FIG. 18.—DETAIL FROM FIGURE 20.

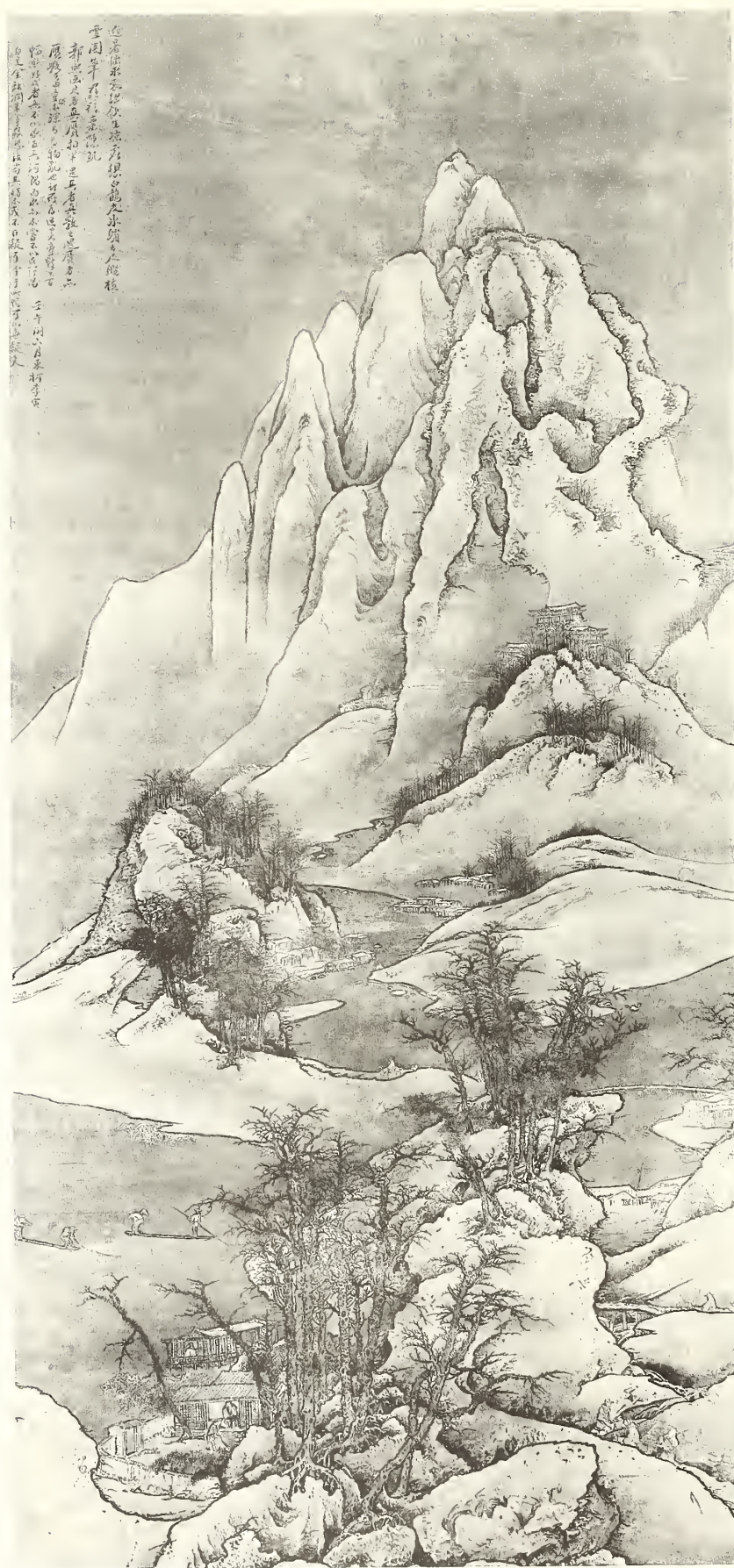


FIG. 19.—WINTER LANDSCAPE IN THE MANNER OF KUO HSI, BY LI YIN.  
DATED 1702. Freer Gallery of Art. 16.89





FIG. 20.—"PULLING CARTS OVER A MOUNTAIN PASS," IN THE MANNER OF KUO HSI, BY YÜAN CHIANG. DATED 1707. National Museum, Stockholm.





FIG. 21.—"TRAVELING AMONG STREAMS AND MOUNTAINS," IN THE MANNER OF KUO HSI, BY YÜAN CHIANG. DATED 1712.  
After *Kyūka inshitsu kanzō garoku*.  
Hashimoto Collection, Takatsuki.



FIG. 22.—AUTUMN LANDSCAPE, BY LI YIN.  
C. C. Wang Collection, New York.





FIG. 23.—"A HOSTEL IN THE MOUNTAINS," BY LI YIN (FORMERLY ATTRIBUTED TO WANG HSIA, T'ANG DYNASTY). Freer Gallery of Art.  
19.130



FIG. 24.—"TRAVELERS APPROACHING A TEMPLE," BY LI YIN (FORMERLY ATTRIBUTED TO CHANG CH'EN, T'ANG DYNASTY). Freer Gallery of Art.  
19.114





FIG. 25.—WINTER LANDSCAPE, IN THE MANNER OF KUO HSI, BY LI YIN.  
After *Sō Gen Min Shin meiga taikan*.





FIG. 26.—WINTER LANDSCAPE WITH TRAVELERS, BY LI YIN (FORMERLY ATTRIBUTED TO KUO HSI). Freer Gallery of Art, 19.109





FIG. 28.—DETAIL FROM FIGURE 23.



FIG. 30.—DETAIL FROM FIGURE 26.



FIG. 27.—DETAIL FROM FIGURE 21.



FIG. 29.—DETAIL FROM FIGURE 25.



# THE MASANOBU TRADITION OF COURTESANS OF THE THREE CITIES

BY ROBERT T. PAINE

AMONG THE HAND-COLORED UKIYOE PRINTS of the first half of the 18th century the central theme of those portraying beautiful women was the courtesans of the three cities. In its maturity the subject was treated as a triptych, each narrow *hosoe* print representing a beauty from one of Japan's three great cities—Edo (Tōkyō), Kyōto, and Ōsaka. It was an immensely popular subject. It started with Okumura Masanobu (1686–1764), and illustrates most clearly to what an extent he was imitated, how great his influence was though it has been obscured by a certain dearth of surviving examples, and how callous were the business practices of the time.

The three beauties first appear together pyramidally arranged in a *kakemonoe* print (fig. 1)<sup>1</sup> by Masanobu. Although the print has been variously dated, 1717 seems the most generally acceptable year. In fact, after 1718 the *kakemonoe* size (about 21" high by some 12" wide) became exceedingly rare or possibly nonexistent perhaps because of the "financial retrenchment policy of Yoshimune,"<sup>2</sup> the eighth shogun who ruled from 1716 to 1745. The scale and grandeur of the Genroku period (1688–1703) disappeared, and prints of large dimensions do not seem to have reappeared till about 1738 and then in a new format. In the interval the *hosoe* size (about 12" by 6¼") was the rule, and major works were presented in *hosoe* triptychs.

In Masanobu's *kakemonoe* print the beauty

<sup>1</sup> Yone Noguchi, *The Ukiyoe primitives*, Tōkyō, privately published, 1933, pl. 53. Matsukata collection, now in the Tōkyō National Museum.

<sup>2</sup> Seiichiro Takahashi, *The evolution of Ukiyoe*, tr. by R. Matsumoto, Yokohama, H. Yamagata, 1955, p. 20.

of Edo holds the top center position. Below on the right stands a courtesan from Kyōto and on the left one from Ōsaka. The poses of the three figures are worth noting because they soon formed a special tradition. The hand of the beauty of Edo is concealed under the projecting edge of her sleeve. The outermost kimono of the beauty of Kyōto hangs very loosely from the shoulder and the short sleeve drops sharply on the right side. The beauty of Ōsaka wears a kimono with long trailing sleeves.

These courtesans placed in rhythmic opposition had prototypes in earlier works by Masanobu. Some time around 1715 in one of his sets of ink album pictures he created the particular pose which is found so frequently in the right-hand sheet of the fully developed triptychs. The detail shown in figure 8<sup>3</sup> is taken from a picture entitled "Ageya Takasago," and can be dated by the seal of the publisher Kikuya and the form of the seal favored by Masanobu on the extreme right of the full print. Both are to be found on other works by Masanobu attributed to this period. A still earlier prototype exists in a page (fig. 5)<sup>4</sup> from a Masanobu album. In this the courtesan has a fuller body and a heavier style of hairdress in accordance with an older fashion.

In figure 4,<sup>5</sup> also from a Masanobu album, the woman in profile is clearly suggestive of

<sup>3</sup> *Ukiyoe Zenshū*, edited by the Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, Tōkyō, Kawade Shobō, 1957, vol. 1, fig. 17. Collection of Watanabe Shōsaborō.

<sup>4</sup> James A. Michener, *Japanese prints*, Rutland, Vermont, and Tōkyō, Japan, 1959, No. 4. The Michener Collection is now in the Honolulu Academy of Arts.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 3.

the beauty of Ōsaka in *figure 1*, although here she wears a short-sleeved kimono. Richard Lane, who wrote the notes on the prints in the Michener collection, after calling the print in the style of Sukenobu (ca. 1671–1751) states that “it might possibly be an early work of Masanobu’s done under strong Sukenobu influence.” Since Sukenobu’s early works are seldom reproduced and are of great rarity, any comparative study of his influence at this time is hard to make. *Figures 4* and *5* both seem to antedate by a little the Ageya Takasago album picture of about 1715.

That Masanobu’s *kakemonoe* design was soon copied in *hosoe* form can be seen in a work (*fig. 2*)<sup>6</sup> by his pupil Toshinobu (active 1717–50). Because of facial type and signature this print would seem to date from about 1720, possibly earlier. In general the poses adhere strictly to the Masanobu formula. The beauty of Ōsaka, however, is no longer in profile but stands facing toward the right in three-quarter view. A few years later Toshinobu again used the three beauties in one *hosoe* composition (*fig. 3*).<sup>7</sup> Although no exact dating is possible, the period from 1720 to 1725 is suggested as a sufficient range.

Probably about this same time Masanobu made a triptych of *iroko* or female impersonators. *Figure 11*,<sup>8</sup> the left sheet of the triptych, portrays the actor Sanogawa Mangiku. The pose of the actor, representing the city of Ōsaka, is very close indeed to that of Masanobu’s later print of Yūgiri of Ōsaka (*fig. 7*).<sup>9</sup> From the type of joint signature-

and-publisher panel on the bottom of the print a date of about 1723 seems justified.

To find a possible alternative to Masanobu as a creator of the theme of the three cities one would naturally look among the artists of the most prominent rival school, the Torii family. In a book called *Ryōha Shigen*, published about 1728, Torii Kiyonobu I depicted types of beauties famous in his day. His subject was the four classes or grades of courtesans. His book, a kind of guide to the Yoshiwara, was obviously popular, and the illustrations were brought out again in 1733 under a new title. The *sancha* grade (*fig. 6*)<sup>10</sup> shows a pose of the hands quite similar to what became customary in the treatment in triptychs for the left figure of the three beauties, but the outline does not correspond. The stability of the figure is maintained by the technical device, often used by Torii artists, of having the base of the skirt flare out on both sides. Masanobu, on the other hand, seems commonly to have preferred a bulge of the skirt in one direction only. If the pupils of Kiyonobu I had originated the design for the courtesans of the three cities, they could be expected to have followed their master’s types. Such does not seem to have been the case; the types of the courtesans of the three cities are Masanobu’s.

The point that Masanobu created the essential design has been deliberately emphasized. *Figure 7*<sup>11</sup> shows a print of the courtesan Yūgiri of Ōsaka by Masanobu. The print is described in the catalogue of the Buckingham Collection as being the left-hand sheet of a “complete triptych ascribed to Kiyomasu” (*fig. 10*).<sup>12</sup> The beauty of Ōsaka on the left

<sup>6</sup> Shōbisha Sale Catalogue for May 17, 1929, No. 2.

<sup>7</sup> John Hilditch, Sale Catalogue of the collection, Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge, Nov. 29–Dec. 1, 1916, No. 23.

<sup>8</sup> Noguchi, *op. cit.*, pl. 57 and there dated to ca. 1725.

<sup>9</sup> Helen C. Gunsaulus, *The Clarence Buckingham collection of Japanese prints*, vol. 1, *The primitives*, Chicago, The Art Institute, 1955, p. 152, No. 76.

<sup>10</sup> Tōkarō Horie, *Saiken no Hyōdai to sono Kaiga*, pt. 1, Ukiyoe Magazine, No. 22, May 1916. Also Teruji Yoshida, under Iroe, *Ukiyoe Jiten*, Tōkyō, Hōkō Shōbō, 1944, vol. 1, p. 116.

<sup>11</sup> Helen C. Gunsaulus, *op. cit.*, p. 152, No. 76.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 92, No. 9.



of *figure 10* is so exactly similar to Masanobu's Yūgiri that obviously one must have been a deliberate copy of the other.

There is no doubt in the writer's mind that the triptych not only was not the work of Kiyomasu II, to whom it is attributed in the Buckingham Collection catalogue, but that it was in fact an exact copy of a triptych by Masanobu of which the beauty of Ōsaka (*fig. 7*) is the only surviving print. Quite apart from all other evidence, it seems most unlikely that Masanobu in full prime at about 44 would have copied the work of Kiyomasu, the second of that name, who, if the traditional records are anywhere near correct, might then have been about 22. The triptych was published by Izutsuya and is unsigned. Its value lies in the fact that it presents the full design of a Masanobu triptych which is now represented only by Yūgiri of Ōsaka.

In estimating the date of the signed Masanobu print the rarely used gourd-shaped seal reading *jihon ezōshi toiya, Tōrishio-chō, Okumura* is suggestive but not conclusive. The seal also occurs on a theatrical print<sup>13</sup> showing Sodesaki Iseno as Sakurahime, Sawamura Sōjūrō as Seigen, and a third youthful actor with the Sawamura crest. Although Iseno played the role of Sakurahime in 1730 and Sōjūrō that of Seigen in 1727, no play has been found where both appeared together in these roles. The theatrical print and the print of Yūgiri of Ōsaka have one other feature in common in the use of a fancy name, Shimmyō, before the Masanobu name. This usage can be found quite frequently among Masanobu's earlier works but is rare among his later prints.

Another clue concerns the publisher's seal: the same one which occurs here also occurs in

<sup>13</sup> Sale Catalogue of the Col. H. Appleton Collection, Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge, June 20, 1910, No. 19.

a print of Tsugawa Kamon<sup>14</sup> by Toshinobu which is datable to 1729. Although the *urusbie* period is one in which exact dates are exceptionally rare, it would seem likely that Masanobu created the subject of the courtesans of the three cities during the 1720's and that his style-setting triptych can be dated to between 1725 and 1730.

In *figure 10*, the unsigned Izutsuya version of Masanobu's original triptych, Yūgiri of Ōsaka is on the left, the center sheet represents Handayū of Kyōto, and the right, Takao of Edo. Yūgiri holds her hands one above and one below the large front bow; the central beauty's left arm is projected to the right with the hand hidden under the sleeve; and in the right-hand sheet the outer kimono droops down sharply from the shoulder. Many of these poses hark back directly to Masanobu's earlier *kakemonoe* print (*fig. 1*), to his album pictures in black and white, or to details in the work of his pupil Toshinobu (*figs. 2 and 3*).

That Masanobu's design of the courtesans of the three cities was unusually popular is easily proven. The Royal Ontario Museum of Art and Archeology in Toronto has an unsigned version (*fig. 14*) without a publisher's mark. If the Izutsuya print may be considered the first unsigned copy of a great Masanobu triptych, this becomes the second faking or copying of his composition. It is almost as faithful a copy as the first, the main difference being that the names of the courtesans are omitted.

As a slight digression, it should be noted that neither *figure 10* nor any other versions of the Masanobu triptych are from the original woodblocks of the Masanobu print. All have been entirely recut, and are the illegal products of firms stealing an artist's design in

<sup>14</sup> 11.13223, Bigelow Collection, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

an age when copyright laws were at a minimum. Masanobu apparently tried to protect himself from his imitators. In the *iroko* print the words *shōhitsu* (true brush) immediately follow his signature, while *shimpitsu*, with the same meaning, comes below his signature on the original print of Yūgiri, as though in each case he announced to his public that this time they were purchasing a genuine picture.

Still another unsigned version, of which only the central print (*fig. 12*)<sup>15</sup> is known, was put out by the Fujita publishers. This firm seems to have been especially active in 1732, a year which can be fixed by a print of the actor Sadoshima Chōgorō<sup>16</sup> who appeared in Edo only in that year. The Masanobu beauty of Kyōto is repeated line for line as in the Izutsuya version. The name of the beauty is omitted as in the Toronto triptych. But the design has two novelties—the word “Kyō” (Kyōto) appears in a square frame and a *kamuro* or attendant of miniature size has been added.

The *kamuro* seems to reflect what is probably the center sheet (*fig. 13*)<sup>17</sup> of a triptych by Toshinobu. It is interesting to see that Toshinobu perpetuated at no great interval of time the design of his master, Masanobu, in the triptych form just as he had done earlier in the single composition. The close resemblance between the pose of his *kamuro* and that of the *kamuro* in the print published by Fujita suggests that the Fujita firm may have commissioned an artist to combine a Masanobu and a Toshinobu rendering of the beauty of Kyōto.

<sup>15</sup> *Ukiyoe Zenshū*, *op. cit.*, fig. 78. Also, *Illustrated catalogues of Tōkyō National Museum, Ukiyoe prints*, vol. 1, Tōkyō, Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 1960, No. 354.

<sup>16</sup> 11.19193, Bigelow Collection, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

<sup>17</sup> Sale Catalogue of the collection of W. O. Danckwerts, Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge, July 21–24, 1914.

That Toshinobu as well as the flagrant copiers found Masanobu's design of the three courtesans profitable is indicated by the existence of another triptych of which only the right-hand sheet survives. The sheet (*fig. 9*)<sup>18</sup> representing the beauty of Kyōto, seems modeled on the figure for Edo on the lower right in one of his own earlier *hosoe* prints (*fig. 3*). Or is it based even more closely on the lost original of Masanobu's right sheet for his triptych (*fig. 10*)? Though the pose itself is repetitious, the pattern is new and there is no architectural background. It seems likely that after several designs had been made, following what might be called the first iconography of Masanobu's triptych, artists began to feel the need for a change.

So far we have dealt almost entirely with the Masanobu tradition. Kiyomasu II of the Torii family also made several versions of this much-printed design. The earliest triptych in his series is shown in *figure 17*.<sup>19</sup> In comparison with the classic Masanobu treatment the poses of the beauties of Kyōto and Edo have been reversed and the patterns of the costumes have been altered. Otherwise the two triptychs show a great resemblance.

Although the print is dated ca. 1729 in the catalogue of the Buckingham Collection, there is no positive evidence for placing it so early. The publisher was Urokogataya, and as he was one of the most active publishers of prints his name appears frequently. The writing of the *gata* part of his name has characteristics which appear most often between 1728 and 1732, and the *masu* in Kiyomasu's signature occurs in this form of writing between the years 1728 and 1737.

The best impression of Kiyomasu II's second triptych (*fig. 19*) is in the John Chandler Bancroft Collection, Worcester Art Museum.

<sup>18</sup> 11.19121, Bigelow Collection, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

<sup>19</sup> Helen C. Gunsaulus, *op. cit.*, p. 92, No. 8.



Other impressions can be found in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston,<sup>20</sup> and in *Estampes Japonaises primitives*.<sup>21</sup> The poses in general are close to those in his earlier design, and the figure for Edo still has the covered hand thrust outward to the right. As new elements, *kamuro* have been added and the names of the cities are placed in large square frames. Both features, however, have occurred before. The *kamuro* appeared both in the Fujita version of the Masanobu design (*fig. 12*) and in Toshinobu's triptych (*fig. 13*), and the *kamuro* in all three prints are so similar that it looks as though Kiyomasu II plagiarized from Masanobu, or if not from him, from Toshinobu. Indeed, Toshinobu's version of the beauty not only shows more originality than Kiyomasu II's but also supplies the design for the square frame for the word *Kyō*.

Though no fakes or copies of this triptych exist, its popularity is revealed by the presence of plugged heads in the Boston Museum's impression. Eighteenth-century printers were exceedingly fussy about the rendering of the faces and hairdresses of the principal figures. When the heads lost their freshness because the fine hair lines were especially subject to wear, they were cut out from the block, and plugs copying the original design as closely as possible were put in. Only prints in great demand received this treatment, and as a rule the plugged heads were put in so cleverly that they can be seen only after some searching.

Just how long a subject could remain popular in the fickle taste of the print-buying public is suggested by Kiyomasu II's third rendering of courtesans of the three cities (*fig. 29*).<sup>22</sup> This is a two-color print of about

1745 published by the Iseya firm. It is not particularly dependent on earlier designs, and the reappearance of the original names seems to add an almost archaic touch.

The Kiyomasu II triptychs first began to come out after 1730, whereas those of Masanobu and his school culminated about this time. While Kiyomasu II more or less repeated himself after having been first inspired by Masanobu, Masanobu suffered by being plagiarized, a sure sign that his contemporaries acknowledged his leadership.

Both the Okumura and Torii schools had their little-known or even unknown followers who got on the bandwagon set in motion by Masanobu and pushed along by Kiyomasu II. *Figure 15*<sup>23</sup> shows a work by the exceedingly rare artist Tsunekawa Shigenobu. It would be interesting to know who his master was, but the triptych straddles the issue and leaves him a not very creative designer. Its right- and left-hand sheets show that for poses he followed the second rendering (*fig. 19*) of Kiyomasu II and that for patterns he stuck closely to Masanobu's design. His only datable print<sup>24</sup> is a calendar print of 1729 which shows Hotei mixing *mochi*.

As a typical further complication, Tsunekawa Shigenobu, minor though he was, who simply aped the work of the leaders, was copied by at least one anonymous plagiarizer. The beauty Takao of Edo in *figure 16*<sup>25</sup> is so close to the preceding work that presumably the very same blocks were reissued without benefit of the name of either the publisher or the artist. The head, however, is different, and the fact that the vertical line of the rail-

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*Ukiyoe school*, Tōkyō, Shimbi Shoin, 1908, vol. 3, pl. 84.

<sup>23</sup> 06.443, Ross Collection, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

<sup>24</sup> Walpole Galleries, sale catalogue for Jan. 22-23, 1925, No. 530.

<sup>25</sup> *Ukiyoe Zenshū*, *op. cit.*, fig. 80.

<sup>20</sup> 21.7192, Spaulding Collection.

<sup>21</sup> Vinier and Inada, Paris, D.—A. Longuet, 1909, pl. XXII, No. 106.

<sup>22</sup> Shiichi Tajima, *Masterpieces selected from the*

ing behind the hair is discontinuous makes it probable that a new head was plugged in to incorporate a new style of hairdress. In this case, the plugged-in head expresses not the renewal of the tired lines of a worn block but the hope that the same picture would sell better if made more up-to-date. The slight upward tilt of the lower loop of hair makes a dating after 1740 plausible. The type of face calls to mind that favored by such artists of the Torii family as Kiyohiro and Kiyomitsu.

Another minor artist whose name crops up in association with prints of the courtesans of the three cities is Tamura Sadanobu. His beauties of Ōsaka and Kyōto, the left and center sheets respectively of the triptych shown in *figure 27*,<sup>26</sup> seem much more original than the work of Tsunekawa Shigenobu. Sadanobu entitles his triptych *Nishikawa fūsumie moyō Sambukutsui*, patterns in ink in the style of Nishikawa Sukenobu. A great book illustrator of Kyōto, Sukenobu had a considerable influence in Tōkyō, especially on those artists who depicted the gracefulness of women rather than the heroes of the stage. In the title of his print Sadanobu pays homage to the Kyōto master, but the young girl (*fig. 28*) selected from the book *Ehon Asukayama* of 1739 shows that even Sukenobu may have occasionally looked at the work of Masanobu for a pictorial idea.

Finally, Nishimura Shigenaga (ca. 1697–1756) and his school must be considered in relation to the Masanobu tradition. Shigenaga himself treated the subject in the *Three Courtesans of the Miuraya House* (*fig. 26*).<sup>27</sup> For this triptych a rough date of not much

before 1735 is suggested by the rather thicker and triangular shape of the lower loop of hair and the broad banding effect of the areas of black *urushie*.

In the design Shigenaga follows fairly closely the formula used by Kiyomasu II in his first triptych (*fig. 17*). Only in the figure of Miura on the left does he depart widely from the earlier scheme. He makes his beauty hold up the front part of her dress with her right hand, a position quite normal, but her left hand is poised uncertainly as if the artist wanted to be novel but didn't quite know how. The patterning on the garments partakes of neither Masanobu nor Kiyomasu II, and the absence of background is a further break with the main tradition.

Another impression (*fig. 25*) in the Tōkyō National Museum of the beauty Takao from Kiyomasu II's triptych suggests further Shigenaga's indebtedness. Although the print lacks the black *urushi* or lacquer effect which holds the eye so strongly in *figure 17*, it is clear that in portraying a short-necked type of beauty Shigenaga was again following an example set by Kiyomasu II.

The question of Shigenaga's originality is important because he has frequently been credited with the creation of the design of beautiful women in triptych form. The evidence suggested by this study indicates rather that he was a successor to Masanobu and Kiyomasu II. Perhaps because Shigenaga, who died at over 60 in 1756, belonged to the older generation and perhaps because he numbered among his pupils such famous artists as Toyonobu and Harunobu, his originality has been overrated.

Since the question of plugged heads has occurred before, a particularly striking example is inserted here which even in photographic reproduction (*fig. 24*)<sup>28</sup> is clearly

<sup>26</sup> Left sheet, sale catalogue of the Col. H. Appleton Collection, Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge, June 20, 1910, No. 24. Center sheet, Rogers Fund, 1922, Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

<sup>27</sup> 21.7409–11, Spaulding Collection, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

<sup>28</sup> John Chandler Bancroft Collection, Worcester Art Museum.



visible. In this reedition of the center sheet of Shigenaga's triptych, a diagonal at about shoulder level shows a break in the outlining curves and elsewhere. In this case it is also apparent how little the new inserted block or plug deviates from the original cutting. Why the hairpin through the twist of hair at the back of the head has been extended to protrude above as well as below is not clear unless it might indicate a slight change in fashion.

Among artists with the Nishimura surname many problems remain to be solved, but it seems logical to regard Nishimura Magosaburō and Nishimura Shigemasu, both of whom made triptychs of beauties of the three cities, as pupils of Shigenaga. There can be no doubt that Nishimura Magosaburō was the same man as Nishimura Shigenobu. The name Nishimura Magosaburō Shigenobu occurs as the signature on at least one print,<sup>29</sup> and was used as late as 1737 for the signature of a book called *Onna Imagawa Nishiki no Kodakara*.<sup>30</sup> Whether this artist could later have changed his name to Ishikawa Toyonobu as has been thought appears to be somewhat more dubious. Almost nothing is known about Nishimura Shigemasu. Kazuo Inoue states in *Ukiyoeshi Den* that his period of activity fell between 1744 and 1747, but this is too late a dating for such prints as are illustrated here.

Figure 18<sup>31</sup> shows prints of the beauties of Ōsaka and Kyōto signed by Magosaburō. A rough date is suggested by the fact that most of the artist's work signed with just the

Magosaburō name seems to have been done before 1735. If Tsunekawa Shigenobu in figure 15 followed the outlines of Kiyomasu II and the patterns of Masanobu, here the borrowing was done in the reverse order. The pose of the beauty of Ōsaka recalls that of Masanobu's triptych, whereas the phoenix pattern of her robe seems to have been derived from that worn by the beauty of Edo in the second triptych of beauties by Kiyomasu II (fig. 19). For his beauty of Kyōto, Magosaburō copied the pose of Masanobu's beauty of Edo, but shifted her to the center position. The costume with its design of helmet and large plum petals returns to the type established by Kiyomasu II in his first triptych (fig. 17) for the beauty of Ōsaka.

The simple Magosaburō signature also occurs in a very rare triptych (fig. 22)<sup>32</sup> produced jointly by Magosaburō and Nishimura Shigemasu. The triptych, called *Musume fū Sambukutsui* or "Styles of Young Women," depicts the three beauties of the Izutsuya house. Sankatsu on the right is the work of Magosaburō, and O-Hana in the center and O-Kin on the left are done by Shigemasu. A new style in dressing the hair is apparent, with a loop above the comb, a lower loop which begins to curve upward, and two curved streamers hanging from a knot at the back of the head. The year 1735 seems a likely date for this change in fashion and also is within the range of the Magosaburō signature.

Another print (fig. 20)<sup>33</sup> by this artist but under his Nishimura Shigenobu signature is closely related to the preceding triptych. Since a print<sup>34</sup> depicting the visit of the Kyōto actor Anegawa Chiyosaburō to Edo is signed Shigenobu and datable to November 1734, presumably the change in name from Mago-

<sup>29</sup> 50.1659, Hoyt Collection, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. The subject is the Death of the Buddha.

<sup>30</sup> Yumihiko Mizutani, *Kohan Shōsetsu Sashie Shi*, Tōkyō, Ōokayama Shoten, 1935, p. 189.

<sup>31</sup> Left sheet, *Ukiyoe Zenshū*, *op. cit.*, fig. 81. Right sheet, Louis V. Ledoux, *Japanese prints of the Ledoux Collection, the primitives*, New York, E. Weyhe, 1942, No. 33.

<sup>32</sup> 21.6856, Spaulding Collection, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

<sup>33</sup> *Ukiyoe Zenshū*, *op. cit.*, pl. 51.

<sup>34</sup> Helen C. Gunsaulus, *op. cit.*, p. 200, No. 3.

saburō to Shigenobu occurred about this time. The beauty is O-Hana of the Izutsuya house who was portrayed by Shigemasu in the joint Magosaburō-Shigemasu triptych.

Besides Shigemasu's two prints in the joint triptych, only one other print by him (*fig. 21*)<sup>35</sup> is known to the writer. It is the central sheet of a triptych posing three beauties in the Naniwa (Ōsaka) style, and shows the beauty Umegawa of the Tsuchiya house. The style of hairdress gives it a date not much later than that of the triptych, while the pose of the beauty seems to depend on the O-Hana of Shigenobu (*fig. 20*). The pattern on the costume of baskets containing some boldly drawn fruit is typical of those found in many prints of the Nishimura school; another example is the pattern on the kimono of the central figure in the triptych by Shigenaga (*fig. 26*).

If one tries to track down the nearest prototype to the poses of the beauties by Shigenobu and Shigemasu who so coyly hold up one hand hidden within the arched curve of a sleeve, the motif appears to derive from the prints of three beauties in one sheet as done by Toshinobu (*figs. 2 and 3*), which in turn depended on the first treatment of the subject by Masanobu (*fig. 1*). It is perhaps significant that by the mid-1730's the theme had developed from the symbolical representation of three cities to the depiction of three women from one of the green houses. This is in line with the general tendency to move from abstract treatment to greater realism. A new kind of patterning in the costumes emphasizes smaller and more all-over elements. The backgrounds are no longer flat planes, and the surface areas are beginning to be broken up. In the prints by Shigemasu

(*fig. 21*) and Magosaburō (*fig. 22*) a *tokonoma* appears placed at an angle to the main background. In the print by Tamura Sadanobu (*fig. 27*) interest is enlivened by the surface pattern of wood grain in the base of the sliding screen.

The school of Nishimura Shigenaga was not the only one to enlarge and diversify Masanobu's original theme. Torii Kiyotada calls his triptych, known only in its left sheet (*fig. 23*),<sup>36</sup> *Keisei Sangokushi* or "Courtesans of the Three Provinces." The print probably dates not far from 1735, but the figure seems to go back to Masanobu's Yūgiri or to suggestions of the even earlier design shown in *figure 4*. Nor was Kiyotada a slavish imitator. He had been a pupil of Torii Kiyonobu I, and there still lingers about his style a simplicity or breadth unusual among the Torii artists of the 1730 to 1740 decade.

The subject of the courtesans of the three cities has revealed itself as one of extraordinary persistence, complexity, and progression. It lasted for over a quarter of a century, and still later echoes are to be found in a joint work<sup>37</sup> by Kiyohiro and Kiyomitsu of about 1755 and in a triptych<sup>38</sup> by Kiyomitsu, Kiyotsune, and Harunobu of about 1764. Omitted from this discussion have been many other related triptychs of beauties by such artists as Toshinobu, Hirose Shigenobu, and Shigenaga.

The scarcity of surviving prints has been a constant problem. Most triptychs are known today by only one or two sheets. Perhaps for this reason the triptych of Masanobu has been less appreciated than it might have been had the complete original still existed. There is

<sup>35</sup> *Album of old Japanese prints of the Ukiyo-ye school*, reproduced from the collection of Kenichi Kawaura, Tōkyō, Yoshizawa and Co., 1919, No. 42.

<sup>36</sup> Carl Einstein, *Der frühere japanische Holzschnitt*, Berlin, Ernst Wasmuth A. G.

<sup>37</sup> Helen C. Gunsaulus, *op. cit.*, p. 236, No. 9.

<sup>38</sup> Shizuya Fujikake, *Ukiyoe no kenkyū*, Tōkyō, Yūsankaku, 1943, vol. 2, Nos. 175-177.



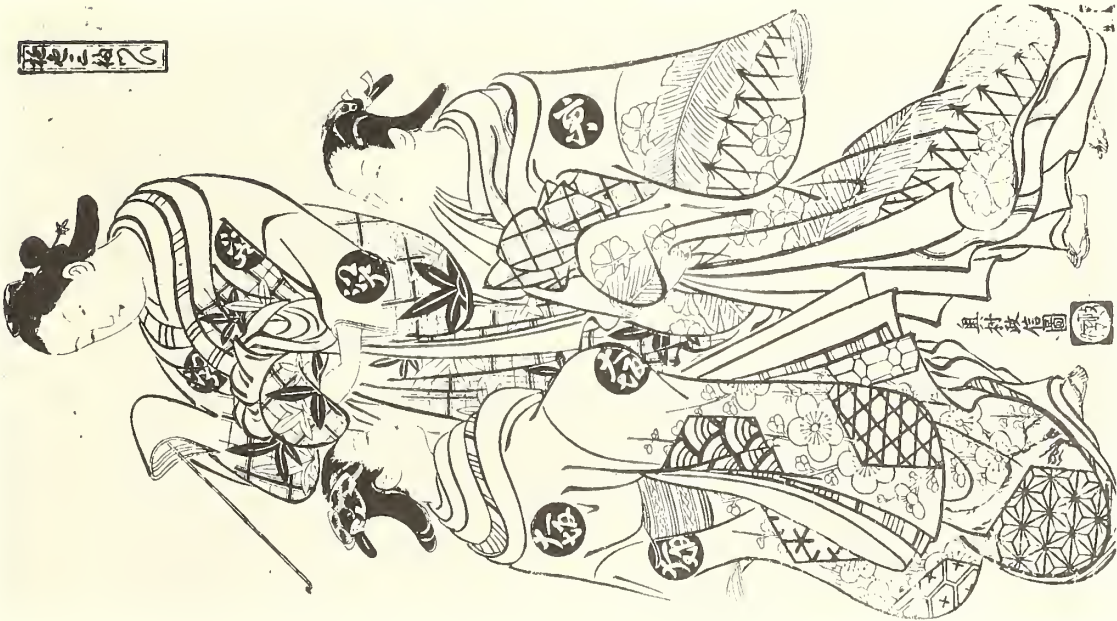


FIG. 1.  
Courtesy of the Tōkyō National Museum.

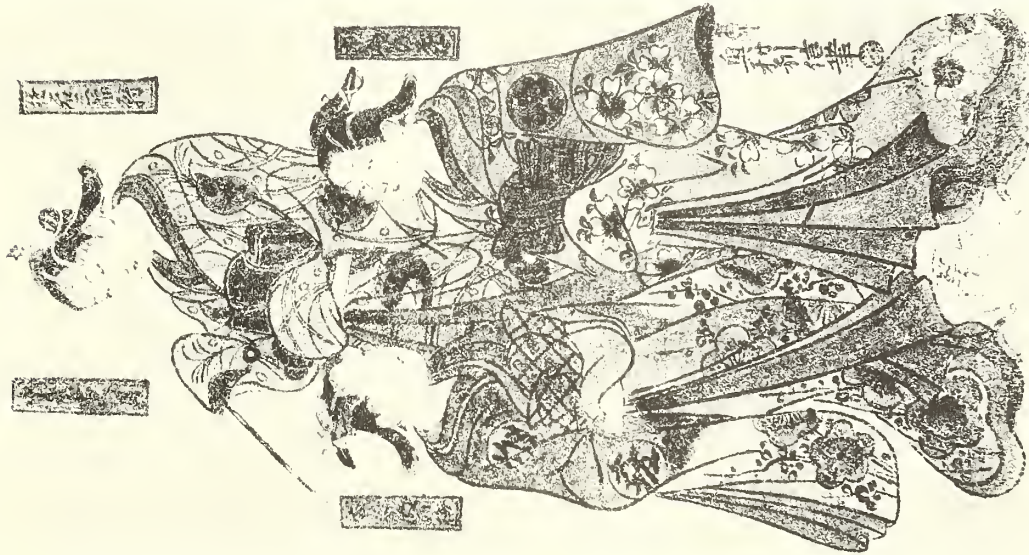


FIG. 2.



FIG. 3.





FIG. 4.



FIG. 5.

兩巴厄言所載 其三

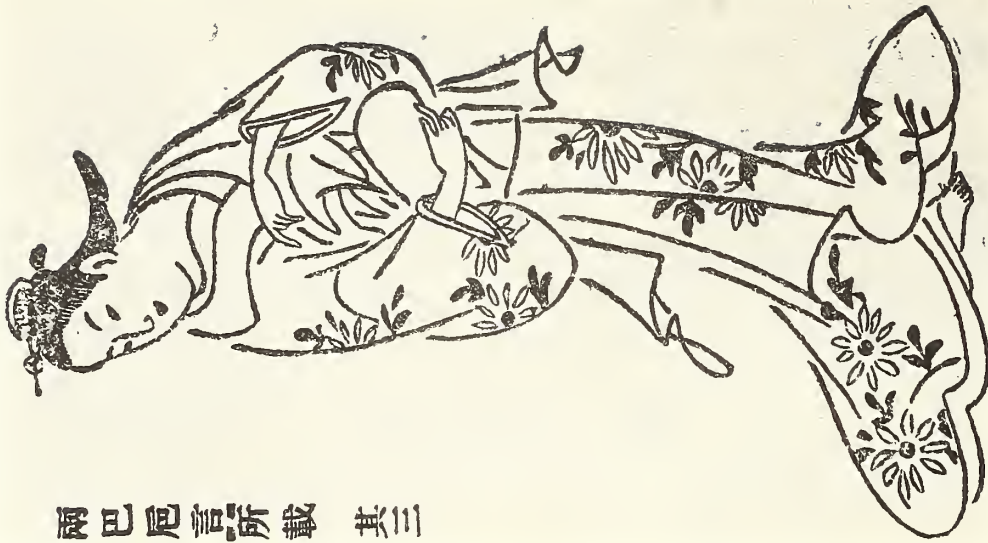


FIG. 6.

Michener Collection. Courtesy of the Honolulu Academy of Arts.



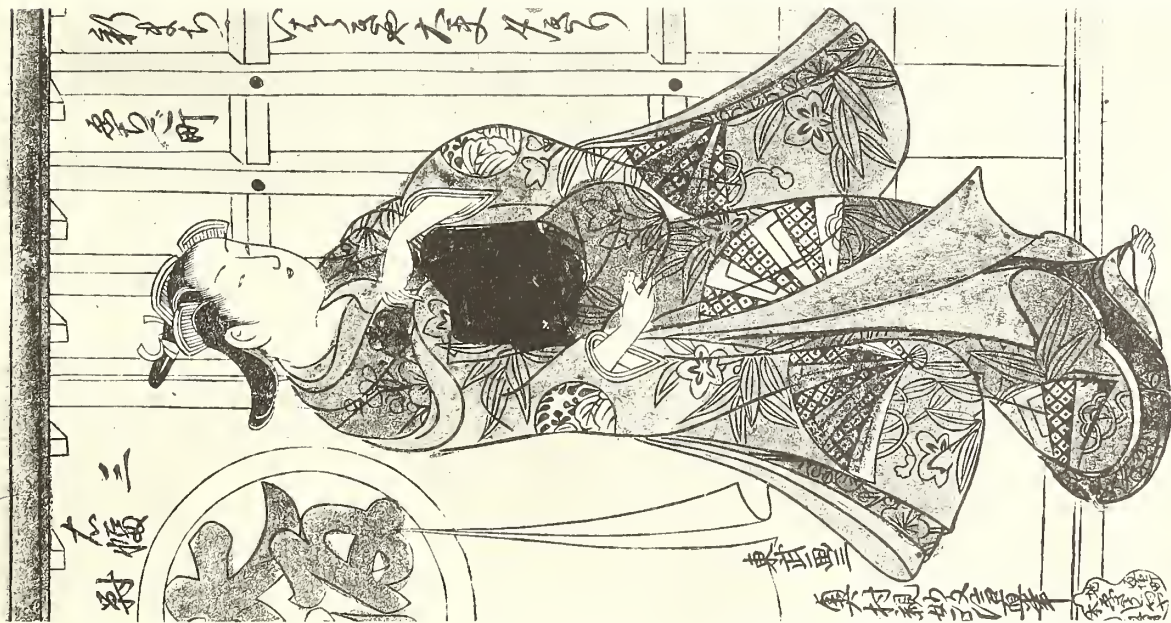


FIG. 7.  
Courtesy of the Art Institute of Chicago.

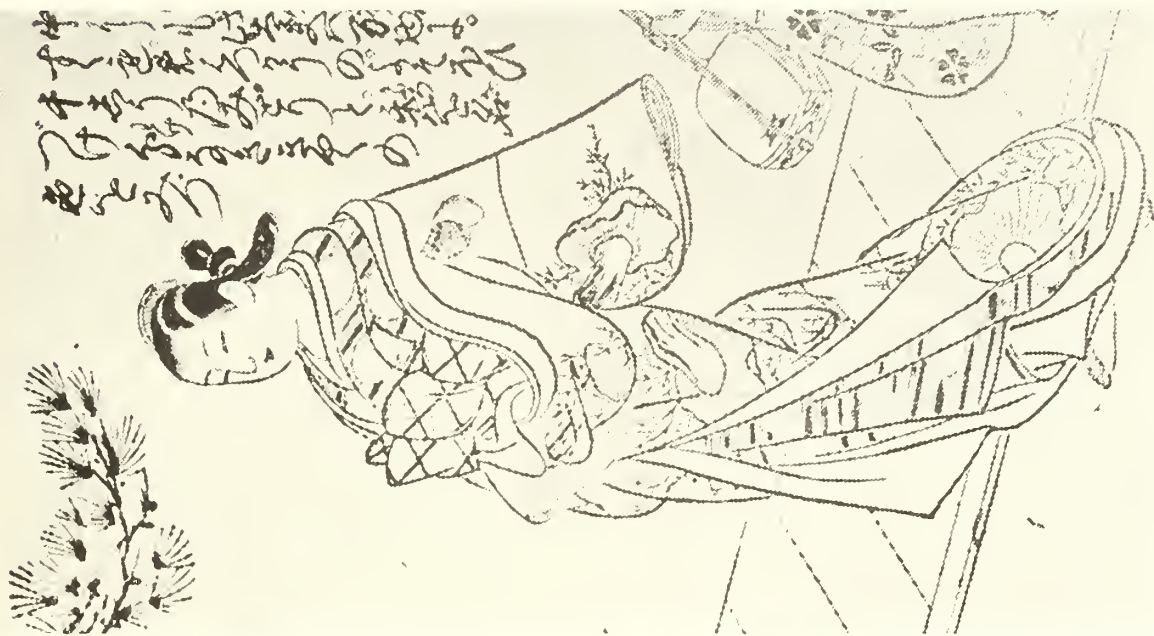


FIG. 8.

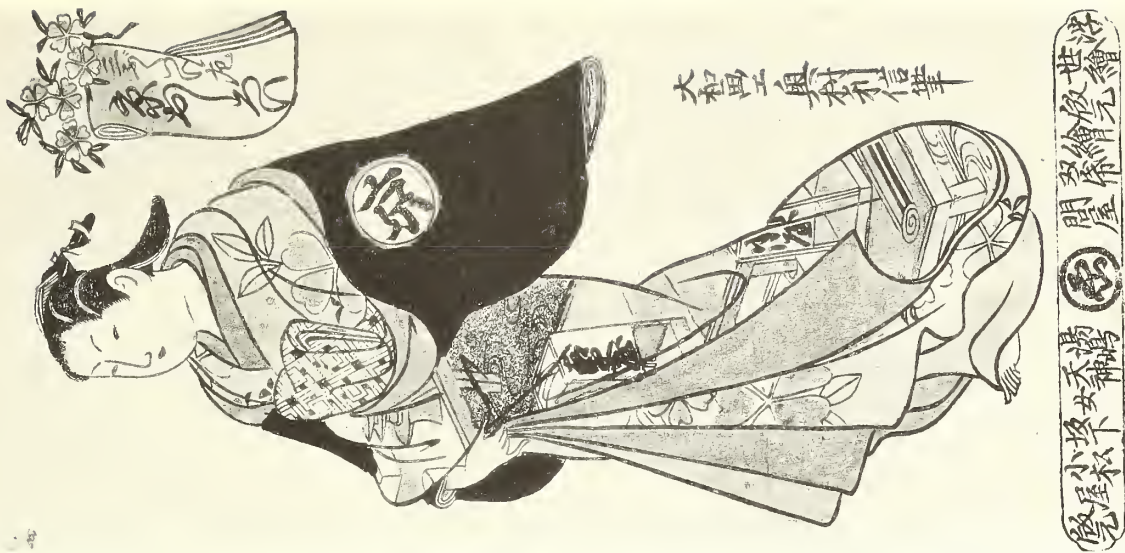


FIG. 9.  
Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



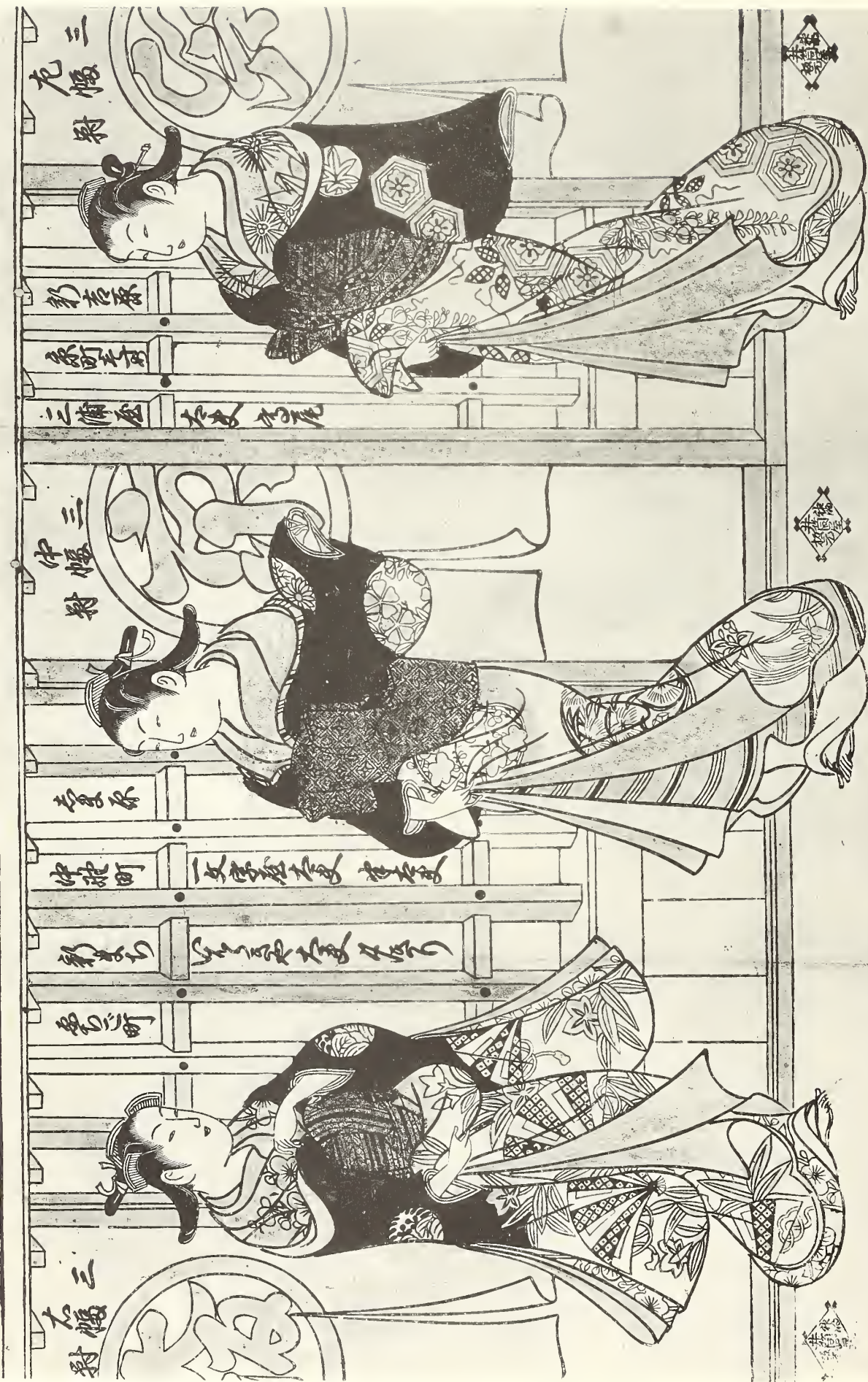


FIG. 10.  
Courtesy of the Art Institute of Chicago.





政友会町議(大) | 五ノ口清隆

FIG. 13.



三  
中  
時

FIG. 12.



要  
子  
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FIG. 11.





Fig. 14.  
Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum of Art and Archaeology.





FIG. 16.



FIG. 15.

Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



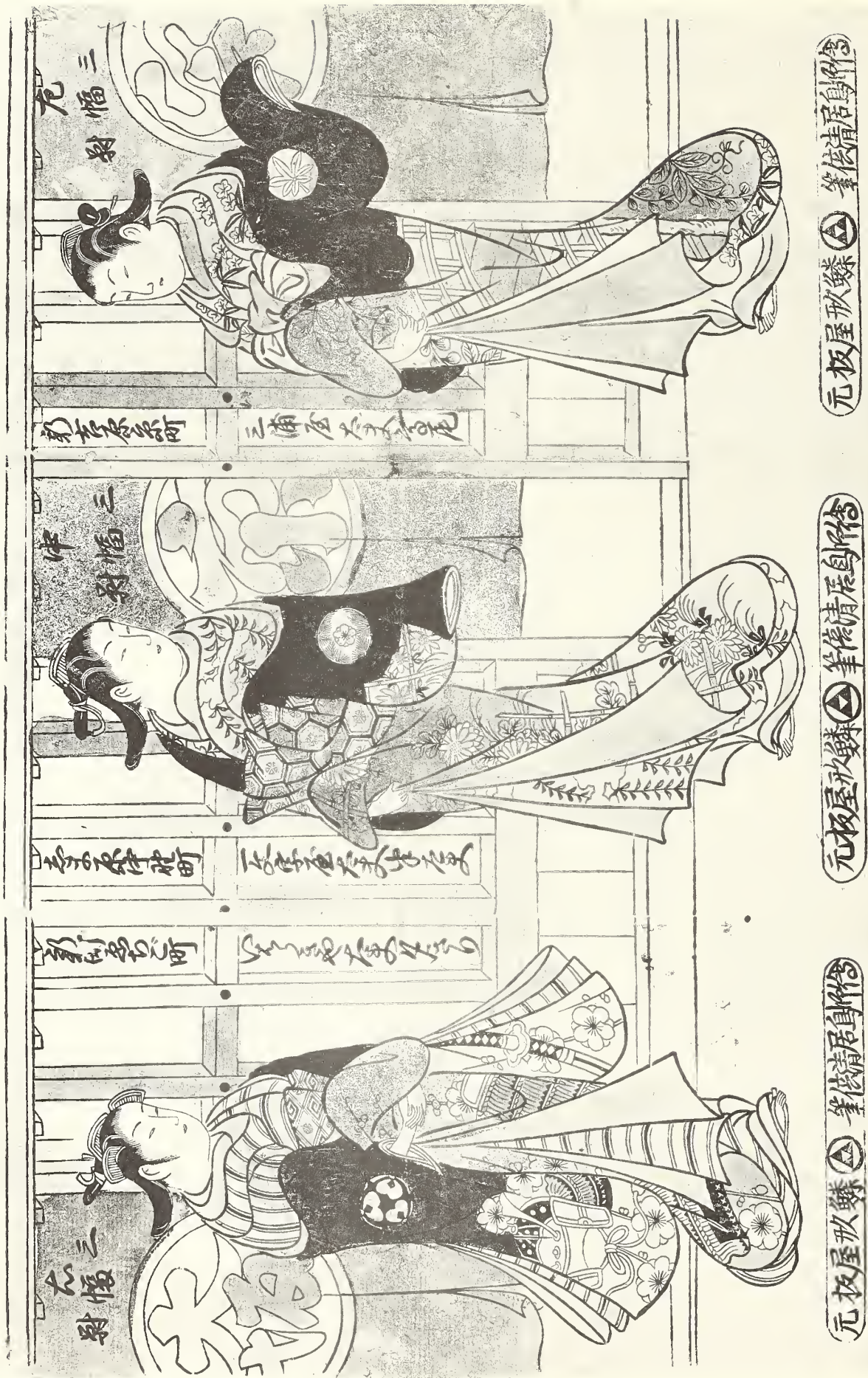


FIG. 17.  
Courtesy of the Art Institute of Chicago.





FIG. 18.



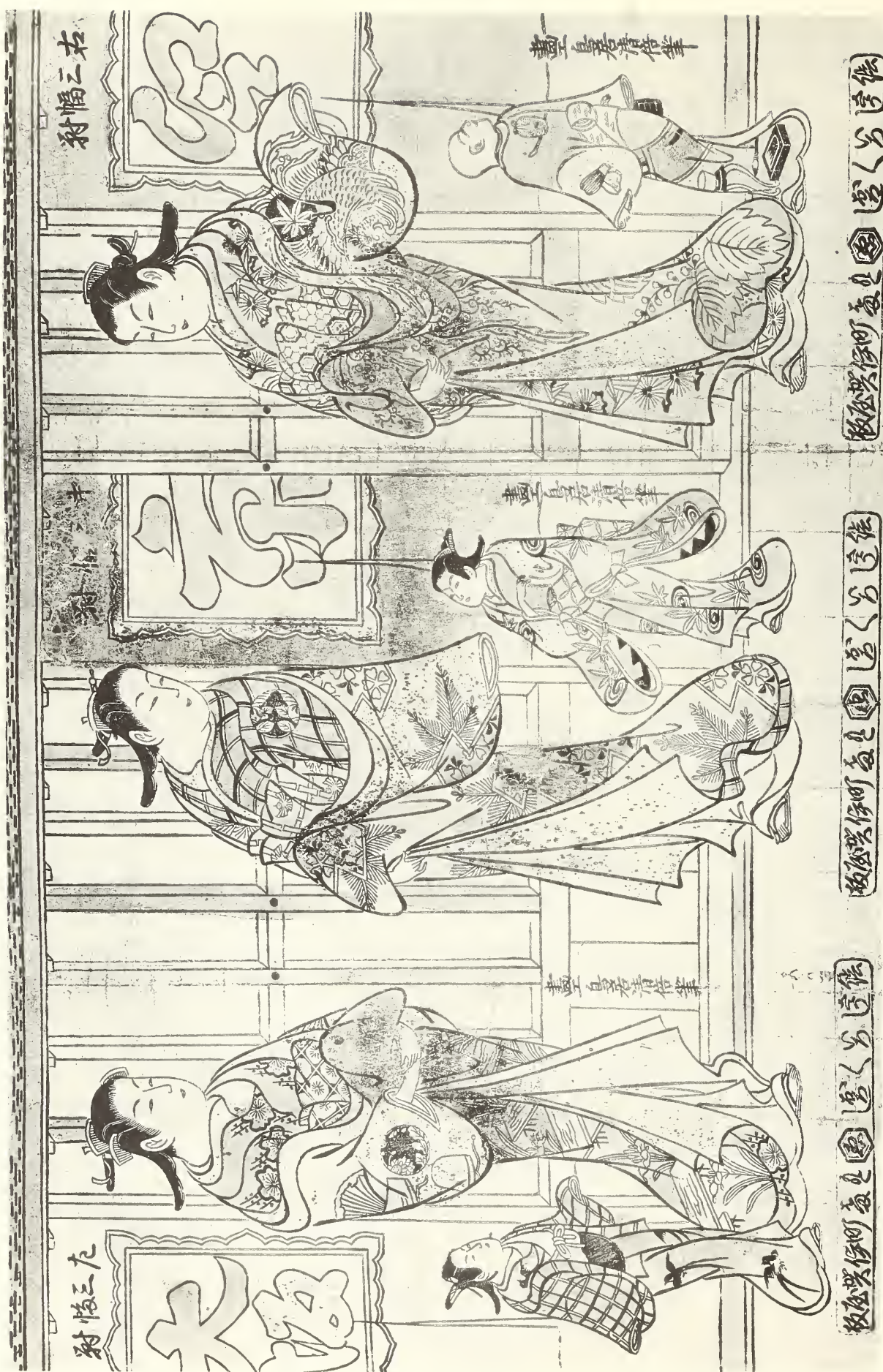


FIG. 19.  
Courtesy of the Worcester Art Museum.



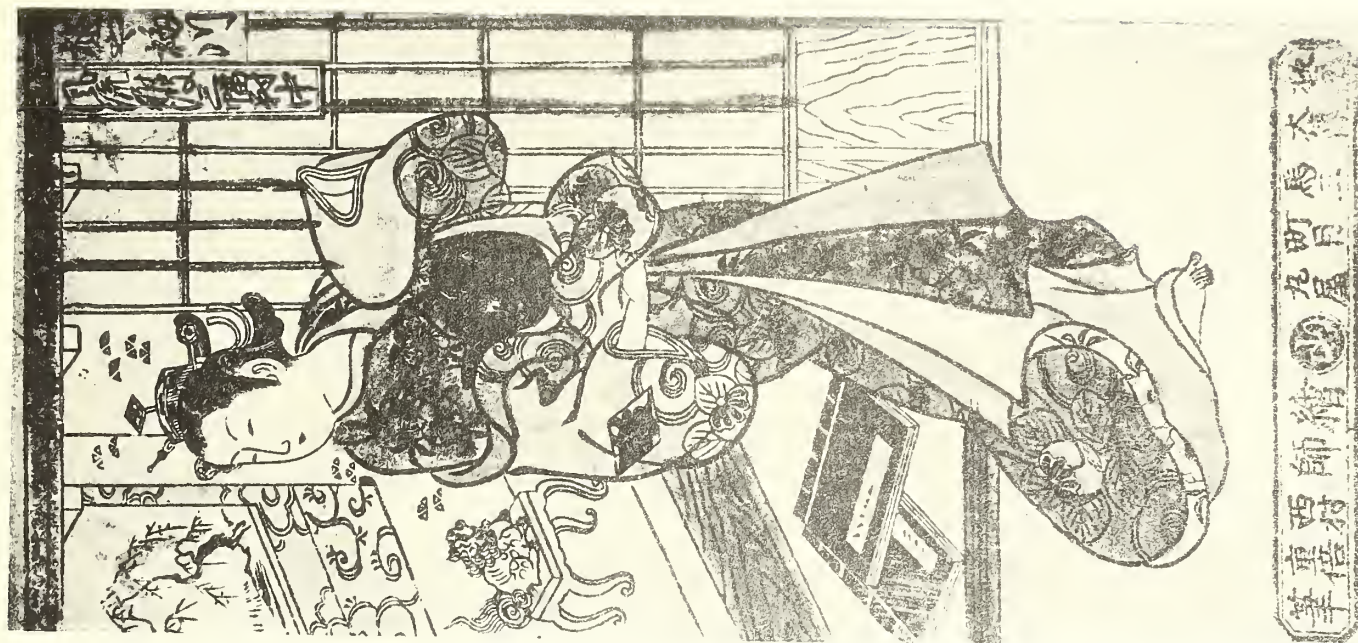


FIG. 21.

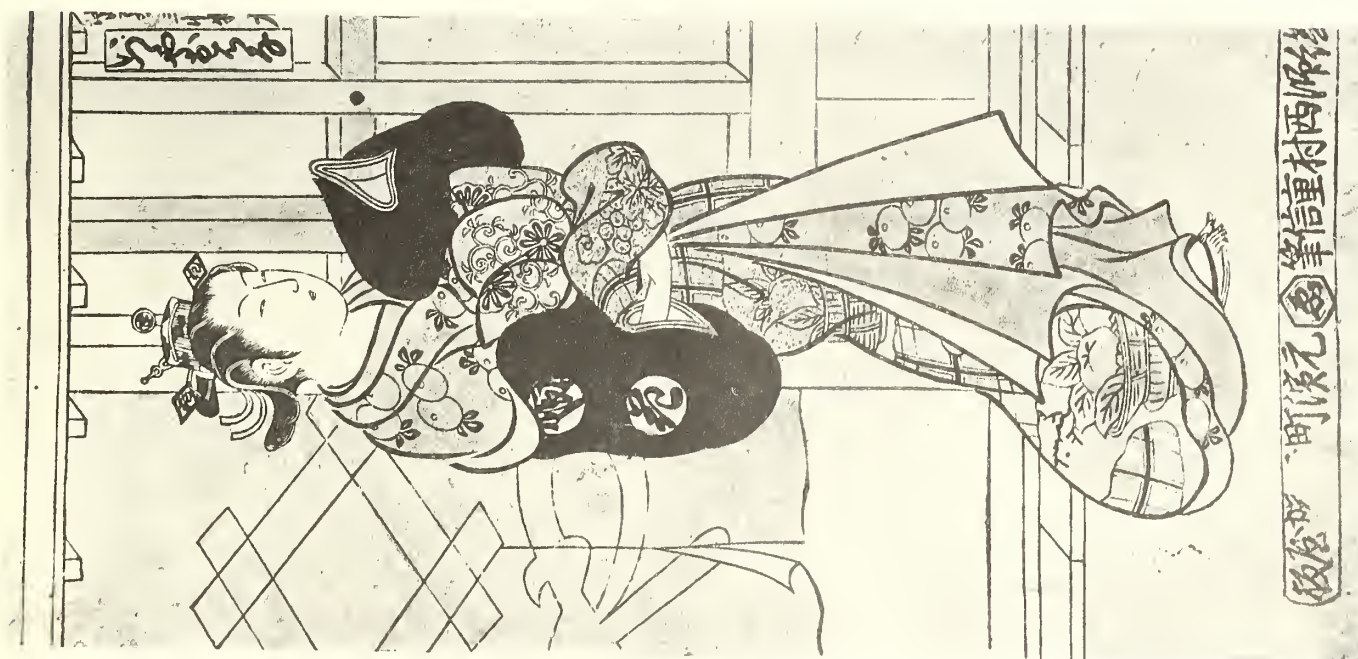


FIG. 20.



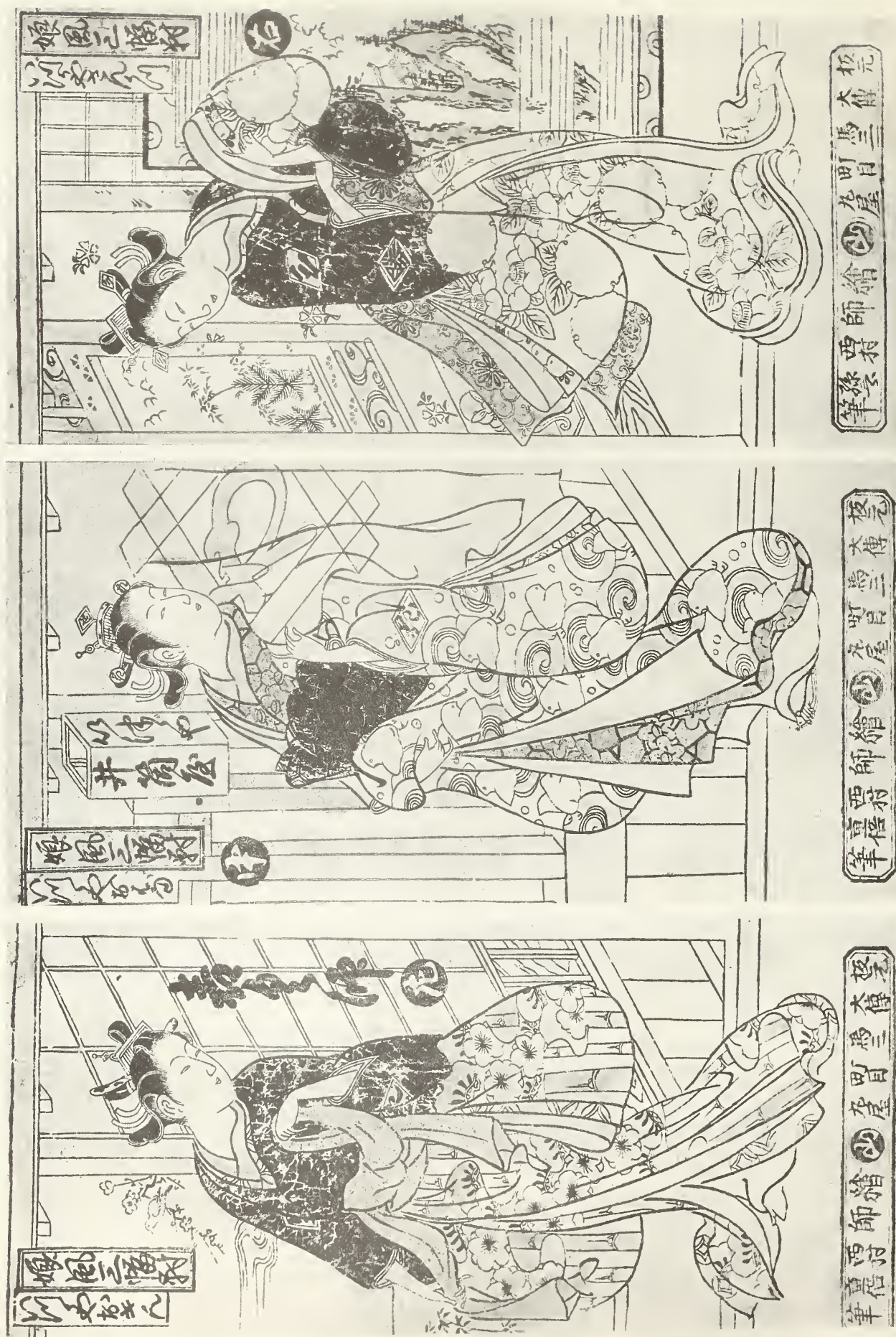


FIG. 22.  
Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.





FIG. 25.  
Courtesy of the Tōkyō National Museum.

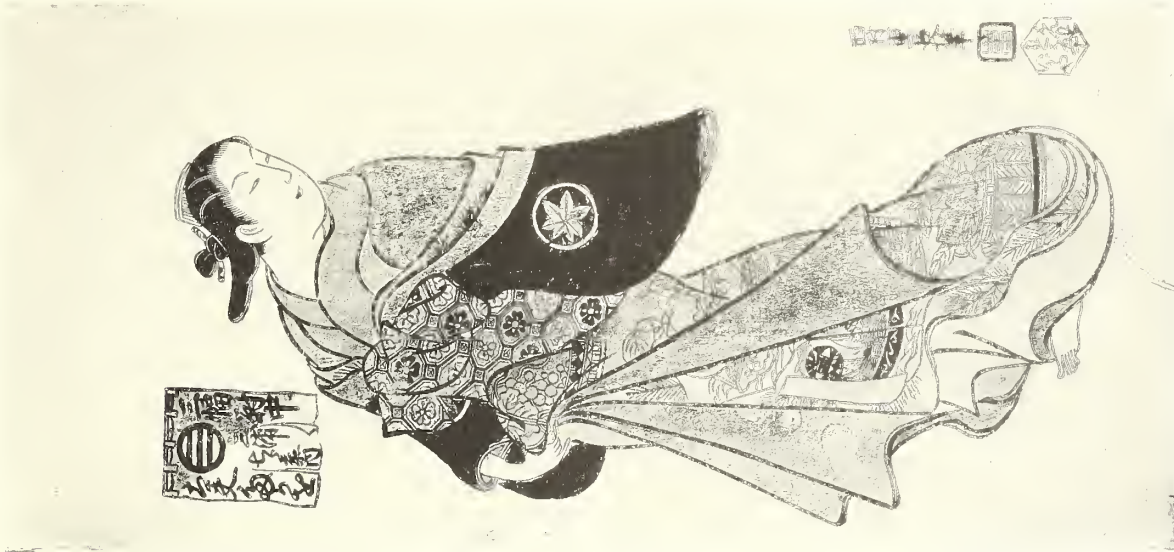


FIG. 24.  
Courtesy of the Worcester Art Museum.

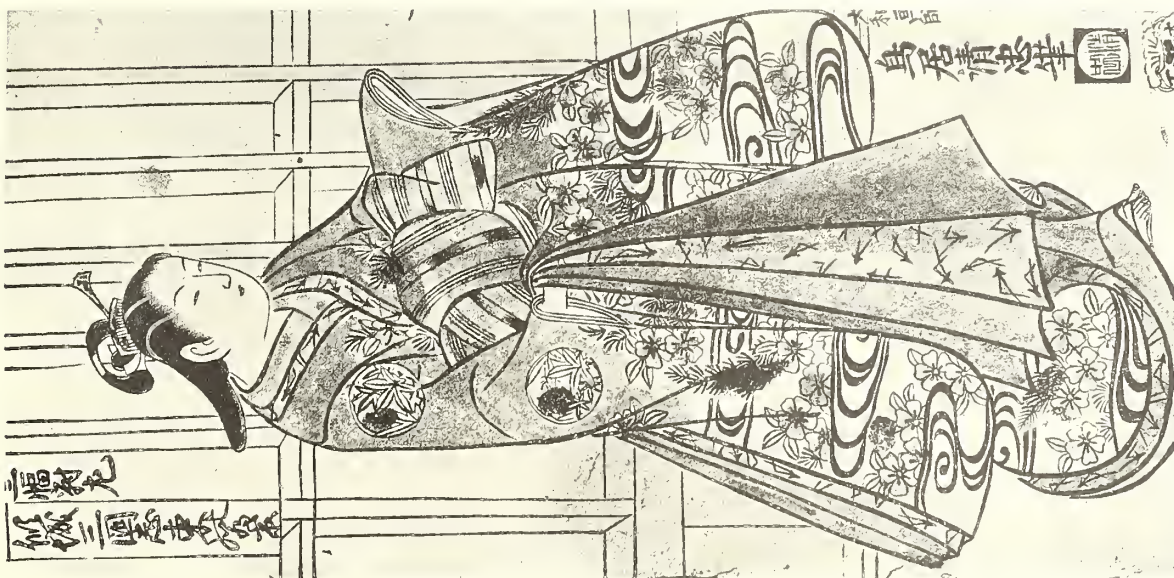


FIG. 23.



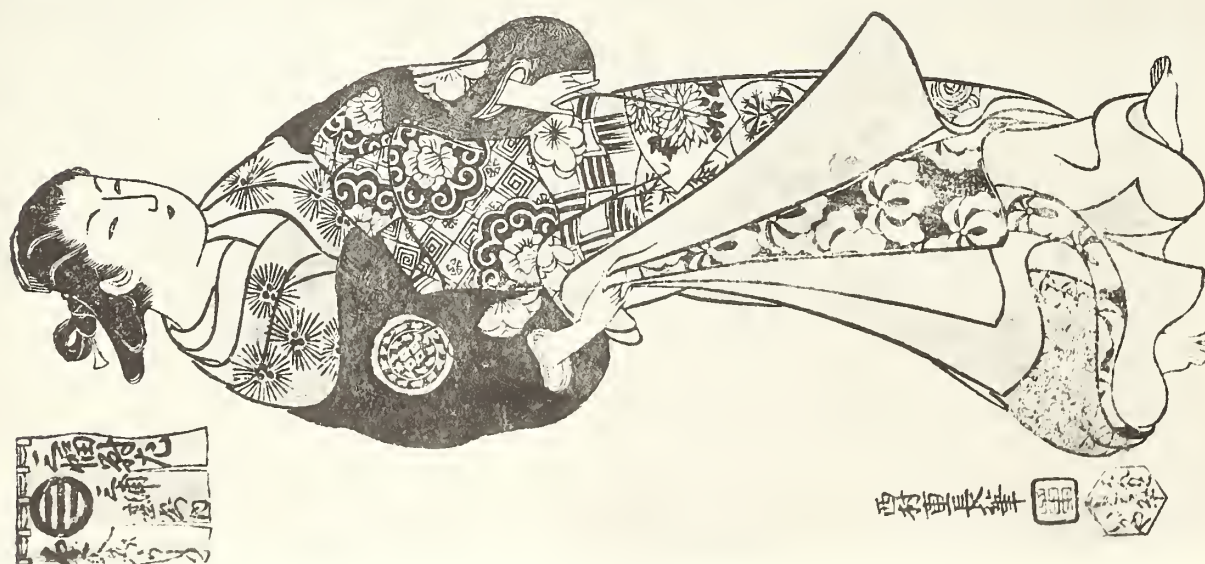
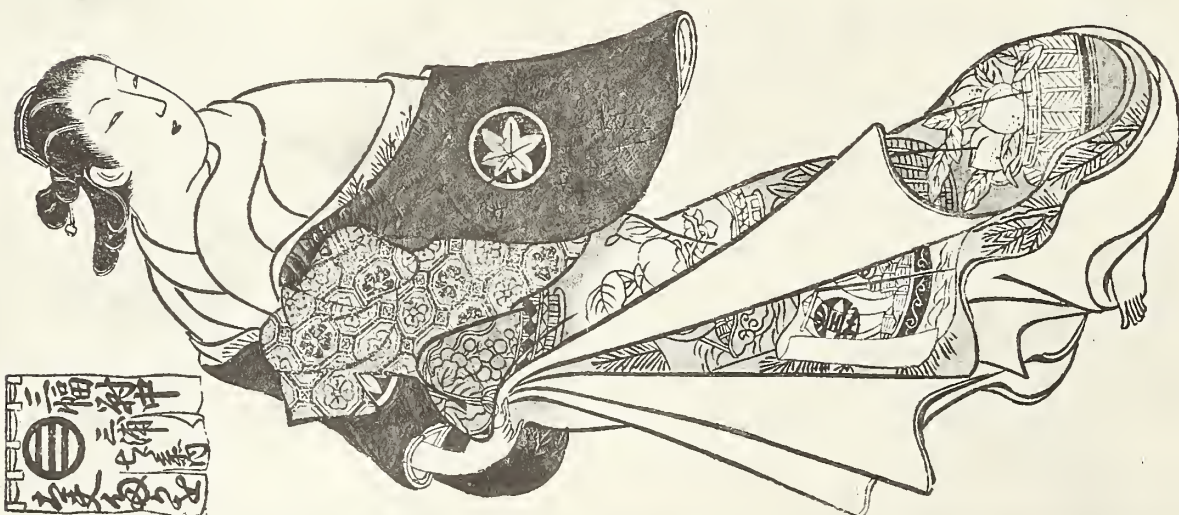
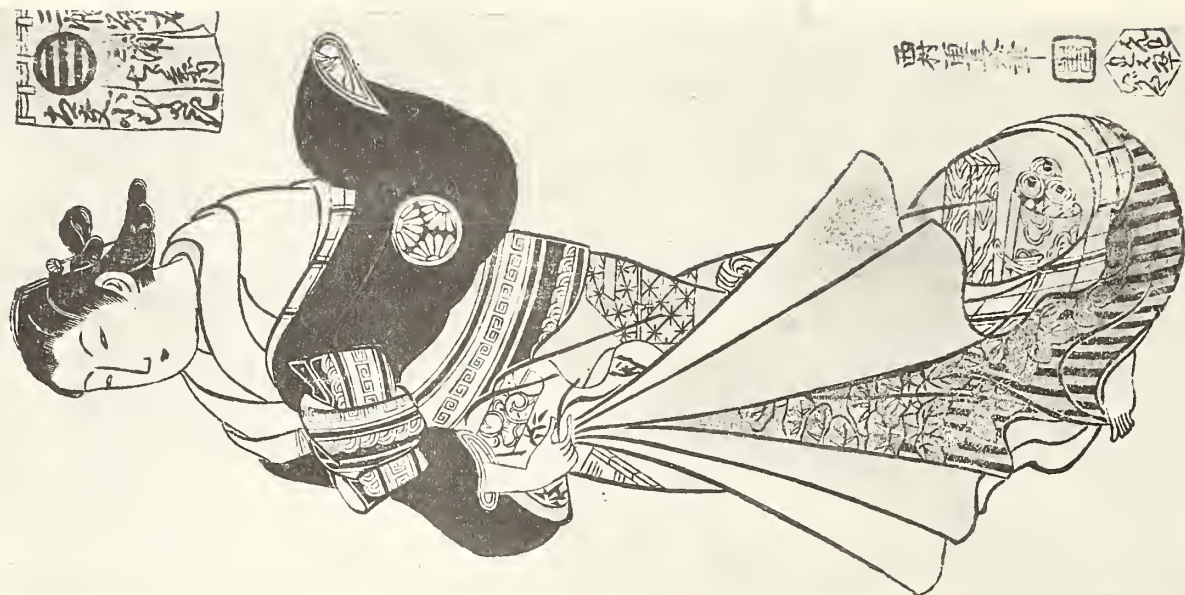


FIG. 26.  
Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



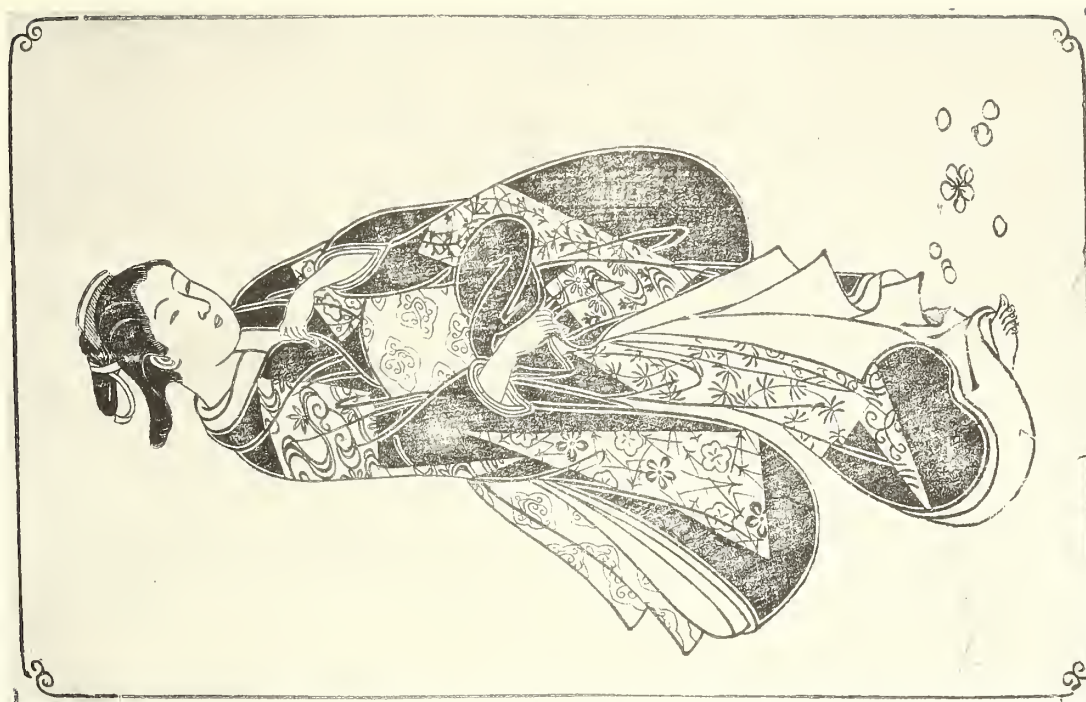


FIG. 28.

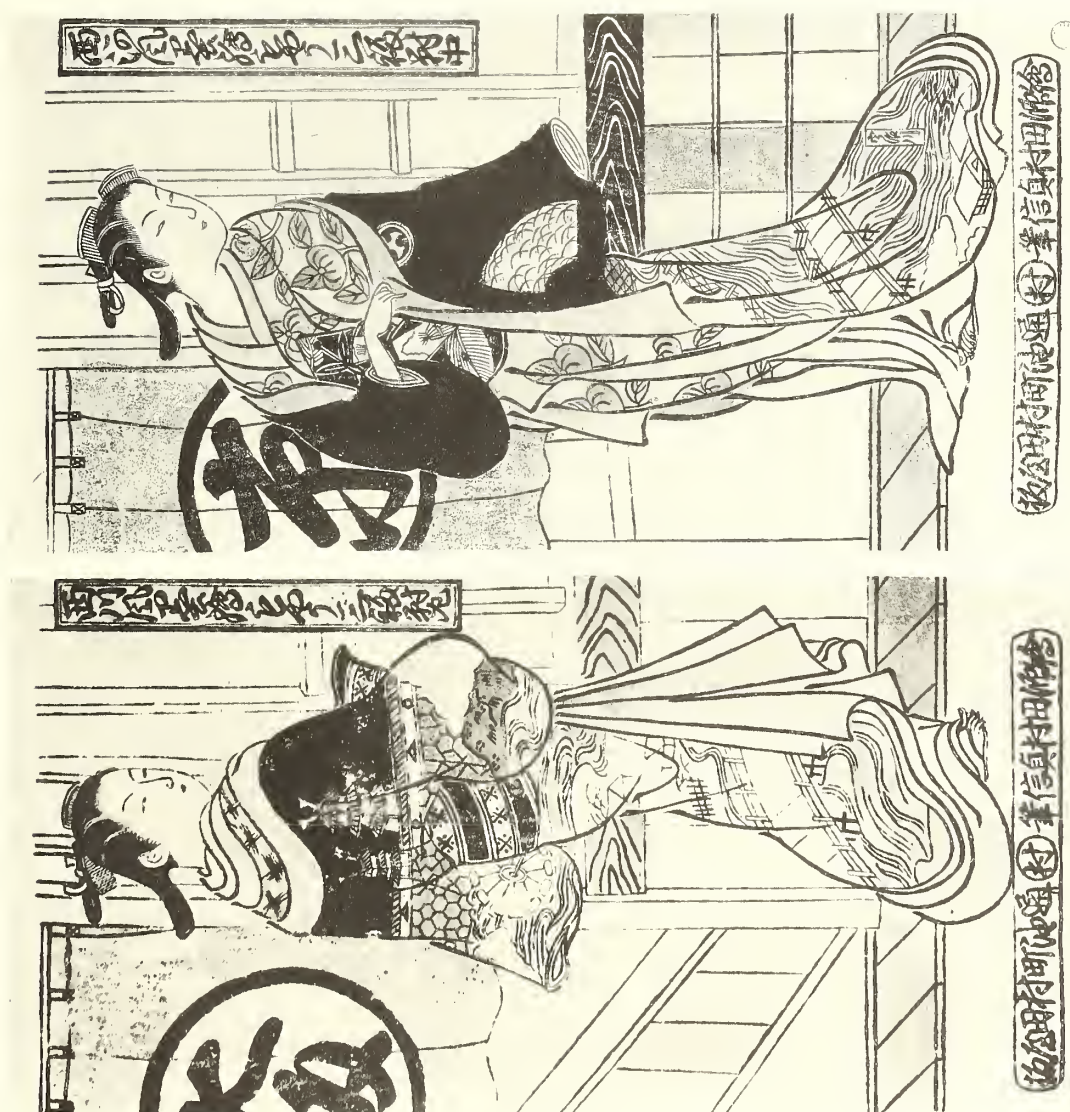


FIG. 27.

Courtesy of the  
Metropolitan Museum of Art.



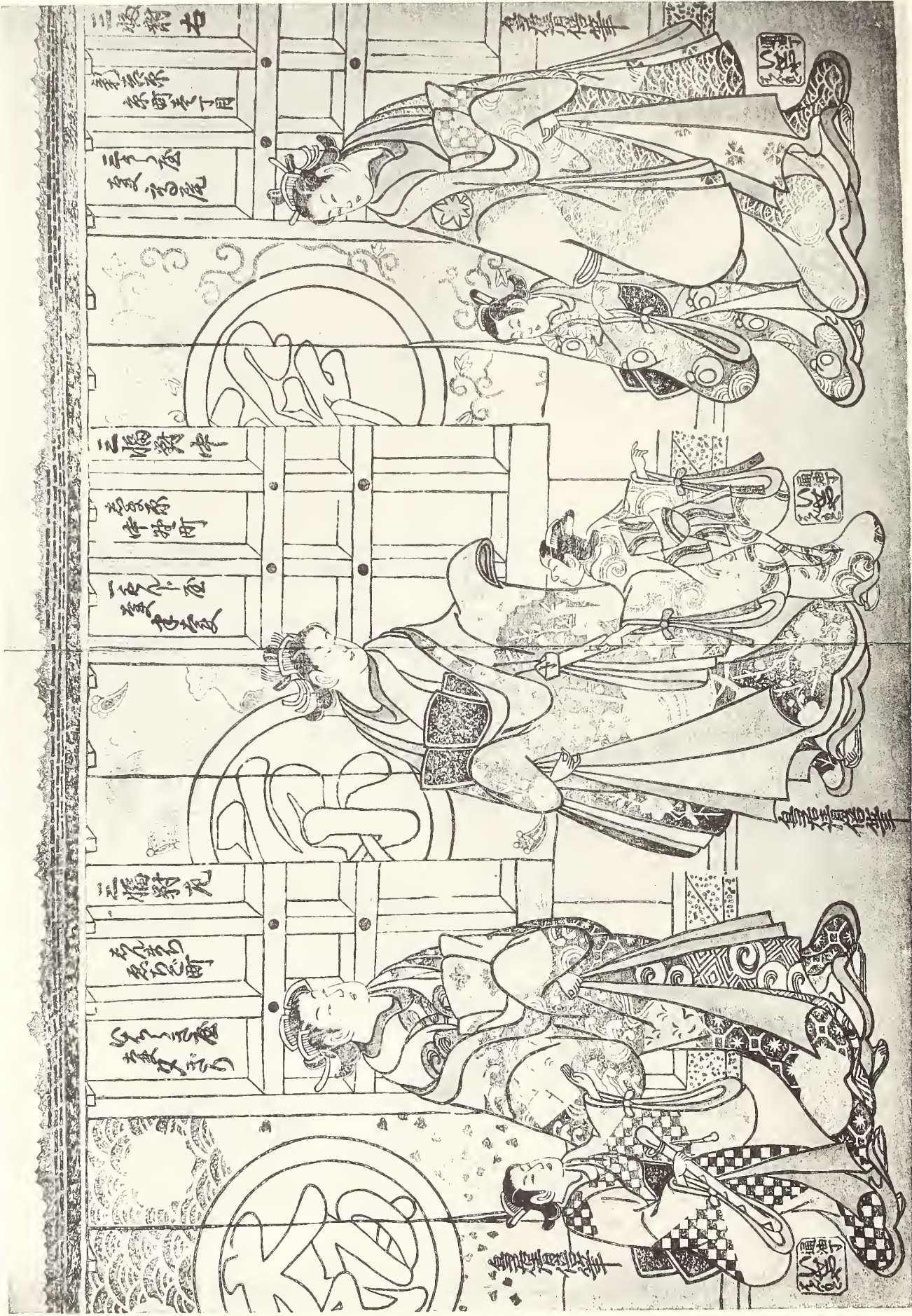


FIG. 29.



of course the chance that prints now apparently lost will turn up in the future. The writer has probably missed some that are available. Another problem has been the dating. Since almost no facts are known about the artists, one can only surmise somewhat dangerously from their known works a certain sequence of developments.

An aspect of *ukiyo*e art during the second quarter of the 18th century which has come to unexpected prominence is the amount of artistic piracy practiced by the publishers. They constantly brought out unsigned, unauthorized, and illegal versions of signed works by the more imaginative print designers. In view of the dominance of the publishers over the artists at that time it might even be speculated that the only reason a somewhat unoriginal artist such as Kiyomasu II made three versions of the theme of the three courtesans was that his publishers saw the profit in such pictures and insisted that the artist redesign

them. In the same vein of thought it seems reasonable to suggest that artists like Tsunekawa Shigenobu and Tamura Sadanobu, who are met with so sporadically, only came into existence at the whim of some minor publisher such as the Yamatoya firm in the first case and the Murataya house in the second.

It is strange indeed that these uncommon artists whose works could not sell on the reputation of their own names should have been employed to make expensive triptychs. Perhaps the triptychs sold so well that they were more profitable than three single *hosoe* prints. Perhaps in an age when most publishers were producing prints of stage heroes, the beauties of the three cities had the special popularity of pin-up girls. But of one fact we can be sure: as originator of the triptych design of courtesans Okumura Masanobu proves his leadership in the *ukiyo*e world, especially in the second quarter of the 18th century.





## NOTES

### THE TERM *MING-CH'I*

The occasion for this note is the review by John Alexander Pope (see *Ars Orientalis*, vol. 4, 1961, pp. 432-440) of William Charles White's *Bronze culture of ancient China*. In this review (p. 434), Dr. Pope comments as follows on Bishop White's literal translation of *ming-ch'i* 明器 (an ancient term for mortuary vessels) as "bright vessels":

One has become so accustomed to the term *ming-ch'i* without reference to its literal meaning that the translation "bright vessels" comes as something of a surprise, particularly in view of the fact that all the ancient bronze vessels we know today, whether they be ceremonial or mortuary or both, are rather somber in tone. As vessels of both categories must have been bright with the metallic sheen of copper and tin when they were new, it seems likely that the term was used in a more poetic sense and that they were considered bright in that they illumined the shadowy realms of the nether world. Be that as it may, Bishop White's exposition presents a view that merits further investigation.

This theory, however, is definitely untenable. In the first place, there seems no good reason for supposing that the mortuary objects anciently known as *ming-ch'i* were limited only to bronzes; in all probability, pottery objects and those made of other substances were included under the term as well. Secondly, and much more important, there is no doubt that *ming*, as used not only in *ming-ch'i* but also in many other analogous terms, is a technical descriptive epithet for whatever pertains to the spirits (especially the spirits of the departed) and the cult of these spirits. As such, it may perhaps be conveniently ren-

dered as "sacred" or "divine." Almost three decades ago this fact was clearly demonstrated by Henri Maspero in his article, *Le mot ming* 明 (*Journal Asiatique*, vol. 223, 1933, pp. 249-296). Among the more than a dozen terms containing *ming* which are discussed in this article, the following are typical: *ming yi* 衣, "clothing for the dead"; *ming kung shih* 弓矢, "bows and arrows for the dead"; *ming shui* 水, "water offered to the dead, sacrificial water"; *ming huo* 火, "sacrificial fire"; *ming ching* 旌, "funerary banners."

Maspero is perhaps not entirely convincing when he goes on to equate the *ming* of these terms with a homophonous character *ming* 盟 (modern pronunciation also *meng*), which was anciently the name of a solemn oath in which the spirits were invoked. To the present writer it seems simpler to associate the *ming* of *ming-ch'i*, etc., with the *ming* found in *shen-ming* 神明, a common designation for the spirits whose literal meaning, "spirit-brightness," probably has the sense of "spirit-intelligence," meaning by this that the spirits possessed more than ordinary intelligence and perception. If this correlation be accepted, Bishop White's rendition of *ming-ch'i* as "bright vessels" becomes permissible, provided only that we keep in mind that the "brightness" of the vessels in question refers to the fact that they were destined for the spirits, who were believed to be "bright" or "intelligent." In no way can the term mean that the vessels themselves were actually bright in color.

DERK BODDE

# NEUERE UNTERSUCHUNGEN ZUR FRAGE DER KAIRENER TEPPICHE

S. 105, Anm. 262-264 sind irrtümlich in die letzten Zeilen des Textes eingesetzt worden. Es muss heissen

Anm. 262 siehe Anm. 186

Anm. 263 siehe Anm. 224

Anm. 264 siehe Anm. 256, dort bei Zeile 6 einzufügen neue Zeile ausserdem Fig. 31—Fig. 35

Bei dieser Gelegenheit möchte ich folgende Zusätze machen:

S. 77 Anm. 64: Dazu neurdings J. Zick "Koptische Musterelemente und Knüpft Teppiche" Jahrbuch der Hamburger Kunstsammlungen, vol. 7, 1962, S. 93ff.

S. 79 oben rechts: ein kreisrunder Mamlukenteppich 1962 bei Barbieri in Genua.

S. 83 Anm. 103a: Vergl. auch die Bordüre eines Ghiördes des 18. Jahrh. ehemals beim Baron Arbesser auf Schloss Spielberg. (Abb. G. Wolfbauer "Die Ausstellung Alt-orientalischer Teppiche in Graz." Graz 1937, Taf. 22.)

S. 90 Anm. 137: dazu auch V. and L. Benguiat, sale American Art Association, 1925, No. 36.

S. 90 Anm. 143: Das Fragment misst 113 x 107 cm.

S. 96 Am. 185: Der Teppich in Museum für angewandte Kunst in Wien ist ebenfalls Fragment wie die Anm. 186 genannten Stücke, zu denen noch ein weiteres im Nationalmuseum in Stockholm (154, 1899) kommt, das von F. R. Martin erworben wurde.

S. 96 Anm. 190: Der Teppich der Sammlung Frenkel war 1961 im italienischen Handel.

S. 99 linke Spalte:

No. 4a New York, Metropolitan Museum (Innenfeld ähnlich No. 4 Borte ähnlich No. 3).

No. 4b Leningrad, Ermitage (fast identisch mit No. 4a; 105 x 120 cm. Bulletin der Ermitage XIX, 1960, S. 45).

S. 100 Anm. 227: Zu dem von F. R. Martin in Burlington Magazine behandelten Teppich s. a. J. Michelet "An unusual rug", Bull. Art Inst., Chicago, vol. 25, 1931, S. 18ff.

S. 105 Anm. 262: Die Herkunft aus Spanien hat sich nicht bestätigt.

KURT ERDMANN



## BOOK REVIEWS

*L'Archéologie de l'Iran Ancien.* By L. Vanden Berghe. Leiden, 1959. xx+286 pp., 173 pls., 3 plans, 42 text figs.

Professor Vanden Berghe's book is both a landmark in the study of the art and archaeology of Iran and an invitation for further work in that least well-known of all Western Asian lands. It is essentially an archaeological guidebook in the two senses that it informs on what is already known and suggests what still has to be done.

In the first and major part (pp. 3-138) the author enumerates region by region every single pre-Islamic site which has been excavated or even merely examined by official expeditions and, at times, even by clandestine ones. The description of each site is accompanied by a complete bibliographical apparatus and often by excellent new plans and photographs. Great attention has been paid to the most common types of archaeological evidence, in particular to ceramics, and one will find here some of the clearest and best illustrated (through both photographs and profile drawings) pages on ancient Iranian pottery known to the reviewer. Quite often, especially in Fārs and Luristān, the author introduces, sometimes for the first time, the results of his own researches and of his own surveys (cf., for instance, pp. 41-45 for an archaeological survey of the area between Shīrāz and Pasagardes, p. 56 for a new Sassanian relief, etc. . . .). At times, also, as for the Luristan bronzes, Tāq-i Bustān, the Ziwiyah treasure, an attempt is made by the author to summarize the major sides of those issues which have become controversial and to suggest solutions of his own.

The results of this magnificent effort and of this intimate knowledge of Iran are quite instructive. For many sites there is gathered

here for the first time all the information that is available. The provenance of many a work of art found today in the Tehran Museum or some place in Europe or America is here fully established. The success and usefulness of the book are particularly obvious for western and southwestern Iran. These are, no doubt, the better known parts of the Iranian world. But it may also be that, by having kept too strictly to contemporary geographical boundaries, the author has done a disservice to his subject by not pointing out that the present frontiers are not really cultural frontiers and that a great deal of new and important information has been gathered in the Iranian world within the USSR which throws considerable light on the archaeological and historical development of Khorasan and, by extension, of the whole of Iran. The concept of an "outer Iran" adopted by the author (p. x) may be justified from practical considerations, but the archaeological poverty of the northeastern Iran of today certainly does not indicate that in the past the northeastern Iranian world was equally poor.

Outside of this partial defect, the completeness of the author's coverage is quite amazing and while, admittedly, his own greater interest in prehistory than in more recent periods appears in the detailed manner in which a problem such as the appearance of various kinds of early pottery is discussed, the value of the documentation presented throughout will make his work an indispensable guide for all further work in the field of Iranian art and archaeology. From a practical point of view one might have wished for a good map of Iran, for even those who have some knowledge of Iranian geography do get lost in the valleys of Fārs and Luristan.

The first part of the book closes with a lengthy bibliography classified by sites and with a chronological list of excavations, sound-

ings, and explorations in Iran from the first attempts by Rawlinson in 1836-41 to the University of Pennsylvania excavations at Hasanlu. It is comforting to know that the list is already incomplete.

In the second part of the book, the author has tried to give a synoptic view of our knowledge of Iranian archaeology in each of the following periods: Prehistoric, Elamite, Achaemenid, Seleucid, Parthian, and Sassanian. Each period is provided with a map of sites, a short summary of major artistic and archaeological characteristics, a list of known monuments, and a bibliography (for the Parthian and Sassanian periods lists of monuments outside of Iran and general bibliographies on the periods are added). The summaries are at times too brief to be truly useful except to the bare beginner, but the lists of monuments and the bibliographies are invaluable and, even though here and there certain omissions occur in the bibliographies, no further work in pre-Islamic, and in many ways post-Islamic, Iran will be possible without reference to Vanden Berghe's book.

The book ends with excellent indexes and a very complete and important descriptive catalogue of the many, often new plates.

The excellent presentation and rich substance of this book will no doubt transform it into the basic guide for all studies in Iranian archaeology and it is only its comparatively large size that will prevent tourists and archaeologists from carrying it around with them. No one will be able to do without it in preparing a trip or in checking his own information. It is to be hoped that additions to the book will be published periodically and that growing numbers of archaeological expeditions will become active in Iran. A work such as this one is indeed a most exciting invitation to do so.

OLEG GRABAR

*Paradisus Terrestris*. By Lars-Ivar Ringbom.  
In Acta Societatis Fennicae, Nova Series C,  
1, No. 1. Helsingfors, 446 pp., 208 fig.

In the past 30 years an unresolved and desultory debate has been going on with respect to the exact significance in its own time and specific impact on later times of the Iranian dynasty of the Sassanians. Some scholars have attributed a tremendous importance to the empire of the Khosrows and have tried to show the "worldwide" significance of its history as well as of its art. Others have tended either to downgrade it or to claim ignorance of its true development. Others yet have attempted to limit its impact to western and southwestern Iran and to Mesopotamia and have considered the Central Asian Iranian world as the most brilliant of Iranian traditions before the Islamic conquest. The comparative lack of original literary sources from the Sassanian period, the difficulty of interpreting Greek, Armenian, and later Arabic or Persian accounts, the inadequate archaeological surveying of Iran, the pitifully few published excavations devoted to Sassanian sites, the impossibility of studying together such crucial works of art as the silver objects spread all over the world, the difficulty of differentiating between Sassanian, provincial, and so-called "post-Sassanian" works, and many other reasons have, no doubt, contributed to the uncertainty of scholarly attitudes toward Sassanian civilization. And yet it cannot be denied that both the late classical and Byzantine worlds of the Mediterranean and the new Islamic civilization can only be understood with a proper realization of what the Sassanian world was and of what it meant to the Rome of Diocletian, the Byzantium of Justinian, and the Islam of 'Abd al-Malik or of al-Ma'mūn.

In analyzing one theme only, that of paradise on earth and of the imagery depicting it,



Professor Ringbom has fully realized this significance of the Sassanian world, contemporary with the Mediterranean world from before Diocletian until Heraclius, and, at the same time, a major legator to the faith which conquered it. But the criticism which may be leveled against his work is largely due to the great uncertainty that surrounds our view of the Sassanian world.

This book is written in Swedish and, therefore, will not easily be available to all scholars, but a lengthy and precise summary in English together with an often self-explanatory sequence of pictures makes the book understandable on the whole. In a first part, called "the Myth," the author analyzes the various ideas that surrounded the concepts of the "garden of Eden" and of the "City of God." In a second part, "the Image," he discusses in detail a certain number of works of art which, in his opinion, are representations of paradise or reflect paradisaical themes: a mosaic in St. John of the Lateran, the Phoenix mosaic from Antioch, a psalter illustration from Mt. Athos, the theme of the harts by a fountain, the Fountain alone, the mosaics at Santa Constanza, a group of Sassanian silver objects characterized by varying decorative motifs, dancers, hunters, and so on, within an arcaded design (these are compared to various Christian themes, in particular to canon tables and are explained as representing elements connected with the water sanctuaries of "Ardvi Sura Anahita, the Mighty Fountain," either specific ceremonies performed in them or their physical aspect), more particularly the well-known Berlin salver which is interpreted as "the great sanctuary which Shāpūr I caused to be erected in honor of Ardvi Sura and the waters." Then the author moves on to a study of "the Architecture of Paradise." He identifies an image from Bagawat (A. Fakhry, *The Necropolis from al-Baghawat*, Cairo, 1951, pl. 39) as a rep-

resentation of Sassanian origin illustrating the palace of Shāpūr II near his sanctuary; through it he returns to the question of the arcade in architecture and decoration and explains the arcades found on certain early Korans as a reflection of paradisaical representations. Finally the author deals with the theme of the *tholos*, so often found in Pompeian painting (the Boscoreale one is identified as the Dionysiac sanctuary of Nysa) and carried on to the mosaics of Damascus. All these images are explained as ultimately referring to the Iranian holy sanctuary of Ardvi Sura the Fountain.

The last part of the book, entitled "the Reality," is a lengthy attempt first at identifying the holy city of Shīz with Takht-i Sulaymān, and then at analyzing the ruins found there (the Hermitage salver, considered by Sauvaget to be Seljūq, in an article in *Ars Islamica*, vols. XV–XVI, apparently unknown to the author, is explained here as depicting the taking of Shīz by the Muslims and the shape of the small "treasure-dome" in the Mosque of Damascus is related to this event). After having concluded in passing that Tāq-i Bustān is a reduced model of the Throne of Khosrow, the author attempts a series of reconstructions of the Sassanian holy sanctuary and ends his book by suggesting a fascinating historical drama around the ownership of the holy center of the universe, a drama in which Khosrow II, Heraclius, and the early Umayyads appear as the major protagonists.

It is, of course, difficult to evaluate correctly the validity of all the author's judgments, since they involve so many different areas and so many different problems. Most of the specific criticisms one might levy against Professor Ringbom's theses really come down to two major ones. The first one is that while symbolic interpretations of artistic themes are not only justified but often correct, there is a certain moment when a given artistic motif

is no longer specifically related to the symbolism which created it, but appears simply as a decorative or iconographic cliché. Thus, for instance, it seems to the reviewer dangerous to identify Nilotic landscapes with images of the Nile; Nilotic landscapes became in late Antiquity and in the Islamic world (cf. examples at Quşayr 'Amrah and on a 12th-century frontispiece to a Dioscorides manuscript in Istanbul) simply conventions for the representation of water in certain official circumstances. Thus also such motifs as arcades and *tholoi* could indeed have a symbolic significance (they may well have had such a meaning in the mosaics at Damascus, although one should separate in dealing with early Islamic art the significance of a given theme in pre-Islamic art from the meaning given to it by the early Muslims), but they are also decorative motifs of symbolic origin and one may well wonder whether on some of the Sassanian plates and on the arcaded designs at the beginning of early Korans they were not purely decorative. But, at the same time, while in given instances a symbolic interpretation of decorative motifs may be far-fetched, it remains true that the possibility of such interpretations must always be raised, as recent works by R. Ettinghausen in *Ars Orientalis*, vols. II and IV, and the reviewer in vol. III have tried to show. We must be grateful to the author, therefore, for having suggested a certain number of fascinating parallels and for having raised certain interpretations, which may eventually lead to a correct understanding of the monuments.

The second criticism would apply to the author's attempt to identify too specifically the Iranian paradisaical *omphalos* as the only—or almost only—place of origin of all the themes he describes. It seems to the reviewer that much is still unsettled on the question of the localization of Iranian religious sanctu-

aries, that too many Sassanian plates are of uncertain date and origin and therefore doubtful for any kind of precise information, and that reconstructions such as the ones proposed by Professor Ringbom are still too tentative to be used. One specific point may be mentioned. In recent years Russian archaeologists have excavated the site of Parthian Nisa and have discovered in it a large tholos-like sanctuary and a tomb with an extensive colonnade.<sup>1</sup> Both of these features are characteristic of the "architecture of paradise," according to the thought of Professor Ringbom, but should one not then locate in Central Asia rather than in northwestern Iran the place of origin of the symbols as well as of the holiest "paradise on earth"?

One can see, therefore, that while a number of its points and some of its conclusions may be debatable, *Paradisus Terrestris* is a challenging book with many important remarks on the art and architecture of the pre-Islamic as well as of the Islamic worlds. But its greater merit is that it points once more to the tremendous need for excavations and studies in the art of Sassanian Iran. Only then will so many of the queries made by Professor Ringbom be answered and only then will it be possible to replace with certitudes the many hypotheses which, *faute de mieux*, have become the basis of our knowledge of Sassanian art. The need is all the greater since the great improvement of our knowledge of the history and art of Central Asia during this very same period has created an imbalance which is in need of being corrected.

The book is clearly printed and presented. One may regret only that the lack of specific footnotes makes it a little difficult for those who do not read Swedish to discover some of

<sup>1</sup> G. A. Pugachenkova, *Puti Razvitiia Arhitektury Iuzhnogo Turkmenistana*, Moscow, 1958, p. 22 ff., color photographs opposite pp. 66 and 104.



the author's sources or references and that in a number of instances drawings are used instead of photographs.

OLEG GRABAR

*La grande mosquée de Sfax.* By George Marçais and Lucien Golvin. (Institut National d'Archéologie et Arts, Tunis, Notes et Documents, vol. 3, nouvelle série.) Préface de H. H. Abdul-Wahab. Imprimerie La Rapide, Tunis, 1960. 51 (+ 1) pp., fig. No. 15 outside text.

The names of its two joint authors and the series in which the book appeared are sufficient guarantee for the excellence of this study of the Great Mosque of Sfax, in which an ingenious and on the whole convincing hypothesis is put forward in order to explain the puzzling features of the building—a hypothesis, the main lines of which had already been published in G. Marçais's great work, *L'architecture musulmane d'Occident* (Paris, 1954, pp. 72–73). The ground plan of the mosque is quite extraordinary and contains a number of anomalies; these are best illustrated by a schematic plan based on the exact plan provided in the book (fig. 1).

The court occupies the northeast corner of the building and is surrounded on two sides by the hall of prayer. There are two *mihrābs*, though the eastern one is now hidden; in front of the latter there is a cupola, and another cupola corresponds to it at the entrance from the court. The whole building is divided in two by piers running from east to west; the southern half is divided by a row of three columns running from south to north. It is obvious that this curiously complicated plan has to be explained by the history of the mosque—and here we are fortunately assisted by literary and epigraphical evidence.

It is established by the evidence of good authority that the mosque was originally

founded in the third/ninth century by 'Alī b. Sālim al-Jabanyānī, qāḍī of Sfax and grandfather of the celebrated saint Abū Ishāq al-Jabanyānī. This piece of information is derived from the biography of Abū Ishāq al-Jabanyānī by Abū'l-Qāsim al-Labīdī, which, as I learn from a reference in an article by

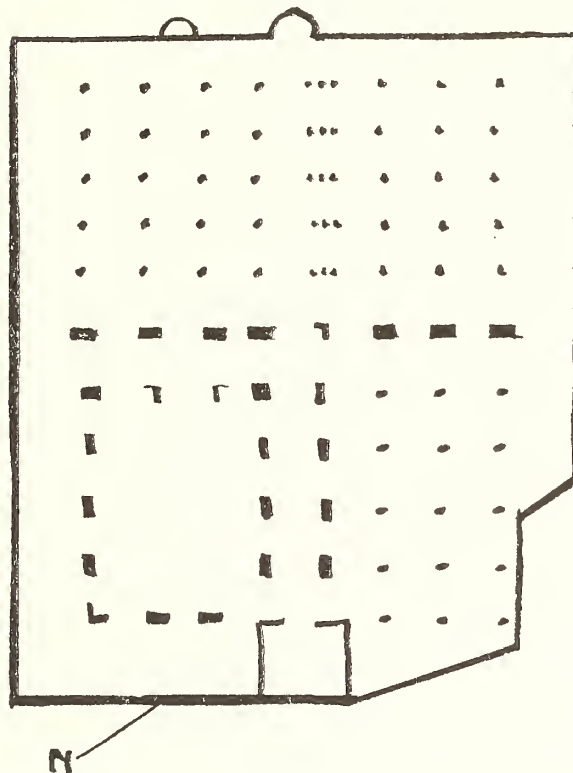


FIG. 1

H. R. Idris,<sup>1</sup> is still extant and will be edited by Idris in a volume to be called *Manâqib d'Abū Ishāq al-Jabanyānī par Abū l-Qāsim al-Labīdī et Manâqib de Muḥriz b. Ḥalaf par Abū l-Ṭāhir al-Fārisī*, édition critique et traduction annotée. Until now the biography was known only from a few quotations in al-Tijānī's book of travels.<sup>2</sup> On page 83 al-

<sup>1</sup> *Le crépuscule de l'école Mālikite Kairouanaise (fin du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, Les Cahiers de Tunisie, vol. 4, No. 16, 1956, p. 494, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> *al-Rihla*, Tunis, 1959, pp. 67, 69, 83.

Tijānī provides some details about al-Labīdī: he was a native of a village near Sfax and was mentioned by the historians Ibn Sharaf and al-Rushāti; according to the first he died in 440/1048, while the second gives the approximate date as ca. 430.<sup>3</sup> It is on page 69 that al-Tijānī quotes the passage in which al-Labīdī states that the mosque (and the walls) of Sfax were built by 'Alī b. Sālim, grandfather of Abū Ishāq and qāḍī of Sfax. Though we are looking forward with great interest to the publication of the text of al-Labīdī's biography of al-Jabanyānī, which will no doubt enrich our knowledge of life in medieval Ifriqiya, it is hardly likely that it will add new details about the mosque of Sfax.<sup>3a</sup> So much for the information concerning the foundation of the mosque, on the provenience of which I have dwelt at some length purposely, in order to show that it comes from a presumably reliable authority; this is not sufficiently brought out if the passage of al-Tijānī is quoted without saying who al-Labīdī was. It is very likely that the passage about the foundation of the mosque in Ibn al-Wazīr's *al-Ḥulal al-Sundu-siyya* is derived (as are so many pages in that book) from al-Tijānī, and the date "ca. 235/849" is not based on an independent authority, but is due to some calculation of Ibn al-Wazīr. At any rate it is certain that Ibn Maqdish's passage is in its turn derived from Ibn al-Wazīr, one of his sources in general.<sup>4</sup> It

would be highly desirable to see the practice of critically assessing the filiation of different authorities used as evidence, instead of merely setting them forth one after the other, and of giving particular emphasis to primary sources gaining ground also in our discipline, just as it is *de rigueur* in classical studies, for example.

Thus it is credibly attested by a comparatively early author that the mosque goes back

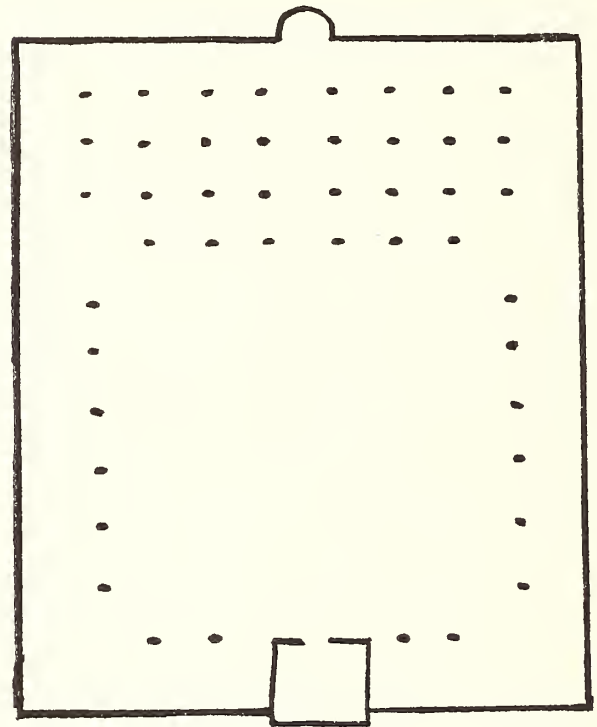


FIG. 2

<sup>3</sup> Idris gives a further reference to a biographical notice of al-Labīdī in Ibn Nāji's *Ma'ālim* (vol. 3, pp. 217–218) and announces that a biography will be contained in the introduction of the aforementioned edition; see *loc. cit.*, p. 509, note 1, p. 510.

<sup>3a</sup> [In the meantime the volume containing the edition of the biography has been published, Paris 1959. The passage on the foundation of the mosque is on p. 3, its translation on p. 197. The form *Aslam* (rather than *Sālim*) has been adopted for the name of the founder's father; otherwise the original text adds nothing relevant to our subject.]

<sup>4</sup> For al-Tijānī as source of Ibn al-Wazīr, cf. C. A. Nallino, *Venezia e Sfax nel secolo XVIII secondo il cronista arabo Maqdish*, Centenario della

to the third/ninth century. What was the ground plan of that early mosque like? The authors suggest that it conformed to the usual plan of the contemporary mosques of Ifriqiya and had a large court, preceded by a narrow hall of prayer, consisting of three bays along

nascita di Michele Amari, vol. 1, p. 315 = *Raccolta di scritti*, vol. 3, p. 356. In that article, Nallino has also shown that al-Tijānī was one of the main sources of Ibn Maqdish; but in the present case the fact that Ibn Maqdish, like Ibn al-Wazīr, but unlike al-Tijānī, specifies the year 235 seems to show that his source was Ibn al-Wazīr.



the *qibla* wall, with the minaret at the middle of the opposite side of the court (*fig. 2*).

The second stage in the history of the mosque consisted, in the authors' opinion, in the reduction of the area of the building to its eastern half, though it is not easy to guess the special circumstances that could have made this necessary. The reduced dimension involved the removal of the *mihrāb* eastward, to the center of the eastern half, in order to fit the new axis of the building. As the hall

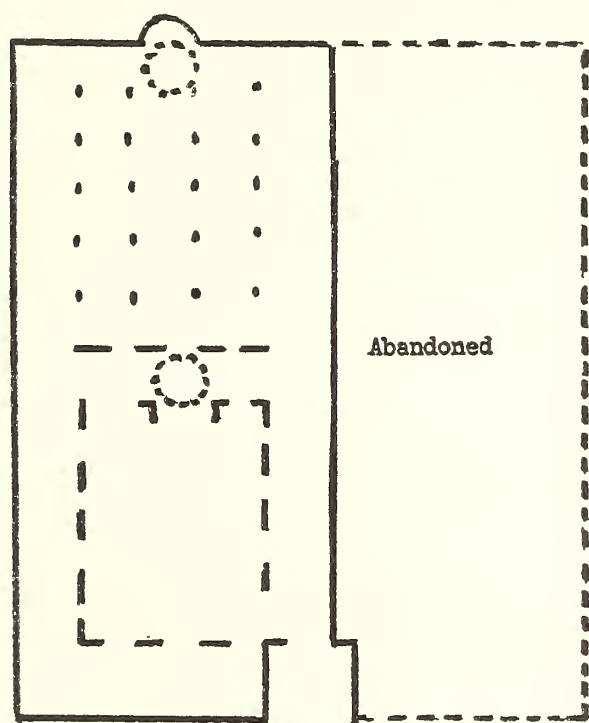


FIG. 3

of prayer proved too small, three more bays were added to the covered area at the cost of the court. At the same time two cupolas were added, one in front of the new *mihrāb*, another at the opposite end of the central nave (*fig. 3*). On stylistical grounds (whereby the cupolas provide the main argument) this change is ascribed to the fourth/tenth century, and it is also assumed that it was in connection with it that the minaret and the eastern

façade (which constitutes the most original feature of the building) acquired their present shape. Moreover it is suggested that an inscription on the eastern façade, which is badly mutilated but contains a reference to the "building of this mosque" and the date 378/988, refers to this restoration. Another inscription, placed over the northernmost gate of the eastern façade, gives the name of the local ruler Ḥammū b. Mallil and is dated 478/1085. The share of this ruler in the mosque is not indicated in the inscription; the authors think that it may simply consist in the addition of the gate itself.

I take the opportunity to complete the decipherment of the inscription, in which a few words have baffled the authors; fortunately I had the opportunity of examining the original. The operative part of the inscription (after the Koranic verses) can be read as follows:

(8) مما امر بعمله الامير فخر الملك (9) وكفّيه  
ابو المنصور حمو بن مليل آيد (10) الله ونصره  
وأعزّه ولا خذله وذلك (11) في سنة ثمان وسبعين  
واربعائة

While the words خذله لا can be clearly read even in the authors' beautiful drawing, the words وأعزّه and وذلك cannot be recognized there in their entirety; but a careful examination of the original confirmed that the drawing is in some details slightly deformed and that these are the words of the original. There are also other small epigraphical puzzles left unsolved, such as the inscription at the top of the minaret (*fig. 20*, p. 43). The drawing is just sufficient to recognize the Koranic verse (xi, 116–117), the text of which shows up the many deformations in the drawing. The inscription can be read, or completed, as follows:

(1) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم [وصلّى الله على]  
(2) النبي محمد وآله وسلّم وأقيم [الصلوة طرفي  
النهار] ر (3) وزلفا من الليل ان الحسنات [يذهبن  
السيئات ذلك ذ] (4) كرى للذاكرين [واصبر] ر فان

[الله لا يضيع اجر (5) ا] لمحسنين ورحم الله...  
 ...[من يدعو لصاحبه] (6) بالرحمة والمغفرة  
 والنجاة من النار حسبي [الله]

The inscriptions crowning the minaret are not reproduced at all; unfortunately the present reviewer had not the leisure to examine them during his short visit and only noted down that on the western side of the second storey:

لا اله الا الله محمد [رسول الله] الأمر كله له

These small epigraphical lacunae are of no consequence; there are, however, some loose ends left regarding a more important subject. We have seen the mosque, in the second stage of its development, deprived of its western half, though at present that western half forms an integral part of the hall of prayer. When was the western part recovered and what is the nature of the present structure which occupies it? The authors do not enter into this matter at all and take leave of the mosque at the 11th century, when it was reduced to half of its original, and present, size. It is true that at the beginning of their book they discuss the account of the local historian from the beginning of the 19th century, Ibn Maqdish, in which he gives the history of the building and claims to have a reply also to this question. Ibn Maqdish, as we have seen, knows that the mosque was originally built by al-Jabanyānī, in the third/ninth century. He also states that subsequently its western half was abandoned, though he is rather vague and confused in the chronological details: it was due to the calamities which befell the city during the 4th/10th, 5th/11th, and 6th/12th centuries, and the action of bad princes who alienated ground belonging to the mosque and turned it into building ground. We have seen that the evidence of the building itself confirms the statement that it was at a certain moment deprived of its western half, though if the authors' dating of the reconstruction of

the eastern half is accepted, this must have happened earlier than is assumed by Ibn Maqdish. As to the recovery of the western half, Ibn Maqdish ascribes it to the piety of the Sfaxians of the 18th century, who piece by piece recovered the lost ground, and when they had accomplished their task, were granted the joy of discovering the foundations of the ancient mosque. At first, however, the southern end of the newly recovered part (which forms the continuation of the hall of prayer) was covered by insufficient temporary cover, while the northern end was left open to form part of the court. It was therefore decided to demolish these inadequate structures and entrust the reconstruction of the building to the architects Sa'īd al-Qaṭṭi, amīn of the corporation of masons, and Ṭāhir al-Munif, the engineer.<sup>5</sup> "Master-masons and workers began the demolition, and then there were dug the foundations for the columns. . . . Not each column did occupy exactly the place assigned for it. Certain columns not considered as beautiful enough were exchanged for new columns which were bought or offered by pious Muslims. The old mosque and the newly incorporated part are separated by that row of columns where there are three columns instead of one and which goes from the southern wall to the opposite side. The *miḥrāb* was removed in order to occupy a central position." The *miḥrāb* received an inscription with the name of Ṭāhir al-Munif and the date 1172/1758-9. A few years later, says Ibn Maqdish, the mosque again proved too small, and a further area was annexed in the northwest corner,

<sup>5</sup> This last-named directed between 1186/1773 and 1188/1774 the construction of the great cistern (Ibn Maqdish, vol. 2, p. 76) and his son Muḥammad, amīn of the corporation of engineers, was in charge of the erection of the pier in front of the harbor during the Venetian attack in 1200/1786 (*idem*, vol. 2, p. 96, transl. Nallino, *Centenario M. Amari*, vol. 1, p. 339 = *Raccolta di scritti*, vol. 3, p. 383).



and the whole of the northwest quarter of the mosque was covered; these works were completed in 1197/1782-3.

This account of Ibn Maqdish sounds very convincing and, as it refers to events that happened in his own lifetime, must be accepted as correct. There is one question which may puzzle a visitor to the mosque who, like the present reviewer, is a layman in matters of archeology: the columns and arches of the western half, which according to Ibn Maqdish belong to the 18th century, look exactly like those of the old eastern half; this means that the 18th-century builders must have consciously and successfully aimed at an exact imitation of the old style. Such a visitor would have liked to hear the expert authors' comments on this point. The present reviewer understands that M. M. S. Zbiss, Inspector of Antiquities and well-known writer on Tunisian architecture, is preparing a book in Arabic on the mosque of Sfax. It is much hoped that he will fill this gap and examine the structure of its western part.

S. M. STERN

✓ *Bundi Painting.* By Pramod Chandra. Lalit Kala Academy, Delhi, 1959, 26 pp., 1 fig., 10 color pls.

We have come to expect publications of the highest quality from the Lalit Kala Academy, India's government-sponsored foundation for the fine arts. Pramod Chandra's monograph on Bundi painting is no exception. One of the more recent additions to their series of color-plate books with short texts, it is of value to the student and should delight the general public. The text is informative and remarkably comprehensive and the plates excellent. Once again the blockmakers and printers of Bombay have succeeded not only in duplicating the colors of the originals with remarkable fidelity but also in suggesting their

texture. We wish that as much could be said for the reproductions of Indian paintings produced in this country and Europe within the last few years.

Bundi is one of the many states in Rajasthan where schools of painting flourished at least as early as the Mughal period. The oldest specimens known thus far from this Hindu principality were contemporary with Jahangir (1605-27). So different in mood, however, are the two schools that affinities can be recognized only in such details as costume and other appurtenances of the court. It is most likely that Mughal-trained painters were employed by the rāo of Bundi but they were not, as one might expect, of imperial caliber. Lingering traces of Mughal style suggest that most of the Mughal-oriented painters of the early 17th century, not only at Bundi but at other courts of Rajasthan as well, had once been attached to the workshops at Agra where a high percentage of the Mughal manuscripts of the early 17th century was produced. Sometimes vigorous and fresh, the Agra material is more often careless in execution and monotonous.<sup>1</sup> Innumerable copies of the *Shah-nameh* and other favorites were turned out here in order to satisfy patrons less critical and far less wealthy than the immediate imperial circle. A Bundi tiger hunt (*fig. 1*) in an American collection is of particular interest in connection with the spread of this sub-standard Mughal idiom. It is strikingly close to a miniature of *Sita and Lakshman*, which we have

<sup>1</sup> We have seen many manuscripts from this center, which was so prolific that it invites comparison to Shiraz, where mediocre Persian manuscripts were turned out in vast quantities during the 16th century. Many of the Agra examples are dated and several give the provenance. We hope to devote an article to this interesting material, in itself unappealing but often magically transformed by contact with Rajput art.

discussed elsewhere in this volume,<sup>2</sup> a painting by Faḍil, whose work is known from manuscripts associated with the Khān-e Khānān, one of the foremost Mughal courtiers. Faḍil's style, although highly personal, can be traced to Agra. No doubt, he had been trained there prior to his employment by the Khān-e Khānān. The tiger hunt, with its many similarities to Faḍil's work,<sup>3</sup> links Bundi to Agra, via the Khān-e Khānān's atelier, which was probably at his jagir near Agra. All the other early Bundi paintings that have come to light are from *ragamala* sets. One of these has been published by Mr. Chandra in halftone (fig. 2). Already the Bundi style is fully developed. Compositions are closely knit. People and small, domed buildings often crowd together in a space barely able to contain them and further strained by burgeoning trees, plantains, and all manner of birds and insects. The palette is bright and crisp: white is dead white and the colors are accordingly intense—hot and lemon yellows, red-orange, an unusually deep crimson, thickly applied mineral blue, and, of course, gold. Early pictures of the best quality are jewel-like; they must be held in the hand and turned in the light to bring out the glint and sparkle.

<sup>2</sup> Vide Stuart C. Welch, Jr., *Mughal and Deccani miniature paintings from a private collection*, *Ars Orientalis*, vol. 5, p. 228, fig. 15.

<sup>3</sup> The hunting scene is a virtual translation into Bundi terms of the provincial Mughal style seen in the *Razmnāmeh* page. Color, line, and treatment of space, as well as such details as the gracefully linear foliage and grass and the placing of richly colored rocks are so identical that we could believe Faḍil painted both. The differences are those one might expect of a painter adjusting his style to a new patron. The huntsmen are portraits rather than stock figures and the pigment in the Bundi miniature is heavier, almost enamel-like in the flesh tones, a characteristic common to this phase of the school. The hunter is probably Kumar Gopinath Sing, who was slain in 1631. His aquiline features appear in more idealized form as the hero in contemporary *ragamala* subjects.

Mr. Chandra shows us 10 paintings in color, seven of which belong to the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India with which he is associated. Many of the moods and styles within the Bundi orbit are represented, tracing the development of the school from the last quarter of the 17th century through the 18th. One rather wishes he had been able to include earlier examples in color and we should also like to see several of the important items he discusses but does not illustrate. At least one of a series of *ragamala* drawings in the National Museum of India would be welcome as would the earliest dated Bundi painting, a nobleman and his lady with pet pigeons, of A.D. 1662, now in the Bharat Kala Bhavan Banaras, the collection richest in early Bundi material. Compensation is offered in the form of three splendid garden scenes of the last part of the century and several charming 18th-century miniatures.

A number of ardent students of Rajasthan art, including Pramod Chandra himself, have made important discoveries since 1959 when his book appeared. Although little of the new material has been published, W. G. Archer's study of Kotah and Bundi<sup>4</sup> has helped in sorting out two very similar schools. The running elephants (pl. 6), a vigorous tinted drawing, is almost certainly from Kotah. It must be kept in mind, however, that Bundi was the originator and center of a style current at a number of neighboring courts—Kotah, Uniara, and Karauli, to list but a few. The local differences were often so slight that the specialist must argue his attribution to one rather than to the other on the basis of the treatment of such details as an eyelash or the extra roundness of a chin. Pramod Chandra is probably on the side of the angels when he avoids more specific attributions within the

<sup>4</sup> Vide W. G. Archer, *Indian painting in Bundi and Kotah*, London, 1959.



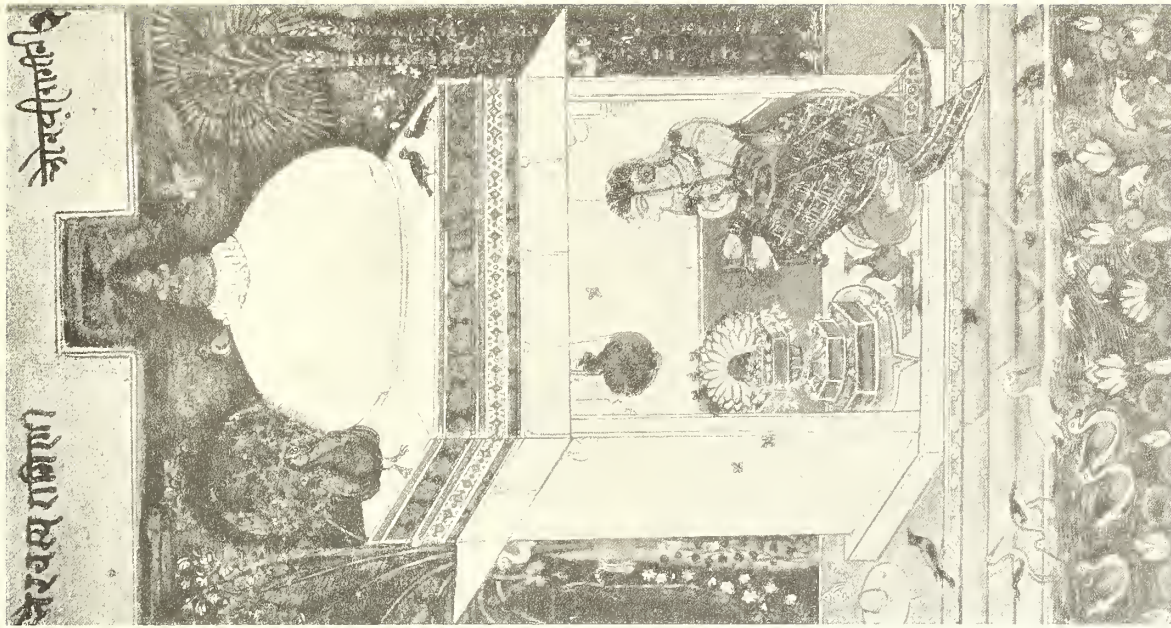


FIG. 2.—RĀGINĪ BHAIRAVĪ, BUNDI, CA. 1625,  
MUNICIPAL MUSEUM, ALLAHABAD.



FIG. 1.—*A Bundi Tiger Hunt* FROM AN AMERICAN collection.





Bundi sphere, for the time being. But when the moment is ripe, we hope that he will publish a fuller account of this particularly attractive style and its diffusion.

STUART C. WELCH, JR.

NOTE: Since writing the above, we have seen material which invites a reappraisal of the earliest phase of painting at Bundi. A Mughal *Tuttinama* of ca. 1585 in the library of Sir Chester Beatty contains many miniatures which are astonishingly similar in style to the *ragamala* series from which Mr. Chandra has reproduced *Ragini Bhairava*, figure 2. Another painting from the same set, in an Indian private collection, is dated the equivalent of A.D. 1590, confirming the existence of painting at Bundi during the Akbar period.

S. C. W., JR.

*The Arts of Thailand*. A Handbook of the Architecture, Sculpture and Painting of Thailand (Siam), and a Catalogue of the Exhibition in the United States in 1960-62. Edited by Theodore Bowie. Introduction by Prince Dhani Nivat. Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1960. 219 pp., 163 halftones, frontispiece in full color.

The exhibition of *The Arts of Thailand* is very much in the pattern of *The Masterpieces of Korean Art* which preceded it to these shores by three years. It has focused attention upon an important sector of Asian arts which is generally less familiar than the great metropolitan styles of India, China, or Japan. It has been a near miracle of organization, combining the connoisseur's viewpoint with the logistic problems of transporting tons of irreplaceable treasures to our doorsteps. It may be fair to report a slight tinge of disappointment that the overall aesthetic impact of the Thai exhibit was weakened by the sculpture of the later periods, which shared in the loss of expressive authority and power that became endemic in Buddhist arts (the traditional, hieratic ones) throughout Asia

following the 13th century. But one should also report that there were many delightful surprises among Thai ceramics, gold work, and the smaller objects. Such judgments, however, are quite beside the point. The exhibition has been a stimulating extension of our scholarly and aesthetic horizons. To the teams of scholars and government officials, to the patrons and Buddhist authorities who made the exhibit and its handbook possible, our debt goes far beyond conventional terms of gratitude. This was a task that has long been needed; its value will be an enduring one.

The handbook of the exhibition is an ambitious project which in some ways is a model of its kind. It is at once a detailed exhibition catalogue, a popular introduction for laymen (with a simple review of Buddhist doctrine and aesthetic concepts), and a survey of the history of the art and architecture of Thailand outlining a number of scholarly problems. Its greatest virtue is that it presents the objects in the exhibition as an integral part of that history, generously illustrating a great many works which could not be included in the show but which expand and clarify those which are. On the other hand, owing to obvious limitations of space, we must be satisfied in the survey with only a brief paragraph or two on many important topics; but apart from the catalogue proper, there are few direct connections between the text and the bibliography which would encourage further study, and there are many factual statements which cry out for documentation.

The catalogue was compiled by M. C. Subhadradis Diskul, the Chief Curator of the National Museum, Bangkok, who received much of his technical training in Paris and at Cambridge University. The historical survey is the work chiefly of Alexander Griswold, an American scholar and collector who has been most active in recent years in stimulating in-

terest in Thai arts through his growing number of publications, written (as here) with a graceful literary style and vast enthusiasm for the subject. Miss Elizabeth Lyons of New York has added a short essay on Thai painting. Carefully edited by Professor Theodore Bowie of Indiana University, this small handbook is an up-to-date epitome of its subject, adding much information not available to Reginald LeMay at the time of his pioneer survey published in 1938.

These authors have, with some explicit disagreements, organized the art of Thailand into eight categories which reflect some of the major stages in the development of civilization in the region. These can be briefly summarized in their own terms as follows:

1. Dvāravatī style, 6th–11th centuries: The formative style of sculptural and architectural traditions in the region, produced first by the Môn people. Unfortunately a most shadowy historical entity, these people settled both in lower Burma and in the region within a hundred-mile radius of Bangkok.

2. Śrīvijaya style, 8th–13th centuries: Works of sculpture found largely in peninsular Thailand, dating from the period of hegemony there of the Sumatran kingdom of Śrīvijaya and revealing strong influences from India (especially of the Cholas of Tanjore) and Indonesia.

3. Lopburī style, 11th–14th centuries: An extension into northwest Thailand of Khmer arts and culture focused at Lopburī, the Khmer viceregal capital.

4. The “Chieng Sèn” style, 12th–20th centuries: A long series of hieratic Buddhist bronze cult images coming from the northernmost portions of the country, the subject of a lively controversy as to their antiquity and locus of production. One party, represented by Prince Diskul but also including Reginald

LeMay, holds that they were made as early as the 12th century (possibly even as early as the ninth) and that they are to be named after Chieng Sèn, a town right beneath the point where the Laos, Burma, and Thailand borders meet, where many examples have been found. However, in the viewpoint of Mr. Griswold, this particular type of Buddha image did not originate until the second half of the 15th century and the principal place of production was Chieng Mai, an hypothesis spelled out in detail in his *Dated Buddha images of northern Siam* (Ascona, 1957; reviewed in *Ars Orientalis* IV, 1961 p. 448ff.).

5. Sukhodaya style, 13th–15th centuries: The expression of the Thai people recently migrated from southern China and freed of Khmer rule, an art of “harmonious eclecticism” from many sources, of a sinuous grace which was to become a hallmark of later Thai sculpture. Its centers were the workshops of Svargaloka (Swankalok) and Sukhodaya (Sukkótai). Questions regarding its origins are greatly affected by the problems of the Chieng Sèn images.

6. Ū Tòng style, 12th–15th centuries: Named after the Thai prince who founded the capital city of Ayudhyā about 1350, this sculptural style retained a strong legacy of Khmer influence. But here again, there is explicit disagreement between Prince Diskul and Mr. Griswold, the former dating Ū Tòng bronzes generally a century earlier than the latter.

7. Ayudhyā style, 15th–16th centuries: Emergence of a distinct national style free of immediate foreign influence, with cult images produced in vast quantity.

8. Bangkok, late 18th century to present: Decorative and religious arts made after the establishment of the current capital of Thailand and the opening of contacts with Europe.



These categories are useful semantic tools for students, provided (as the authors warn us) they are not considered as more than that, for the history of the arts of Thailand is clearly still in its age of discovery and primary organization. Typical of the subject anywhere in the Indian cultural sphere, there are many unsolved problems of dating and historical background, with lacunae in the political and ethnic history of the region, a small corpus of dated images, and an incomplete archeological survey of the area. Thus the open disagreements of Prince Diskul and Mr. Griswold are the normal results of difficulties inherent in the subject, and to their credit, the two scholars treat these objectively and with a sense of humor.

The problems are also compounded by the fact that research in the Thai field must follow two separate directions. The first is the internal task of uncovering and classifying the works produced in the area throughout a millennium and a half. The other is to trace the many currents of foreign cultural contacts which affected this material, for it is safe to say that Thai art, in the sense of an expression of the modern Thai peoples, did not begin until the 13th century, following their migration from southern China. Prior to this time, the works of art produced in the area were most vitally affected by developments in India (in its several cultural provinces) and Ceylon, Indo-China, and Indonesia. Thus the early stages of the arts of Thailand are an integral part of the thoroughly inspiring and thoroughly complicated study of the implantation of Indian culture in Southeast Asia and its reinforcement by successive waves of influence and changing religious doctrines, by the development of local traditions and their interactions. If the handbook has recorded many recent additions to the archeological record—notably the Ayudhyā gold treasure,

the crystal objects from Chieng Mai, and a number of previously unfamiliar dated images—it is considerably weaker in the handling of the second set of problems.

One regrets, for example, the absence in the handbook of the rare “pre-Môn” bronzes of Korat or Nakon Pathom or even Pón Tuk (Dupont, *Archéologie Mône de Dvaravati*, Paris, 1959, figs. 336, 338, 340). These belong to a distinctive series of Amarāvati-style Buddhist export bronzes from the Kistna River region and/or Ceylon which establish an important line of contact from those regions at a notably early date (perhaps late third century, but the precise dating is problematic)—Buddha images from Sempaga in the Celebes, those from Senguntang near Palembang (Sumatra) and Đông-düông (in the Cham country), etc.

And for the Dvāravatī style, Mr. Griswold seems to trace the origins of its Buddha images to such late Gupta Period sites as Ajañṭā and Kānherī, using peculiarities of hand gestures and types of saṃghātī as his guide. This is obviously not a simple matter, but the solution disregards the very clear stylistic affinities with the late Gupta schools of sculpture at Sārnāth and its derivatives in northeastern India, such as Nālandā or Rājgir. And regarding the strange *mudrās* which became one of the distinctive hallmarks of Buddhist sculpture in Thailand (either the *vitarka* or *abhāyamudrās* made by both hands symmetrically), it also seems a premature solution to imagine that they were the result of mistakes made by craftsmen asked to copy regular Indian originals from a faulty source. In view of the highly developed Tantrik conceptions of *mudrās* and the variant forms found in the Kurkihār, Nālandā, and Naga-patam bronzes—none precisely parallel to the Thai ones, to be sure—it seems more likely that such a prominent symbolic motif grew

out of a doctrinal or sectarian need (which is Dupont's feeling, *op. cit.*, pp. 181-184).

Lines of contact leading away from Thailand also dominate the study of three other classes of objects which include some of the most handsome and interesting pieces in the exhibition—the Hindu carvings from Śrī Deb and Vieng Sra, the Śrīvijaya bronzes of Chaiyā and elsewhere, the Khmer-style Lopburī bronzes. To correlate these objects with their historical sources would require a major expenditure of effort and space, and probably for the latter reason the handbook has largely avoided the issues; the Brahmanical and Śrīvijaya works are discussed in barely ten lines of text apiece, the Lopburī with somewhat more. But these are among the most vital sectors of the story.

There are several smaller issues which might be raised here. For example, among the wealth of material in the catalogue, a small Lopburī-style bronze Buddhist trinity is identified as representing "perhaps" a Buddhist *trikāya*, the three "bodies" of the Buddha (p. 190, No. 63), a thing which is *a priori* impossible in view of the conception of the *dharmakāya* as a metaphysical entity, essentially immaterial, inconceivable, and unmanifest. Similarly unlikely is the tacit admission regarding a lovely Dvāravati-style stone emblem of the *dharmacakra* with two deer and a small Sūrya figure, that it may sustain a pious tradition that Buddhism had been introduced into Thailand as early as the reign of Aśoka Maurya (p. 184, No. 1).

Also there are some rather awkward linguistic problems, inevitable perhaps for an area in which loan words from Sanskrit and Pāli have been mixed with Thai, which is structurally incompatible with them, being a monosyllabic and tonal tongue affiliated with South Chinese dialects. The authors have selected the more evocative Sanskrit spellings of some place names and discarded the more

familiar Thai phonetic ones. *Sawankalok* is now *Suvargaloka* and *Sukkótai* is *Sukhodaya*. But the authors are not consistent. *Korat* is not changed into *Nagara Rājasīm(h)a*, *Chaiyā* has not been transmuted into *Jayā*, and *Lopburī* remains *Lopburī* (fortunately a chart of place names has been provided which clarifies the matter). Also it is shown that a *stūpa* has a dome recalling in shape a *punnaghaṭa*—mixing Sanskrit and Pāli terms. None of this is serious in itself except as an indication of a generally loose control of the Indian and Singhalese elements in the study, whether aesthetic, doctrinal, or linguistic.

In its generous and ambitious scope, the handbook far exceeds the usual requirements of an exhibition catalogue, but it is not thorough enough to stand as a definitive art historical survey. Yet having revealed with clarity many of the major issues which remain to be solved before a new integral history of the arts of Thailand could be written, the handbook (together with the exhibition) is a giant step toward that goal. Until then, this book will remain a most useful source for scholars.

JOHN ROSENFELD

*Archaeology in China. Vol. 1: Prehistoric China.* By Cheng Te-k'un. Cambridge (W. Heffner and Sons Ltd.), 1959, xix+156 pp., maps, tables, 44 pls., list of characters, bibliography, and index (pp. 157-250).

It is close to 40 years now that archeological fieldwork has been going on in China, interrupted by the Japanese invasion, but vigorously resumed under the Communist Government. A summary of the discoveries made during those four decades is highly welcome. As planned, Dr. Cheng's presentation will comprise several volumes, the first of which deals with the prehistoric remains—from the Lower Paleolithic to late Neolithic



periods—encountered in the territories of present-day China.

As detailed accounts of the excavated sites obviously cannot be given, the author decided to discuss, period by period, "some of the outstanding results," arranging his material in the order of its geographic distribution and carefully describing the physiography and known stratigraphy of the respective sites or areas, with the intention to "show the numerous exchanges and diffusions which might have taken place within the Chinese boundaries" (p. xix). This limitation is defended by the consideration that "as long as plain archaeological facts are not properly established in their native contexts, any comparison with distant parallels tends to be far-fetched" (p. xix). In other words, the author's endeavor is to describe rather than interpret and theorize. In fact, he says that he does not wish to "jeopardize further research" by even mentioning speculative interpretations, as though speculation were a methodological danger rather than a necessity. For without theory, the facts remain meaningless.

The first chapter, *Geological foundation* (pp. 1–13), which is closely modeled on Teilhard de Chardin's *Early man in China* (1941), departs from its source by allowing, in accordance with H. L. Movius, Jr., an interval for the Middle Pleistocene (the *Sinanthropus* stage) and equating the Villafranchian formation with the Lower Pleistocene rather than the Upper Pliocene, so that that formation corresponds with the First Glacial and Interglacial phases of the Himalayan sequence. The text is written with clarity, and misspellings are few: Chuan-hsüeh (p. 1) should read Chuan-hsü; aeorial (p. 4) should read aerial; for Yushê Beds (p. 5) read Yüshê Beds; for palaeartic (pp. 7, 9), palearctic; for Dicero-hines (p. 7), Dicerorhines.

*Chapter Two* deals with the fossils and artifacts of the Paleolithic. It seems certain

now that in South China of the Middle Pleistocene period (about 500,000 years ago) there existed—side by side with the giant anthropoid known as *Gigantopithecus*—a hominid related to Peking Man designated *Sinanthropus officinalis*, whose lithic industry remains to be discovered (pp. 14–16). The finds from the Chou-k'ou-tien sites of *Sinanthropus pekinensis* are described in some detail and in agreement with older sources. The lithic specimens illustrated are mostly well-known pieces from Localities 13, 1, and 15. A slightly more advanced phase of the industry is likely to be represented by the material from Localities 3 and 4, which is still unpublished, however. *Sinanthropus*, though having mongoloid features, "has not been identified as the direct ancestor of the mongoloid race," Cheng states (p. 19). Another Middle Pleistocene site discovered in the *terra rossa* of preloessic age along the Fen River (Shansi) in 1954 is Ting-ts'un. Together with stone implements of Lower Paleolithic character, comparable to those from the Chou-k'ou-tien Localities 1 (upper zone) and 15, Ting-ts'un yielded three human teeth which apparently represent a slightly younger type than *Sinanthropus*, a type that may stand midway between the latter and Ordos Man of the Middle Paleolithic stage (pp. 24–29).—The only Middle Paleolithic station discussed is Shui-tung-kou (Ordos), discovered by E. Licent and Teilhard de Chardin in 1923.—Of Upper Paleolithic stations in North China, two long-known and well-studied assemblages are mentioned: Sjava-osso-gol (Ordos) and the Upper Cave at Chou-k'ou-tien (pp. 32–37). The South is represented with two more recently found instances of *Homo sapiens*, i.e., a skull from Tzu-yang (Szechwan) which is considered older than the *Homo sapiens* of the Upper Cave, and a skull fragment from Lai-pin (Kwangsi) of possibly Upper Paleolithic date (p. 37).

The third chapter, entitled *The Mesolithic age*, is based on the reports on Shabarakh and other Gobi sites (Mongolia, Sinkiang), Djalai-nor (Heilungkiang), and Kuhsiang-t'un (near Harbin, Kirin Province), all of which are characterized by the presence of microlithic industries, except that at Djalai-nor there were found, associated with a Late Pleistocene fauna, stone tools of Neolithic cast besides the microliths, which is a puzzling fact (p. 43). A brief note records a faunistic parallel to the Upper Cave observed at Chouchia-yu-fang (Kirin), a recently investigated but not yet fully published site which yielded "Palaeolithic-looking" implements and human skeletal remains. For Szechwan, the author can rely on his own earlier studies; the basic aspect is that of a surviving Paleolithic chopping-tool tradition (p. 47f.). A probably contemporary pebble industry found by P'ei Wen-chung in Kwangsi shows close resemblances to the Hoabinhian and Bacsonian of Indo-China (pp. 48-50). The clear division between the Steppe and Desert north and the wooded south goes back, Cheng assumes, to the early Holocene some 25,000 years ago (p. 51). *Oschotonoides* (p. 45) should read *Ochotonoides*.

*The Gobi culture* is further discussed in a short chapter (pp. 52-59) devoted to its Neolithic aspect. Since virtually all the Gobi finds are surface finds and stratified series are missing, the dates, about 5000 to 1500 B.C., are suggested with the similarity of the material in Okladnikov's Baikal sequence in view. It should be borne in mind, however, that the final Neolithic in the Baikal area (Kitoi) is assumed to have ended around 2000 B.C., and that the following aeneolithic phase (Glazkovo) began soon afterward, about 1700 B.C. (Cf. Henry N. Michael, *The Neolithic age in eastern Siberia*, Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc., vol. 48, pt. 2, 1958, p. 33.) Sinkiang, the western extension of the Gobi and culturally

related to it (microlithic sites), remains an archeological puzzle (pp. 60-63).

The Neolithic of China proper is treated in the remaining chapters, of which chapters 6 to 9 are given to the Huang-ho basin, chapters 10 and 11 to the Yangtse and South China, while the 12th and last concerns Manchuria.

What Andersson termed the "Neolithic hiatus," that is, the absence of early Neolithic stations, is still valid today. "So far there is hardly any site that can be definitely recognized as early Neolithic in date," Cheng admits (p. 68), naming Tou-chi-t'ai (Pao-chi-hsien, Shensi) as the only site that yielded a more primitive pottery than the painted pottery of the later Neolithic. Sixteen pre-ceramic sites with microliths and chipped-flake tools in eastern Shensi representing what is usually referred to as the "Sha-yüan culture"—a name which is not introduced in the book—may go back to a late Mesolithic phase rather than early Neolithic (cf. pp. 68-69). Yet, chipped tools do continue to be made by the Neolithic villagers, as at T'ai-p'ing-kou, near Lan-chou (Kansu) (p. 69).

From the point of view of universal history the late Neolithic cultures known as Yang-shao, Lung-shan, and Hsiao-t'un are of surpassing interest. The mere existence (and sequence) of the red and painted, black, and gray wares named after those type-sites forms so compelling a parallel with Neolithic western Asia and Europe that it seems almost arbitrary to omit its discussion. Another question that may trouble the reader's mind is whether the entire late Neolithic complex of northern China does not basically represent one culture rather than three cultures; it seems to this reviewer that the sharp distinctions made by Dr. Cheng on the basis of different potteries may as well be explained as technical, regional, and evolutionary variations. In fact, the apparently most primitive



ceramic assemblage known (Tou-chi-t'ai, mentioned above) already combines red, gray, and black wares, so that a division of subsequent "cultures" in accordance with potting techniques and the colors of pottery has no basis in any primordial diversity. A shift from red to black and gray and a change of shapes that went with it may not indicate the dominant position of particular cultures or groups but evolutionary trends in the whole domain of North China, local differentiations notwithstanding.

What may be the only major misapprehension in Cheng's Yang-shao chapter (pp. 73-86) is the evaluation of the Hou-kang site (near Anyang, N. Honan) as "early Yang-shao" (p. 74), which, of course, strongly affects the judgment of the painted pottery development at large. Compared with Kansu in its flourishing phase, Hou-kang represents a decline, as do other find-spots in northern Honan. The excavator of the Hou-kang himself, Liang Ssu-yung, had recognized in the end that he was in error when placing that Yang-shao level relatively early (cf. *Liang Ssu-yung k'ao-ku lun-wen-chi*. Archaeological Monograph, Ser. A, No. 5, Peking, 1959, p. 97). The early date of Hou-kang is nothing but a sensational theory, to use Cheng's phrase applied to the theories about Western connections of the painted pottery (p. 82f.), and his assumptions on early and middle Yang-shao remain accordingly insecure. This is apparent also from the observation that "The position of the Ma-ch'ang group in the Kansu sequence has yet to be determined, because, stratigraphically, Andersson's Yang-shao is not followed by Ma-ch'ang, but by Hsin-tien" (p. 84), whereas Andersson had "ventured" to place Ma-ch'ang after Yang-shao (i.e., Kansu Yang-shao) on typological and stylistic grounds. True, Andersson did find that Hsin-tien was overlying Yang-shao, but this stratigraphic circumstance only means

that Hsin-tien is later than Yang-shao and not that Hsin-tien follows upon Yang-shao. Regarding the stylistic sequence, the stratigraphic fact remains quite fortuitous, while the stylistic connection between Yang-shao (Pan-shan) and Ma-ch'ang is undeniable; and, in the meantime, a stage which is later than Yang-shao but precedes Hsin-tien has been established by An Chih-min, namely, T'ang-wang (cf. *K'ao-ku hsüeh-pao*, vol. 16, 1957/2, p. 23ff.; *K'ao-ku t'ung-hsün*, 1956/6, p. 9ff.).

Something of a chronological paradox obtains also in the case of the Lung-shan sequence, described in *Chapter Eight*. Occupied with facts, the author presents another small monograph on the most important sites without considering the possibility of a dependence of the typical Black Pottery on Yang-shao, or of a transition, as contemplated by such scholars as S. Mizuno and Takeshi Sekino; there is no clear statement of the relationship between the Shantung wares and the black wares of Yang-shao in southern Kansu, western Honan, Shansi, or Szechwan, which *may* antedate most of the Shantung products. The result is that "early Lung-shan," represented by Liang-ch'eng (Shantung), shows the "black ware industry fully mature," and that "the site of a proto-Lung-shan stage has yet to be discovered" (p. 94). The absolute date of "early Lung-shan" is not discussed, but Liang-ch'eng begins about 3000 B.C. in Cheng's Table III (after p. 162), so that the hoped-for proto-Lung-shan site would have to go back to the fourth millennium B.C. It is doubtful whether such a site showing a primitive Lung-shan "in its pure form" (p. 94) will ever be found, because it presupposes the existence of a separate black-pottery culture uncontaminated by, and older than, the painted-pottery culture, something that may not have existed at all. In all probability the expected proto-Lung-shan was there in North China, but it

went unrecognized because it did not correspond with the surmise of a primordial black-pottery culture as a discrete and readily identifiable entity. The following statement in the English summary of a report on excavations in western Honan (*Miao-ti-kou yü San-li-ch'iao*, Archaeological Monograph, Ser. D, No. 9, Peking, 1959, p. 128) may be quoted here:

Of particular significance was the discovery of Miao Ti Kou II which solved much of the riddle concerning the inter-relationship between the Yangshao and Lungshan cultures. As was shown above, while inheriting many elements of the Yangshao culture, Miao Ti Kou II also heralded the rise of the typical Lungshan culture of Honan. Indeed, its very existence as a transitional stage between the two proves that there was an intimate connection between the Yangshao and Lungshan cultures of Honan, Shensi and Shansi, thereby shattering the old theory that the two had originated from entirely different sources.

It would appear, therefore, that the more romantic but unverifiable hypothesis underlying the author's presentation of the Lungshan sequence may have to be abandoned.

The third Neolithic culture, Hsiao-t'un, is described in *Chapter Nine* (pp. 96-110). Named after one of the Shang sites near Anyang, Hsiao-t'un is taken to represent the "gray pottery culture" of the "gray pottery people" (pp. 102-103), which as "the strongest of them all" in the end succeeded in "absorbing the other two cultures" (p. 110). Yet, the Neolithic evidence described in terms of a culture and a people actually consists of ceramics and ceramic techniques ("pad and beater") so intricately tied to the painted and black wares that their blunt equation with a particular people and a particular culture seems rather daring. Emphasizing such evidence as might support the distinctness of a Hsiao-t'un cultural tradition, Cheng points to sites "which yield an upper level of Hsiao-t'un, and then a lower one of Yangshao,"

as in the case of San-li-tien (Hsin-yang, N. Honan; p. 104), as though it was a clear instance of Hsiao-t'un being independent from Lungshan. But the report on that excavation of 1953 as given in *K'ao-ku hsüeh-pao* (vol. 23, 1959/1, pp. 1-12) makes it plain that the Lungshan element was present in such a way that it could not even be isolated: at Peich'iu, the upper level was considered as either early Shang or late Lungshan, while the lower level was attributed to either late Yangshao or early Lungshan (*loc. cit.*, p. 12). The author's understandable concern with Hsiao-t'un is, of course, due to the fact that it was the setting of the Shang Bronze Age culture. In Cheng's chronological Table III, Hsiao-t'un (II) appears about 2250 B.C.

As concerns Ch'i-chia, which may justly be termed a "Kansu Lungshan" and where in fact some black sherds were encountered beside the characteristic brownish and yellowish wares, conditions were even more complicated than appears from Cheng's account (pp. 106-108); An Chih-min has published a number of amphoras with painted decoration which form a closer link to the earlier Kansu tradition than did the sparse painted designs known from Andersson's finds (cf. *K'ao-ku t'ung-hsün*, 1956/, pp. 9-19). South of the Yellow River the more recently identified Ch'ing-lien-kang culture (Kiangsu) whose red, blackish, and gray potteries were strongly dependent on Lungshan and Hsiao-t'un, dominated the scene from about 1500 B.C. (pp. 108-110).

The late Neolithic assemblages farther to the south are treated in chapters 10 and 11 which cover the Yangtse basin (pp. 111-126) and South China (pp. 127-134), respectively. On the whole it can be said that the South was dependent on, and in time was following upon, the North. Such type-sites as Hu-shu (Kiangsu, near Nanking), Liang-chu (Che-



kiang), and Ch'ing-chiang (Kiangsi) show an inventory in which Lung-shan features are either dominant, as at Liang-chu, or combined with Hsiao-t'un elements, though a sandy red ware takes the place of the gray one at Hu-shu or "culture of the Yangtse Mound-Dweller," while the Kiangsi station exhibits, in addition to wares of Lung-shan derivation, what was to become the most characteristic trait of the entire South, namely, pottery with stamped designs. A very rich site investigated in Hupei Province is Shih-chia-ho, where there occurs not only a fine, thin, wheel-made black or gray ware of Lung-shan type, but also painted ware of fine red paste, which agrees with the Yang-shao. The Upper Yangtse (Szechwan) area (pp. 119-126), which is treated in a subchapter distinguished by a deeper grasp and less repetitive description of the material, again displays the range of Yang-shao, Lung-shan, and Hsiao-t'un ceramic types, "all of which seem to have entered . . . at the same time" apparently "directly from the loess highland as well as indirectly through the Lower Yangtse" (p. 125). The stone industry of this area, descended from the Old Stone Age chopping tools, appears to have retained some primitive techniques throughout the Neolithic phase, and most of the 75 discernible types have parallels in other parts of eastern Asia.

The Neolithic culture along the southern seacoast was indebted to that of the Yangtse Mound-Dwellers; it lasted into the historical period (p. 128f.). Taiwan seems to have been colonized by the seafaring people of ancient Fukien (pp. 130-132), perhaps no earlier than around 2000 B.C.

The final *Chapter Twelve* is an outline of the Neolithic Age in Manchuria, again in the form of a compilation of the essential points in the existing reports or monographs on the most representative sites (pp. 135-156). The dates indicated for Ang-ang-hsi (near Tsitsi-

har), 5000-4000 B.C., and Lin-hsi (N. Jehol), 4000-3000 B.C., do not seem unduly early. Hung-shan-hou and Sha-kuo-t'un are placed between 2500 and 1500 B.C. In addition to these long-known and often-discussed sites, Cheng mentions Shih-pei-leng (near Ch'ang-ch'un, Kirin), where Mizuno and Komai noted remains of a Neolithic culture with a microlithic industry, some polished stone implements, and—that far north—sherds of a fine red ware painted in Yang-shao fashion. A survey of post-Neolithic sites explored by Japanese archeologists chiefly in the Liao-tung Peninsula, published in the monographs of the Tōa Kōko-gakkai, follows. In sum it appears that Manchuria differs from northern China only by the stronger position of the Gobi culture, especially in the western and northern parts, while the Yang-shao, Lung-shan, and Hsiao-t'un are generally present.

The objects chosen for illustration show little of recently excavated things. Most of them are well-known published objects, including museum pieces such as the white *lei* jar of the Freer Gallery of Art (which is a Bronze Age piece), that may have been selected only because of the availability of good photographs.

While it may be necessary to reappraise some of the basic aspects of the Chinese Neolithic as viewed by the author, his *Prehistoric China* does serve excellently and dependably as a guide to the rich and fascinating archeological material published by the mid-fifties, contributing as well to a reformulation of the problems arising from that material.

MAX LOEHR

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*Archaeology in China. Vol. 2, Shang China.*

By Cheng Te-k'un. Cambridge (W. Heffer and Sons Ltd.), 1961. 368 pp., 53 figs., 66 pls. in text, 4 maps, 7 tables. £4 4s.

The advance in the overall knowledge of Shang China as evinced by this first major recapitulation in some 25 years is indeed impressive. Archeological and scientific studies have been greatly accelerated in China in recent years and Cheng Te-k'un's incorporation in his book of much of this material, so persistently difficult to obtain, is especially welcome at this time.

Beginning with a short introduction on the few references to the founding and history of the Shang dynasty in traditional texts, the author proceeds systematically to report on the significant aspects of this first historic dynasty in China as revealed through the archeological record. In the first five chapters he deals with the excavation and stratigraphy of Shang sites, the burials, architectural and faunistic remains. The localities at Anyang and Cheng-chou are particularly emphasized in this context owing to the relatively clearer and fuller stratigraphic evidence they present. It should be noted, however, that these two areas represent only 37 Shang sites from a total of 128 reported by 1959, and that the evidence afforded thus far by Anyang and Cheng-chou should be considered tentative in the context of the broad geographical distribution of Shang culture, particularly as regards the earlier phases still but poorly represented.

Following this detailed introduction to Shang archeology, the author deals more fully with various aspects of Shang material culture. Separate chapters are devoted to discussions of lithic industry, jade carving, shell and bone industries, ceramics, and bronzes. The book concludes with a section on writing (which the author believes for unspecified reasons to have been invented by the Shang people, p. xix; cf. p. 191 for a different view) and three chapters broadly surveying our understanding of Shang society, culture, and art, as these aspects have been gradually illumined

through archeological research. A list of Chinese characters used in the text and an excellent index add to the utility of this volume.

Unlike the specialized study, the survey cannot deal extensively with controversial or ambiguous details. But at the present stage of our investigation of Shang China it is important, even at the risk of encumbering the general reader, to distinguish clearly the tentative and conjectural from the conclusive. For the most part, the author has wisely avoided unprofitable involvement in the many controversial interpretations of Shang remains, but he has not perhaps as often as he should marked the real ambiguity which still surrounds much of the reconstruction of the Shang culture.

No reason is given for rejecting the widely accepted chronology formulated by Wang Kuo-wei and Bernhard Karlgren (Shang 1523-1028 B.C.; Anyang 1300-1028 B.C.) in favor of Tung Tso-pin's (Shang 1751-1111 B.C.; Anyang 1384-1111 B.C.). Objections might be, and have been, raised to both of these chronologies. Basic chronology is one of the most fascinating and contested aspects of Shang archeology and some fuller discussion of the broad aspects of this problem might profitably have been included, if only to emphasize how tentative our knowledge in this sphere remains.

Cheng Te-k'un has perhaps been too uncritical of his sources, and too selective in his choice of interpretive studies. In the section on the bronze industry Cheng carefully describes the characteristic Shang vessel types and distinguishes in a general way the later Anyang types from the typologically earlier Cheng-chou forms. But he implies (p. 157ff.) that because we find at Cheng-chou bronzes less advanced technically and stylistically than those from Anyang lying above a stratum devoid of any evidence of a metal-working tradition, we are obliged to consider that the



Cheng-chou vessels bring us close to the origins of bronze manufacture in China. Here he is too eagerly anticipating the solution to a quest which has occupied many scholars. He introduces comparatively little material from the numerous studies devoted to establishing a typology of the Anyang bronzes and, apart from distinguishing early from late forms (pp. 35, 166), tends to consider the Anyang bronzes as a homogeneous, fully evolved assemblage. Max Loehr's important study of the Anyang bronzes, *The bronze styles of the Anyang period*,<sup>1</sup> (omitted, incidentally, from Cheng's bibliography) makes it quite clear that the most archaic Cheng-chou bronzes could be separated, technically and stylistically, from the most primitive Anyang shapes (Loehr's Anyang I) by no significant span of time. There must still be a long period of time between the cultural levels at Cheng-chou with no metal and those which produced bronze vessels only somewhat cruder than the archaic Anyang types, a long period of experiment and development yet to be revealed. Evidence is not yet sufficient to discard categorically (as Cheng does, p. 161) the theory that knowledge of bronze casting entered China from outside.

Space limitations permit mention of only a few other items:

The characteristic Shang "bow-shaped" bronze which has been assigned to many functions by various authors is not discussed by Cheng, but interest in it is aroused by the frequency of its listing and illustration (pp. 12, 13, 71, 168, 207, 208, pl. 37b). In all instances it is termed "*pang* bow-fitting," and page 207, figure 49, illustrates Shih Chang-ju's reconstruction of the Shang bow with a bronze of this type lashed to the inner side of the grip. Bishop White's sound objections

to this reconstruction are certainly valid.<sup>2</sup> That a three-pound bronze ornament on the grip of the bow, up to three inches or more in breadth at the point where it would be grasped, with relief ornamentation pressing into the palm under 150 pounds or more of pull, would seriously impair an archer's ability to aim, especially if he shot from a moving chariot, seems evident enough. There are as yet no reasons for assuming the object was intended for ceremony rather than service, nor that the tinkling produced by the jingles at either end when the bowstring was released was the determinant in their design; many have horse-head terminals. Years ago A. M. Tallgren noted the similarity between certain bronzes from Siberia and these Chinese "bow-shaped" bronzes, and his suggestion that they may have been fastened to the quiver has not been invalidated by subsequent excavations.<sup>3</sup> In this instance as well as others, notably in the representation of the Shang "animal style" as proceeding independently from naturalistic to complex composite forms (p. 237), Cheng Te-k'un has failed to note the possibility of intrusions from, or interactions with, regions beyond the Shang domains.

The photographs are quite uneven in quality and the crowding of several objects onto a single plate is evidently an unfortunate manifestation of publishing economy.

The work as a whole suffers somewhat from an overly complex organization requiring frequent repetition of details in the various sections, but this is perhaps an inevitable failing in a work of this scope. The prodigious determination and devoted labor required to produce this comprehensive and broadly informative survey are consistently evident in

<sup>2</sup> William Charles White, *Bronze culture of ancient China*, Royal Ontario Museum, Museum Studies, No. 5, Toronto, 1956, p. 209.

<sup>3</sup> *Collection Tovostine des antiquités préhistoriques de Minoussinsk*. . . . Helsingfors, 1917, p. 52.

<sup>1</sup> Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America, vol. 3, 1953, pp. 42-53.

the compilation of a vast wealth of data relating to Shang China, and Cheng Te-k'un may confidently anticipate for his work its position as a handbook of Shang archeology for some time to come.

WILLIAM TROUSDALE

*Archaeology in China.* By William Watson. London (Max Parrish and Co., Ltd.), 1960. 32 pp., 146 halftone illus. 52s. 6d.

The photographs which constitute the *raison d'être* of this volume were exhibited at the University of London in November 1958, and subsequently at other cities in Britain. The exhibition, representing a pictorial survey of the most important archeological discoveries in China during the preceding decade, was sent to Britain by the Chinese Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries and sponsored by the Britain-China Friendship Association.

Prehistoric periods, Shang, Chou, and Han dynasties are represented and photographs of sites as well as of artifacts recovered are included. William Watson has written a short historical introduction and has provided detailed and succinctly informative notes to the photographs. A map locates the various sites represented in the pictures.

Only two points might be raised in criticism of this book: (1) It is difficult to understand the author's reason for citing Chinese books by translated titles, journals in romanization; the use of romanized titles throughout would have made these references in his notes more serviceable. (2) A selected bibliography of recent Chinese publications in archeology, particularly in relation to the sites illustrated in the book, would have added to its general usefulness.

The photographs are incomparably better reproduced than those commonly available in publications from mainland China and a debt

of gratitude is owed to Mr. Watson for making this selection of photographs available to a wider public.

WILLIAM TROUSDALE

*Treasures of Asia: Chinese Painting.* By James Cahill. Editions d'Art, Albert Skira, World Publishing Co., Cleveland, 1960. 213 pp., 100 color reproductions. \$27.50.

The first impression on reading this book is that the virtues of scholarship and interpretation are so clearly apparent that it would seem nothing remains but to congratulate the author. In its sensitive understanding of the philosophy of the art, in its awareness of the problems of creation from the artist's point of view, this book is certainly one of the very best general accounts of Chinese painting that have appeared in any language. Having paid this tribute to a splendid piece of work, the reviewer would like to examine the book from certain structural and practical points of view that have a bearing on its utility as an introduction to one of the great fields of art. In other words, I propose not to indulge in the usual reviewer's pastime of questioning attributions or quibbling over translation or the characterization of styles; I would prefer to review this book as an art historian not attached to any field, and to examine the work from the point of view of its method and its use for instructing students in an unfamiliar field.

A glance at the illustrations reveals at once that the majority of the material has been chosen from the great Peking Palace collections preserved at Taichung, from Japanese holdings, and from occasional examples in the Western world. Nothing could be more timely than the appearance of this book during the circulation of the Taichung paintings in the United States. It is clear that the writer has wished to present samples of painting



which in the history of connoisseurship in the Far East should presumably be the real standards for our appreciation of Chinese painting. In some ways the presentation of this selection of masterpieces, especially works from the early periods in the Chinese loan collection and in the color plates in Dr. Cahill's book, could be thought of as opening the eyes of the Western world to the finest surviving examples of Chinese art, just as the appearance of the Elgin marbles in the 19th century completely altered the conception of the Greek ideal.

One virtue of the presentation of this wealth of new material is to sweep away what have come to be *a priori* concepts of Chinese paintings based on certain standard works by masters of the T'ang, Sung, and later periods published repeatedly over the years by earlier writers on this subject. This is a virtue, however, which, as will appear in later paragraphs, is not completely unqualified.

Everyone would certainly agree that the early phase of Western scholarship in Chinese painting, when so much was made of dubious replicas of the works of the great T'ang masters, corresponds to the time in the West when appreciation of the classical was based entirely on works of the Graeco-Roman period. Dr. Cahill is, of course, not the first to set things right in regard to the legendary prowess of the early masters, but it is certainly quite an accomplishment to write a book on Chinese painting, as he has, with only a few lines dedicated to Wu Tao-tzŭ and Wang Wei. When we think of the number of pages of windy incantations devoted by earlier writers to raising these powerful ghosts, Dr. Cahill's omission seems almost disrespectful to these shades. There is not even a mention of another classic master, Yen Li-pên, whose style is at least closely approximated in the scroll of the Thirteen Emperors in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Although the re-

viewer admires the writer's courage in laying these phantoms by his forthright declaration that no reliable copies after these masters exist, from the selfish pedagogical point of view it might have been desirable to include at least one attributed copy, perhaps one of the rubbings made after Wu Tao-tzŭ or Wang Wei, to indicate what the great repute of these pioneers was based on. But perhaps this would have been out of keeping with the general plan of the book, since it is apparent that the writer has chosen to illustrate only the most choice and aesthetically moving works of each period, so that, from this point of view, his inclusion of the Constellations scroll and the Portrait of Fu Sheng, attributed to Wang Wei, in the Osaka Municipal Museum give a more accurate impression of both the power and delicacy of T'ang painting than the indifferent copies of early works can provide. It would have to be admitted that, although Dr. Cahill's method is rather like writing a book on classical art without any reference to Roman copies, the result is very much like Reinhard Lullies' *Griechische Plastik*, which, limited entirely to Greek originals, presents a picture of the intrinsic subtlety and refinement of Hellenic craftsmanship totally absent in later mechanical replicas.

Just as students of Western art history are accustomed to think of certain standard works that determine the idea of a given master's style, the first serious scholars of Chinese painting like Oswald Sirén accumulated a basic corpus of paintings attributed to artists of all periods to form a foundation for mutations of style from one period or one artist to the next, attributions based on internal and external evidence. The student using Sirén's work or collections like Laurence Sickman's selections for the University Prints series and the same writer's list of pictures in his Pelican volume has become accustomed to a number of works accepted as standard for the styles

of artists like Ma Yüan, Mi Fu, Hui Tsung, etc.<sup>1</sup> Few if any of these paintings or traditional attributions are included in the present work. Although it is refreshing and interesting for the more advanced specialist in Chinese painting to find new faces in the roster, one wonders if these substitutions are as useful from the point of view of the typical style illustrated as the accepted old standbys. The Hui Tsung from the Crawford collection (p. 73), although undoubtedly a splendid example of the general court style of the 12th century, does not have the authority of drawing and magic realism that we associate with the more familiar examples in the Museum of Fine Arts and the Inouye collection.<sup>2</sup>

It is not the reviewer's intention to question Dr. Cahill's attributions, but in some instances the choice of examples of the artists' works does not seem entirely satisfactory; for example, the two paintings by Ma Yüan, reproduced on pages 82 and 83, seem rather slight and decorative in comparison with the great strength of the scroll in the Cincinnati Art Museum (Sickman, 103(B)) and the more famous "Scholar on a Cliff" in the Hakone Museum (Sirén, pl. 284). Although of course it can be argued that in writing on Chinese painting only monotony will result from repeating in illustrations the identical familiar works by well-known artists, there are cases like that of Ma Yüan, in which these great masterpieces present the totality of an artist's style better than lesser works, however new or interesting. It is a question of whether,

in writing of Giotto in an introduction to Italian painting, a writer bases his analysis on the famous cycle at Padua or illustrates an attributed work in an American museum.

I do not wish to make this review into a recital of the author's sins of omission, but there are certain gaps which in the strictly utilitarian sense detract from the value of the book as an introduction. No Buddhist paintings of the Six Dynasties period are included for the obvious reason that color photographs of the Tun-huang wall paintings are unobtainable. Probably the policy of the publisher in insisting on the use of specially made plates prevented the inclusion of existing Japanese color plates of the lost Horyuji cycle, which certainly give more of a suggestion of the splendor of T'ang religious painting than the provincial banners from Tun-huang.

Again, although many critics disbelieve in the existence of a single authentic Mi Fu, it would seem—and this may be a matter of personal taste—that the painting in the Nakamura collection (Cohn, pl. 56) is not only stronger than the Mi Yu-jên chosen to illustrate this style (p. 92), but more nearly approximates the manner described by the author on page 91. It seems unfortunate to represent Ch'ien Hsüan only by his archaistic figure and landscape paintings with no examples of his birds and flowers. Although Chao Mêng-fu is shown as a landscapist in the fine plate of "Autumn Colors" (p. 103), his more famous specialty of horses and other beasts is entirely omitted.

Throughout the years of their publication the volumes in the Skira series have achieved a reputation for accuracy of color reproduction that has made them invaluable aids for special research and arousing interest in students. Unfortunately, a number of plates in the present volume are far below this standard. This is particularly true of the paintings reproduced as a whole rather than in detail.

<sup>1</sup> Osvald Sirén, *Chinese painting*, 7 vols., New York, 1956; Laurence Sickman, *Oriental art, II, Chinese art*, University Prints, Newton, Mass., 1938; Laurence Sickman and Alexander C. Soper, *The art and architecture of China*, Pelican History of Art, London and Harmondsworth, 1956. Among many other such lists might be mentioned William Cohn's *Chinese painting*, Phaidon, London, 1948.

<sup>2</sup> Sirén, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, pls. 237, 239.



The tiny reproduction (p. 21) of "Palace Ladies Preparing Silk" in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, comes out as an intense orange frieze with blurred areas of overly intense color. In a similar way the intensity of the background color in Ku K'ai-chih's "Admonitions" scroll (p. 14) completely cancels out the delicate rose and ochre shades of the figures themselves. In the illustration of details many of the plates are magnificent; there is none of the distortion resulting from reduction in scale in details like those of the famous T'ang landscape of "Ming Huang's Journey into Shu" (pp. 28, 57); one is able to study intimately the transitions from color to color in reproduction close to the actual size of the original picture. In a similar way an 8-by-10 reproduction of an actual passage of this same size from a picture by Titian or Rubens will give a far more accurate idea of the master's handling than one in which the entire painting has been reproduced to one-tenth of its original size, with a consequent false telescoping of whole areas of variegated tones into a spot of a single dominant hue. Whereas in most publications this problem of loss of accuracy by reduction in the scale of objects might be solved by the simple expedient of using black-and-white reproductions of larger objects, in a Skira volume the author is unfortunately committed to all color plates. The only alternative would be to eliminate all complete views of large paintings and concentrate only on telling details.

The difference in effectiveness between the complete picture in color reproduction and in detail may be seen in the contrast between the great Fan K'uan "Travelling among Streams and Mountains" (p. 33), hardly more telling than a black-and-white print on orange paper, and the magnificent details (pp. 30, 31). Again, the copy after Han Kan (p. 71) is only a blurred yellow-orange miniature; the

large details of the anonymous 11th-century bird painting (p. 65) and the fragment of Pien Wên-chin (p. 120) are fresh and accurate. It must be said, however, of the present collection of plates that the reproductions of the works of the later periods, in which the colors are brighter and the condition better, are by far the most satisfactory in the book.

The references to Western, especially modern Western, art are not always entirely felicitous and appear to indicate on the writer's part a lack of understanding or mistrust of post-impressionist painting. When he speaks (p. 25) of "pre-modern Occidental art," it is difficult to know at once whether he refers to the period before the neoclassic and romantic movements or, more likely, the advanced trends of the 20th century. Probably one can attribute this rather unhappy phrase to the fatigue of writing under pressure. The comparison of Wang Yüan-ch'i and Cézanne (p. 167) is both sensitive and illuminating. The definition (p. 101) of Ch'ien Hsüan as "the primitive, a more delicate and sophisticated Chinese cousin of Henri Rousseau" is not quite so fair or accurate, because, whereas Rousseau was a naïve Sunday painter apart from professional tradition, Ch'ien Hsüan was an immensely skilled painter consciously working in an archaizing manner. As a text quite apart from the particular illustrations to which it has had to accommodate itself, Dr. Cahill's book is a splendid essay that can stand as a fine piece of writing and, better than any other, can make the Western reader feel the real essence of Chinese painting, of which the writer has such complete command. In closing this review it is necessary to stress once more that my only serious complaint about the work is in the plates from the points of view of selection and quality.

BENJAMIN ROWLAND, JR.

*Einführung in die Kunst ostasiens.* By Dietrich Seckel. München, (R. Piper and Co. Verlag), 1960. 429 pp., 34 ill.

This book on the arts of the Far East is different in its approach from other recently published surveys in the field. It is a welcome variation. Thirty-four analyses of selected, mostly well-known works of art are used to illustrate the structure of Far Eastern culture. They represent ideas on the cosmos, the world of Buddha, man, animal and vegetation, objects, and landscape. In this approach each work is treated as a separate entity. The reader's attention is drawn to the uniqueness of each work, the more so since the historical setting is kept to a minimum. The procedure has a singular advantage in that the descriptions lead to insights which could otherwise be gained only through long contemplation and intimate acquaintance with the work itself. A less fortuitous result is that occasionally the artist is credited with greater achievement than a historical setting would allow and some of the well-known traditional themes of oriental art gain an undue original vitality. A comparison, for instance, between the Cormorant by Niten and Liang K'ai's Li T'ai-po and more detailed references between Kōrin and Kenzan would help to clarify the balance between tradition and individuality. The grouping of the essays indicates a continuity of theme and content. Certain views held by the author on iconography and Chinese thought bring additional unity to the discussions and relate the works against the background of religious and philosophical thought. A few and necessarily brief remarks may be made concerning some of these views. In discussing the Arhat attributed to Yen Hui (pp. 112-113) attention is drawn to the asymmetrical pose. The statement that such a "deviation from strict frontality" would be unthinkable in the representation of an "enthroned Bud-

dha" seems to require additional qualifications. Even if an exception is made for the standing Buddha (chapter 9, note 1) such representations as the Buddhas of the Five Planets<sup>1</sup> as early as A.D. 897, or the 13th-century representation of Tathagatha Preaching the Law,<sup>2</sup> among many others, show the Buddha from a three-quarter point of view. Admitting the validity of a conservative attitude in representing Buddha in a frontal pose, one will have to consider this problem in the light of all such representations. There is a changing emphasis in iconography from a single hieratic Buddha figure toward images of Buddha in a variety of manifestations and relationships to his entourage. One might question the validity of applying the law of frontality to the Amida of the Byōdōin where it is certainly different from the law of frontality as applied to the images in Yün-kang. In other words, it seems wrong to shift the principle of frontality from the realm of style to that of iconographical prerogatives. Another point may be raised about the ideas of polarity. This idea as a basic philosophical concept is, of course, well known in eastern thought. The problem of dealing with this in the field of representational art is very complex. The essay on Kuo Hsi's landscape may serve as an example of the difficulties of this question. The author observes that the "static balance" of the axial structure (horizontal and vertical) is permeated with the "dynamics of the movement of life"; the "firm, tangible and lucidly ordered parts are hovering in the fluidity of the atmosphere." This reciprocal permeation

<sup>1</sup> British Museum, London. For reproduction see Osvald Sirén, *Chinese painting*, Part 1, vol. 3, London, 1956, pl. 71.

<sup>2</sup> Imperial collection, Formosa. For reproduction see the catalogue of the Chinese exhibition, *Chinese Art Treasures*, A selected group of objects from the Chinese National Palace Museum and the Chinese National Central Museum, Washington, 1961.



of elements supposedly illustrates the principle of polarity (pp. 117-118). In this "all encompassing breath of life" (interpenetration of the solid and the void) lies, according to the author, the fundamental principle of Chinese esthetics: Ch'i-yün sheng-tung. To this reviewer at least it seems forced and artificial to apply a horizontal and vertical structure to this painting. Moreover, the treatment of the massive rocks and mountains is as fluid as that of the atmosphere. The philosophical idea of polarity is a basic substratum of Chinese thought, but it can certainly not be used to explain the specific forms that nature takes in a given painting. In an eighth-century landscape the linear forms of trees, clouds, and mountains have the same underlying idea of polarity as the 11th-century landscape. It is not the polarity that differs, but the artistic interpretation.

One may differ with these and some other points made by the author; nevertheless, this book presents a new and fresh approach in directing the growing interest in the arts of the Far East. One would wish that the distinguished essays were matched with equal quality in the illustrations.

HARRIE VANDERSTAPPEN

✓ *Buddhist Cave Paintings at Tun-huang.* By Basil Gray, with a preface by Arthur Waley. Photographs by J. B. Vincent. University of Chicago Press, 1959. 86 pp., 24 color pls., 61 halftone pls.

"This book is based upon the photographs taken by Mr. and Mrs. John B. Vincent in 1948. Mr. Vincent's colour films are the first to be used in the production of colour plates of the wall paintings at the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas in the Tun-huang oasis. Mrs. Vincent has described in her book, *The Sacred Oasis*, 1953, her adventurous journey to the caves and the ten days she was able to

spend there. Mr. Vincent was there for an even shorter time, but both deserve credit and gratitude for the work which they were able to accomplish in photographing the caves and especially the wall paintings." To Mr. Vincent's pictures have been added 2 color photos and 19 in black and white, taken by the Tun-huang Institute's photographer and selected by Mr. Gray when he visited Tun-huang in 1957.

When taking his shots, Mr. Vincent probably had no more facilities than his wife. Their lack of time very likely accounts for the uneven quality of the plates; some are quite diffuse, the worst one being reproduced from a photo given Mr. Gray by the Tun-huang Institute. And more disturbing are the discrepancies between the colors as they appear on the plates and their description in the "Notes." Other pictures, evidently taken under favorable conditions, are excellent. Yet, one must be grateful for any color reproductions of these remote paintings, and even slightly deceptive ones help to give an impression of their total coloristic effect.

I find it extremely hard to evaluate Mr. Gray's text. Some of his findings are very important, as the identification of scenes which sometimes bear on their date, or the appearance of Sassanian motifs at the end of the sixth century. Others presuppose a familiarity with problems that can only be assumed to be known by the handful of scholars especially interested in Tun-huang; others again are lamentably short and obscure a situation rather than clearing it. Thus the chapter on "History" is barely three and a half pages long; it is a mixture of all sorts of information, historical, iconographical, and geographical. Gray did not have the benefit of A. Soper's paper *Northern Liang and Northern Wei in Kansu, I* (*Artibus Asiae*, vol. 21/2, 1958), and cannot be blamed for the meager account of the early period of artistic activity

at Tun-huang. But even so, what Gray has to say in the chapter "Buddhist Painting in Central Asia and Its Influence at Tun-huang" is quite insufficient. In barely 15 lines only the sites around Turfan are mentioned: Chiqqan Kōl, Temple I; Toyuk; Bezeklik, Temple 8; to which could be added Subāshi. But the most important fact is not mentioned at all: namely, that the style of the paintings at these sites is practically identical with that of the wall paintings of Kyzil in the region of Kuchā; in the case of Chiqqan Kōl, Temple I, and of Kyzil ("Höhle der ringtragenden Tauben") the similarity is so strong that, as H. Rau had put it, "one could assume a provenance from one and the same cave" (O. Z., 1938, p. 149). This peculiar style has been called "Tocharian"—wrongly, as it turned out—"Indo-Sassanian," and "Kuchean."

Gray followed Rau in dating those paintings from around Turfan into the seventh century, and this is what I meant by obscuring the situation. Nothing could be more obvious than the close dependence of the earliest wall paintings at Tun-huang on Kuchean painting; in fact they blatantly overdo its characteristics. What is more, in figural representation they exaggerate the characteristics of the late phase of Kuchean paintings which had been called "Stil 2." There is no longer any controversy about the date of the earliest extant caves of Tun-huang, the fifth century; the controversy is only about how far down one should go in the fifth century. Since Tun-huang emulates Kuchā, and not vice versa, it follows that the date of those paintings in Kuchean style which served as models for Tun-huang must be pushed back by at least 200 years. This is of capital importance for it asks for a radical revision of chronology for Kuchean painting.

Here are two or three remarks that bear upon questions of style and iconography.

Some 30 years ago I pointed out that for

certain problems the Chinese at Tun-huang had refused to accept Kuchean solutions and had replaced them by their own, which they had worked out in preceding centuries, by the representation of edifices as three-dimensional objects and the construction of space cells. Kuchā knew only representation by plan and elevation. (It may be objected that the beams supporting the musicians' balconies running beneath the ceilings in Kyzil, e.g., in the Peacock Cave, were rendered as receding and thus tridimensional, as in the Caves 251 [p. 257] and 288 [P. 120/N] at Tun-huang; but this motif was clearly taken over from Gandhāra, without understanding and consequence.) By the fifth century China had developed an unmistakable style of her own in paintings, and it is most interesting to observe how she inserted one of her versions after another into the decorative schema of Kuchā which she had so readily adopted for Buddhist themata.

I do not know where Gray found the redaction of the Ruru Jātaka which he tells on page 38. In the Pali version it is not the King of Benares who is rescued by the Golden Deer from a pit of water, and there is no "instruction in the rules of living and government" of the rescued king by the deer. (Pretty ineffective, one must assume, for the next episode shows the king about to shoot the animal.) No, the tale runs like this: A young man had squandered his rich inheritance with women and gambling; he could not, or would not, face poverty, and decided to end his life by drowning. He threw himself into the Ganges; when in the water, he repented, cried for help, and was saved by the Golden Deer. He thanked the animal, drifted to Benares, and saw an announcement at the palace gate promising rich reward to him who could lead the king to the Golden Deer; for King Brahmadatta was a passionate hunter who was sick of constantly hearing rumors about the fabu-



lous deer and never finding it. The ungrateful young man served as guide, and the king was about to shoot when the deer reproached the scoundrel and told the astonished Brahma-datta the tale of rescue and ingratitude; he further saved the knave's life when the irate king wanted to kill him on the spot. It is easy to see that the picture fits this story (Cowell, *Jātaka* 482). I am not at all sure that the scene on plate 5 still belongs to the Ruru Jātaka.

In the same cave (257, Pl. 110) is a frieze of saintly figures whose thrones are mounted on various animals and hovering in the air above a range of mountains; only one is supported by a kind of Atlas kneeling on the ground (pl. 7). Gray identifies them as the Seven Buddhas of the Past. The illustration shows only five, another view (O. Sirén, *Chinese Painting*, vol. 3, Add. pl. 34/A) six such figures. Gray describes them as Śākyamuni on the right and the Seven Buddhas of the Past, but leaves the question open whether "the painter has put in Maitreya, the Future Buddha, rather than Śākyamuni, with Seven Buddhas, but he is not represented with legs pendant as Maitreya is normally represented."

This painting is very important for it depicts the six Dhyāni Buddhas, identifiable by their *vāhanas*. From right to left they are Amoghasiddhi whose *vāhana* is a dwarf, here represented as an able-bodied Atlas; Akṣobhya, on elephants; Ratnasambhava whose *vāhana* is the horse; Vairocana, lifted by lions; Vajrasattva whose animal *vāhana* I cannot make out; and the last one, shown only by Pelliot and Sirén, is Amitābha whose *vāhana* is clearly and correctly shown as a flock of geese. Here is proof that the group of Five Dhyāni Buddhas, plus Vajrasattva, originally an Adī Buddha who later became the leader of the Five, was known, worshiped and represented in the second half of the fifth century, some 400 years earlier than Pelliot thought.

Of later cave paintings the most consequential ones are those of cave 220, because they seem to be datable to the year A.D. 642. I say "seem" because there is still some doubt possible as to the authenticity of the date. As Gray tells it, in 1944 the tenth-century décor was removed to uncover an earlier one with two inscriptions dated to the year A.D. 642. It turned out that one of them was not original, and the other one "half-hidden and hard to discover." But Gray is right when he says that the style of the paintings supports the date so obviously that it can be accepted, as Sirén had done.

The next date, though only an approximate one, is furnished by the paintings in Cave 156 (P. 17/bis), and the inscription in the passage leading to it. The well-known processions there have been identified as those of Chang I-ch'ao and his wife, Lady Sung. Chang had come to power after the expulsion of the Tibetans in A.D. 851; and though the inscription identifying Lady Sung may be a later addition, it is quite safe to date the painting into the third quarter of the ninth century. Gray makes a good deal of their style being old-fashioned, which I cannot find at all. The several "Paradise" pictures in this cave are done in that rather awful style which started about the middle of the ninth century, and lasted to the end of the tenth century. Its most characteristic features are a mechanical and exaggerated rendering of plasticity in the fleshy parts of holy figures that cuts up their heads into sharply contrasting planes, and the introduction of wavy radiating flames and sagittal patterns into their halos. This style has been called "Uigur-Chinese," and its presence indicates an influence that exceeds the field of art. In fact, one can be sure that Chang had only succeeded in shaking off the Tibetan yoke after the Uigurs had engaged and defeated the Tibetans in Central Asia.

These remarks must not be taken as dis-

paragement; this would be unfair to the author who had to deal with material replete with problems. He has offered solutions to a good many of them, particularly to those of an iconographic nature. Pictures and text add handsomely to our knowledge of religious painting in China's westernmost province during the second half of the first millennium A.D. No one interested in this topic, or the larger one of Chinese painting, can do without it. It is regrettable that the price of the book is shockingly high.

LUDWIG BACHHOFFER

*Descriptive Catalogue. Chinese Sculptures in the von der Heydt Collection.* By Osvald Sirén. German and English. Museum Rietberg, Zürich, 1959. 189 pp., 66 pls.

This is the third time that the Chinese sculptures of the von der Heydt collection have been published. *Bildwerke Ost-und Südasiens*, by Karl With, Basel, 1924, and *Asiatische Plastik*, by William Cohn, Berlin, 1932, dealt, as the titles indicate, with a much wider range; this catalogue discusses only Chinese works, and only 66 of them. Some 26 pieces had already been illustrated and commented upon by With and Cohn; this leaves some 40 sculptures which have been bought in the thirties and later.

Among them are a few very remarkable works that would be the pride of any museum: the Maitreya (pl. 11), a most delightful piece with its perfect assurance of brittle beauty and exquisite manners; the seated Bodhisattva from Cave xvii of T'ien-lung Shan; the *kang* (pl. 5), and the blind door (pl. 7). To these works must be added some from old stock: the two magnificent *dvarapālas*, now tentatively ascribed to Pei Hsiang-t'ang; the enormous head of a Buddha, probably from Lung-mēn; the Maitreya, a genuine work of the early eighth century, slightly discredited

by a forged inscription dated to A.D. 581; the cast-iron bust of a *dvarapāla*. There are a number of sculptures that had been retouched to make them pretty; the stone most ruthlessly worked over is the stele of the Yen family, dated A.D. 557. There is even a modern fake included which Sirén had the courage (with the museum's permission) to publish (pl. 44); the statue is deposited in the Museum of Science in Buffalo. This is, however, by no means the only specimen of its kind, though in those other cases the author is not so outspoken in his verdicts.

LUDWIG BACHHOFFER

*Chinese Pictorial Art as Viewed by the Connoisseur.* Notes on the means and method of pictorial art, based on a study of mounting scrolls in China and Japan. By R. H. van Gulik. Serie Orientale Roma, col. xix. Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente. Roma, 1958. xxxvii+537 pp., 160 illustrations and 42 actual samples of Chinese and Japanese paper in pocket. Limited edition of 950 copies.

Dr. van Gulik is a Dutchman in his country's foreign service with a varied career in Tokyo, Chungking, and Nanking, in East Africa, Egypt, India, the United States, and Lebanon. His lively interest in things Chinese is responsible for a long list of books, their subjects ranging from jurisdiction to erotic color prints. While in China he collected paintings and books dealing with all aspects of this art; he talked long and seriously with native collectors and dealers, and did so in Japan. Above all, he talked with, and visited the workshops of, the men who mount the fragile pictures. He sums up his experiences: "The author arrived at the conclusion that the art of mounting is the gate to Chinese connoisseurship."

The connoisseur in the West has been suc-



cinctly described by Panofsky: "The connoisseur is the collector, museum curator or expert who deliberately limits his contribution to scholarship to identifying works of art with respect to date, provenance and authorship, and to evaluating them with respect to quality and condition." This definition of man and task seems to fit also the Chinese connoisseur, with the difference that he has to contend with greater possibilities of deception. It lies in the nature of a Chinese scroll that such deception cannot be perpetrated without the collaboration of the mounter; hence van Gulick's proposition. The author describes the craft of the mounter with painstaking thoroughness; what saves this enormously long and detailed account from utter boredom are the numerous interruptions of the tedious technical report. They are, in fact, the most instructive part of the book, especially those that deal with old and new copies and the attitude of the Chinese collector toward them; with forged paintings, forged "subscriptions," forged colophons, forged seals, and the possible combinations of one or two such genuine items with faked ones. All these discussions are based on personal experience and supported by long excerpts from pertinent Chinese literature, in translation and the original text in footnotes. They make the book a veritable mine of information.

LUDWIG BACHHOFFER

*The Westerners among the Figurines of the T'ang Dynasty of China.* By Jane Gaston-Mahler. Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, Serie Orientale Roma XX, 1959. xvi+204 pp., frontispiece and insert, 42 pls., 4 maps, 14 text figs.

In the introduction the author states:

In writing this study of the T'ang dynasty figurines of "Westerners" or "Hu (胡) Barbarians" it has been my aim to recreate a picture of secular

life of that period as it was influenced by China's Western neighbors.

Aside from written accounts, I have turned to the art treasures of those remote days which have been unearthed by archaeologists and explorers.

Not only has it been my hope to present this material on identification, I have tried to suggest, as well, a systematic history of costume as related to the figurines, based on all that we know of the life of those times, and on archaeological data. This may enable us to establish a chronology for the figurines and for other sculpture and undated painting.

By and large the author has accomplished her mission, in a way, even more.

The book consists of three chapters, five appendices, bibliography, a list of Chinese characters used, a list of collections visited in the course of study, a classification of the types of figurines considered in the study, a classification of the figurines by occupation, a general index, and finally a section of some ten pages of description of the figurines represented in the plates.

Following the table of contents there is a table in which the Western Barbarians are classified according to their linguistic and racial affinity.

A few comments on this table are in order. In the first place it is useful for the general reader whose familiarity with the people and languages of Inner Asia is not to be assumed. Second, it is in general accord with current views; for example, the Chionites-Hephthalites are classified as Iranian rather than Turko-Mongol. Altaic, a linguistic term, is used as an ethnic designation, but this is explained in a note, as are some of the other ethnic terms.

The work is an outgrowth of a doctoral dissertation which the reviewer had the opportunity to examine some time ago. The "bones" of the dissertation still show through. It is the reviewer's impression that had the author been able to revise the longish first chapter on China and the Western Barbarians (pp.

3-105), which includes long quotations compiled from translations of the Chinese sources, a smoother, and for the purpose of the study, as useful a narrative would result.

The author attempted to collect material pertinent to Chinese knowledge of the Western Barbarians and the countries from which they came. This compilation, probably useful for the general reader, constitutes the first chapter. When dealing with matters concerning China and Inner Asia prior to the tenth century of our era, there is the ever present problem of how much background is to be assumed. The transliteration of the Chinese is Wade-Giles, but there are some inconsistencies, e.g., "Che" or "Shih" for Tashkent (p. 68). Moreover, Thaugast is a rendition of Tabγač, the Old Turkish form corresponding to T'o-pa and does not mean "Great Wei" (cf. V. Thomsen, *Inscriptions de l'Orkhon déchiffrées*, pp. 99 [IE7], 139, note 8).

Chapters II and III on costume and technical aspects of the figurines are excellent, surely as useful and concise a treatment as is available. Appendix V is on the "Hu-hsüan" dance, properly the Hu hsüan-dance, since the expression 胡旋舞 means the "whirl-dance of the Hu." It is rendered properly in the reference to Ishida, page 147, note 1.

The description of the plates includes a discussion of the ethnic types represented by the figurines. This is a particularly useful feature of the study. It is unfortunate that more of Professor Mahler's excellent color photographs were not included. I miss the pretty figurine of a Tokharian lady to which Professor Mahler referred as "the Irish beauty."

The bibliography precedes the general index which is followed by a list of figurine types with line illustrations, and finally the plates with the accompanying descriptions. The bibliography is extensive and useful. The transliterations of Russian titles are not consistent

and are marred by some misprints. The title of the Jakubovsky and Djakonov work should read "Zhivopis Drevnego Pjandzhikenta," not "Zivopas Dravnego Pjandzhikenta" (p. 151). The same error appears on page 153 where the title is repeated under Z. This is a minor matter.

The first map is a Mercator projection of Asia covering the territory from the northern shore of Lake Baikal south through Sumatra. The map contains the itineraries of Hsüan-tsang and I-ching. The second map indicates the principal trade routes from the Kansu corridor to Bactria and Sogdiana. The third map indicates the principal water courses from the Oxus to the Indus. The fourth map is a plan of Ch'ang-an.

The work is a welcome contribution, useful for the specialist, indispensable for the student.

WILLIAM SAMOLIN

*Illustrated Catalogue of Ch'ing Enamelled Wares in the Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art.* By Lady David (Sheila David). Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, Section 2. London, 1958. xiv + 40 pp., 16 pls. and frontispiece.

This is the second section of the catalogue of Chinese ceramic wares in the Percival David Collection. Since the publication of the first section its readers have been awaiting with interest the appearance of the succeeding volume. Their anticipation has indeed been rewarded most satisfactorily.

The first section of the catalogue was devoted to Tung, Ju, Kuan, and Chün wares of the Sung and later periods and to related types of Kuang-tung and glazed I-hsing. The present section is concerned with enameled wares of the Ch'ing dynasty and deals particularly with the so-called *Ku Yüeh Hsüan*



porcelain and glass and specimens of *famille verte* and *famille rose*. Superb in quality and craftsmanship, they represent the wares made to the order of the Ch'ing Emperors, K'ang-hsi, Yung-cheng, and Ch'ien-lung.

Like the wares of the Sung, Yüan, and Ming dynasties, the Ch'ing enameled porcelains in the Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art were acquired with great care and perception. Sir Percival David always kept in view their intrinsic value as a basic source for research in the field of Chinese ceramics. Thus, the visitor to the Foundation is gratified, as this reviewer was on the occasion of her visit, to find the types of Chinese wares which are rare in other collections of the Western world.

In forming this portion of his collection, Sir Percival David left out deliberately the more familiar large specimens elaborately decorated in *famille verte*, *famille jaune*, or *famille noire* enamels, in favor of the lesser known and most instructive "small objects of a delicate and refined type." The most interesting among these are 31 pieces of the rare *Ku Yüeh Hsüan* porcelain and glass, the largest single collection of the type existing in the West. The remaining portion is represented by the finest examples of the ware enameled chiefly in *famille verte* and *famille rose* colors.

In the introduction to the catalogue Lady David gives brief but adequate information about these enameled wares. She rightly emphasizes the importance of the relatively rare *Ku Yüeh* porcelain, the most sophisticated class which was inspired by influences of enameled metal works of the West and which shows a pleasing harmony of the Chinese and European esthetic tastes and technical skills. This interesting ware has been discussed by Lady David in her article, "*Ku Yüeh Hsüan*—A new Hypothesis," *Oriental Art*, Vol. 2 (1949), No. 3. In the catalogue reviewed here, she informs us that this so-called *Ku Yüeh Hsüan* ware has been described by the

Chinese as the "porcelain painted in *fa-lang* enamels." Since *fa-lang* means France or Europe, "the phrase therefore refers to porcelain decorated in a 'Western' style and in 'Western' enamels" (p. x). She concludes her discussion of the ware by stating that its study is by no means complete and needs further investigation (p. xiii).

The introduction is followed by a selected bibliography, a well-documented catalogue of the objects, and plates.

Described in the catalogue are 143 specimens of which 124 are illustrated. The reproductions are small in size but remarkably clear. The only flaw is in their captions which are not sharp. But this is not the fault of the author.

The second section of the catalogue of the Percival David Collection is, like the first, also prepared by Lady David, a valuable contribution in the field of Chinese ceramics. The profound knowledge of the author, evident in her presentation of the subject, makes this volume a useful handbook for the scholar and collector, and the students as well.

KAMER AGA-OGU

*Games of the Orient: Korea, China, Japan.*  
By Stewart Culin. Rutland, Vermont, and Tokyo, Japan, 1958. 155 pp., 135 text figs., 22 pl., 1 in color. \$3.75.

This handsome, well-illustrated book is a photographic reprint of Stewart Culin's classical study of 97 Oriental games, first published in 1895, in a limited edition of 500 copies, under the title *Korean games: with notes on the corresponding games of China and Japan*. Actually the long commentaries described as "notes" are so detailed and comprehensive that the new title seems far more appropriate. This is a most significant contribution to the cultural history of East Asia, for it interprets the word "game" very broadly to include

archery, wrestling, chess, and a great variety of card games, as well as a number of children's pastimes such as blind-man's buff and top-spinning, and it discusses all these with constant reference to local and national traditions, folk arts and folklore, cross-cultural influences, and similar sports in Europe and America, as well as the social pressures and psychological motivations that influenced their origin and development.

Dr. Culin, at the time he wrote this, was Director of the Museum of Archaeology of the University of Pennsylvania, now the world-famous University Museum, in Philadelphia. He intended this volume as much more than a survey of Korean games, or even of East Asian games, expressing the hope that it would serve as a practical introduction to the games of the world. In this he succeeded, because anyone who reads this book through with close attention will emerge with a broad background knowledge of games in general, and a new appreciation of human imagination and inventive skill.

The author was not only a painstaking scholar with broad knowledge and a keen intellect, but he also had the enthusiasm of a dedicated hobbyist. He used as background material for the book a remarkable collection of board games, playing cards, tops and toys, etc., that he had collected and exhibited at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893. (Later he gave it to the University Museum, which still has it, in storage.) His search for accurate details led him to call upon many others in the preparation of this book, so in a sense it is a composite work by a number of specialists. Most of the information on the Korean games themselves was provided orally by the Secretary of the Korean Commission to the Columbian Exposition, Pak Young-kiu, who later represented his country as a diplomat in Washington; while W. H. Wilkinson, who had served as the Acting British Consul-

General in Seoul composed the sections on Korean chess and on Chinese and Korean playing cards. The 22 color plates of the original volume (of which only the frontispiece is here reproduced in color) were taken from paintings of a nineteenth-century Korean artist, and many of the sketches were done by a Japanese draughtsman working in his own tradition.

The Korean, Japanese, and Chinese names and terms are generally accurately rendered, except for occasional failure to indicate the accents on Japanese words, such as *shōgi*, and there is a special index for each of these languages as well as a detailed English index. The only serious linguistic drawback is that the Chinese words are usually given in Cantonese, which was then commonly used by the Chinese living in America, but now Cantonese has reverted to its former status as an obscure and difficult dialect, familiar to few who are not of Southern Chinese extraction. However, we sometimes find the mandarin pronunciation cited as well.

In a scholarly, 20-page introduction, which sets the stage for the text proper, the author outlined his theory of games, using examples from all over the world, including *meisir*, an arrow game of the pre-Muslim Arabs. While the modern reader may not agree with all the theories, these preliminary remarks are vital to the understanding of the writer's purpose in writing this book.

He began by recalling that the two principal questions involved in the study of games are, first, that of their origin, and, second, that of their distribution. He was convinced that games must be regarded not as conscious inventions for amusement, but as survivals from primitive conditions, under which they originated in magical rites, and chiefly as a means of divination. (As a surviving instance of this, he pointed out that playing cards are still frequently used for fortune-telling.) Furthermore, he found that games are based upon



certain fundamental conceptions of the universe—as expressed, for example, in the boards which so often represent the universe in microcosm—and he was impressed with the fact that these conceptions had a sameness, if not identity, throughout the world. Therefore, when he discovered that modern games had so nearly lost their original meanings by which one might trace their origins, he decided to turn to Eastern Asia for evidence to connect the remote past with the present, and he especially chose Korea because he knew it was a land full of cultural survivals. Not only did it retain many old Chinese customs and traditions, many of which had been forgotten in China, but it served as a bridge by which some of these were passed on to Japan; therefore it was a key area in such a study, and he had the ethnological background and the resources to make the study a significant one. Even if the reader may sometimes feel that the author was rather extreme in tracing so many games back to forms of divination with arrows, most of his arguments for this still sound quite convincing.

The text proper makes fascinating reading, illuminated by the wealth of pictures to illustrate particular points, and the reader soon begins to share the feeling of being present at the village pastimes of Old Asia. The pace tends to flag somewhat in the sections written by Mr. Wilkinson, which are not so appealingly written, but the latter contain an abundance of detailed information that could scarcely be found elsewhere outside of obsolete journals. All these careful descriptions of the appearance of the games, directions for playing them, and anecdotes recalling their place in history, seem especially valuable when one recalls that most of them have dropped out of use and been forgotten in those lands, because of changes in fashion or the more radical destruction of old ideas and traditions with

the profound cultural dislocations of the past 60 years since the book was first written.

It seems too bad that some misspelled words or old-fashioned phrases could not have been altered by editing before the book was reprinted, but that was not possible by this means of reproduction. For example, it is somewhat irritating to read of images of the monk Daruma referred to as “idols,” and the modern reader is not likely to recognize the familiar game of Mah-jong under its old British name of “Kanhoo.” But doubtless a full editing would have required another means of printing, adding prohibitively to the cost. As it is, this book seems a remarkable bargain.

SCHUYLER V. R. CAMMANN

*Chinese Snuff Bottles: The Adventures and Studies of a Collector.* By Lilla S. Perry. Rutland, Vermont, and Tokyo, Japan, 1960. 153 pp., bibliography, and index, 162 illustrations, mostly in color. \$12.50.

This book on Chinese snuff bottles is sumptuously presented, well printed, and lavishly illustrated, most of the pictures being surprisingly accurate color photographs of choice examples in the collection of the author, and it contains a great deal of information, intended primarily for other collectors. In fact, it will probably be best enjoyed by fellow collectors who have shared similar experiences.

Mrs. Perry is wise, witty, and urbane as she modestly yet enthusiastically reviews her long life as a collector. Her urge to collect, she tells us, began at the age of five, and gradually led to the acquisition of Japanese netsuke, swordguards, and prints (both Ukiyoe School and modern blockprints), until her interests became centered on the Chinese snuff bottles. She also admits having been devoted to books and fond of writing letters—especially notes to exchange information with other collectors—and these literary tendencies are very appar-

ent in her writing here, in the easy, natural style of presentation and the tendency to philosophize. Her philosophical remarks about collecting in general, and the collecting of snuff bottles in particular, express the distillation of ideas and experiences after a long and eventful life, crowded with interests, friends, and travel; yet they are never heavy, and her shrewd comments often provoke an appreciative chuckle. In her humorous anecdotes about the collector's life, she does not spare herself, and with delightful candor describes her (usually tolerant) husband's reactions to some early extravagances, or her own feelings when she discovered that an unprincipled collector from New York had cheated her out of the most valuable bottle in her collection, an authentic example of "Ku-yüeh-hsuan." Her amusing comments and philosophical suggestions to other collectors, particularly beginners in the field, often bear quoting, though they are best read in their context, and in many cases her advice is well worth taking.

In short, this is an intensely personal book, and it remains so even when the author is imparting very specialized information. She often accomplishes this by the device of putting technical details into passages of conversation with more experienced collectors or technical experts in such fields as mineralogy. In most cases this method is quite successful, although there are moments when both the introductory material and the dialogue seem artificial and too deliberately contrived.

Mrs. Perry's extensive quotations from others might seem at times to place this book in the "scissors and paste" category, but she has usually managed to digest the borrowed ideas so as to present them again in her own friendly, informal style, without neglecting to credit the thoughts of others to their originators. Unfortunately, however, she has not always been sufficiently critical in regard to her sources of information, and has therefore

passed on as facts some old "dealers' tales" and bits of collectors' folklore, as well as some misconceptions of her own, all of which prevent this from being a completely reliable or authoritative work. Doubtless some of the misinformation will be corrected in another edition; but meanwhile it seems advisable to point out some of the erroneous statements, lest they mislead other collectors and be passed on, to increase the problems of future scholars. Once a mistaken idea has gained general acceptance among dealers and collectors, it may take years to eradicate it.

The author's knowledge tends to center on the materials employed in making snuff bottles, using knowledge obtained through her own experience or from consultation with professional gemologists, to whom she refers any collector who has questions or doubts about specimens in stone. However, even on this topic one finds some questionable remarks. For example, she warns collectors who keep their bottles in cabinets rather than in boxes that the color in rose quartz seems fugitive, and will greatly fade on long exposure to sunlight, and goes on to say that she has heard that if the faded bottle is placed in a dark, humid place for some time the depth of color will return. In terms of mineralogy this does not sound like a plausible statement about true rose quartz. Perhaps she is referring to examples with artificial coloring. Both the Chinese and the Japanese have long known how to dye plain quartz to imitate rose quartz and amethyst, and it is not uncommon to find that the color in a "rose quartz" snuff bottle is actually produced by a thin wash of pinkish hue on the inside of the bottle, which usually disappears entirely when the bottle is rinsed. It seems quite possible that a fugitive dye in such a bottle could fade in sunlight, but could be reintensified under conditions of dampness, just as the color in a sea-shell long exposed on



a beach will return, at least partially, when the shell is moistened.

In discussing the snuff bottles made of glass, the author quotes a very bad book written by one of the pioneer collectors at the end of the last century, asserting that glass was not a native invention but was brought to China by the Romans in the first century of our era, and that it was not manufactured in China until the fifth century, going on to say, "since then the art has been practiced until a perfection has been attained which not even the world-renowned Venetians have surpassed." This is all very misleading. In the first place, we now know that the Chinese knew how to make glass for beads and inlays, etc., before the trade contacts with Rome were established in the first century B.C., and secondly, until the 19th century the Chinese never learned to blow glass, but only knew how to carve lumps of glass by lapidary techniques. Therefore, while the best examples of Chinese work in glass are quite handsome in their own way, they cannot compare in delicacy or intricate technique with the finest products of Venice and the neighboring island of Burano.

In discussing lacquerwork as a medium for making snuff bottles, the author devotes some attention and several handsome plates to examples in the technique known as *laque burgauté*, explaining that this affected-sounding French term was derived from *burgau*, meaning shell. But *burgau* does not mean just any shell, it refers quite specifically to the shells of the *turbo* or *trochus* families, which are composed of fine layers of a silvery greenish hue that can be crumbled to make the powdery iridescent grains suitable for delicate inlays in the dark lacquer background. This minute work does not permit the use of any of the heavy shells she specifically mentioned, such as mother of pearl, nautilus, or sea-ear (*abalone*); those are found only on larger, coarser pieces. Such work has seldom been attempted

in China during the last two centuries, although it has been common in Japan, and three of the examples illustrated here appear to be more characteristic of Japanese taste, and were quite probably made there.

A Japanese provenance probably would not disturb the author. In a section on the difficulty of distinguishing Japanese imitations in ivory from true Chinese snuff bottles, she illustrates ten examples (Nos. 98 to 107), which for various reasons can all be identified as being of recent Japanese workmanship, commenting that collectors seem to disparage these Japanese-made bottles. Then she quotes some conversation with a Japanese dealer-friend, in the course of which he is supposed to have said, "What is the difference: Japanese or Chinese? Why should there be any prejudice among you collectors against Japanese bottles? It is fineness of workmanship that alone should count. . . ." Of course, this is mere "sales talk"—the author tends to give far too much credence to the statements and opinions of dealers—but her obvious sympathy with this attitude also reveals a discouraging lack of standards of connoisseurship in this branch of collecting. If one collects Chinese snuff bottles one should strive to acquire genuine Chinese examples; on the other hand, if a person wants quaint carvings in Sino-Japanese style wrought by modern machine precision, one can buy the modern Japanese imitations; but for a serious collector knowingly to buy modern fakes for their workmanship is a sign of degeneracy, or a basic lack of discrimination. (We all have known collectors, who, on learning that some cherished piece was a forgery, have belligerently insisted that the purchase was deliberately made; but that is usually a face-saving measure, quite another thing.)

Japanese art dealers frequently will tell prospective buyers that Japanese artists were making such snuff bottles for the Chinese trade, as Mrs. Perry was informed. But there

was no direct trade between Japan and China during the period when the Chinese were habitually using snuff bottles, because of the exclusion policy of the Tokugawa shoguns and a rather similar attitude on the part of the Manchu emperors of Ch'ing Dynasty China. Furthermore, the newness of the ivory, lacquer, or cloisonné imitations (except when they have been artificially aged in various ways), together with the anachronisms shown in depicting Chinese figures or mistakes in rendering familiar Chinese symbols, along with over-decoration, various diaper patterns, etc., all make it quite obvious to the experienced eye that these are modern fakes, made very recently to take advantage of the highly extravagant prices which American collectors are now willing to pay.

Incidentally, it seems unfortunate that the author has felt obliged to dwell so much on the extremely inflated prices allegedly paid by herself and various overwealthy collectors, for quite ordinary examples. Not only does this seem bad taste in a book of this kind, and too encouraging to unscrupulous imitators and dealers, as well as frightening to the beginning collectors whom the book is supposed to be encouraging, but it is also a very ephemeral topic. Prices of art objects tend to alter suddenly with the vagaries of the market and changing fashions among collectors, so such information can have no lasting value.

It would have been better, from the point of view of the student or modest collector, if the author had devoted less attention to the prices paid by rich collectors and tales of their selfish greed on various occasions, and had given more space to the artistic aspects of the bottles themselves, and the symbols on them considered as visual expressions of Old Chinese thoughts and beliefs. On the other hand, she may have been aware of her limitations, and wisely hesitant about sailing too far into unfamiliar waters. Whatever the reason, how-

ever, the failure to give sufficient attention to the aesthetic and symbolical aspects of the bottles deprives this book of any claim to full coverage of the subject.

The few efforts to explain the decoration on certain snuff bottles are quite inaccurate. For example, on page 87 she attempts to explain a familiar Ch'ing Dynasty motif showing a stick of coral and a peacock plume jutting from a vase, by telling the reader that the archaic vase with a peacock's feather is a symbol of the mandarin rank and a branch of coral signifies longevity. Actually the whole presentation forms a familiar pun picture or rebus. A coral hat badge was worn by officials of the highest rank, and the peacock plume was an award for merit, while the word for vase, *p'ing*, was a pun on the word for peace (or tranquillity). Thus the whole picture meant "May you rise peacefully [without opposition] to the highest station, and be rewarded for your merit."

Sometimes the mistaken description seems due merely to faulty observation. Thus in discussing one of the bottles illustrated (No. 14), she speaks of a seal mark on it, and goes on to describe the decoration as consisting of a little dog under a bush with two butterflies hovering over it. In the first place, her "seal mark" is merely the title of the picture written in archaic seal characters (equivalent to our writing a fancy caption in "Olde Englyshe") which should be obvious, for the characters are not enclosed in a frame or cartouche, as Chinese or Japanese seals always were. Second, her "little dog" is a cat, such as is commonly depicted with butterflies to make another rebus expressing a wish to live to advanced age. (This particular rebus is also illustrated on No. 33, on which the carver has cleverly utilized the natural impurities in the stone as the basis for the figures.) Again, she describes one of the animals shown on bottle No. 40 as being a ram. However, her "ram" not only



wears stag's horns, it is depicted with other things in a rebus combination which requires a deer to complete the thought, so there can be no question that it was intended for a stag.

The author is not very familiar with Chinese history or culture, and does not know the language. In an attempt to provide some background, she frequently quotes from previous books, but the quotations tend to be drawn from the more romantic, overly colorful writings of "Old China Hands" half a century ago, instead of the more serious, though perhaps over-pedantic, works of recent scholars. When attempting to discuss Chinese history or cultural details on her own, she goes beyond her depth, frequently giving misinformation.

A specific instance is her attempt to tell the reader about Chinese reign dates, sometimes inscribed on the porcelain bottles, and more rarely on the metal or ivory ones. Taking as example the date mark *Ta Ch'ing K'ang Hsi nien chih*, she interprets the first two characters correctly as meaning the Great Ch'ing Dynasty, but she obviously considers the second two words as being the name of an emperor rather than merely the reign name, or designation of the period when he was reigning, as it actually was; then she translates the last two words as "period made" instead of "made (in the) year (of)." Her misconception that the reign name was the actual name of the Emperor also leads her to repeat a ridiculous fable from Occidental collectors' folklore. On page 82, she says that during the reign of K'ang Hsi an edict was issued prohibiting the K'ang Hsi mark on these perishable objects "as the broken pieces might land on a rubbish pile and the name of the emperor would thus be dishonored." Since the reign name was not the name of the emperor, it was not taboo as the imperial names always were. If there is any foundation to this tale at all, such a prohibition would have had a different reason, based upon sympathetic magic: the

Court might have feared that if an inscription bearing the reign mark were broken, the reign might come to a premature end. However, there is no real evidence that the Chinese ever thought in those terms about date marks, and the whole story is probably merely a romantic legend.

In a chapter devoted to inside-painted snuff bottles, the author has depended almost entirely on information from others, including two articles by the present reviewer, only one of which is cited. When she makes her own comments, we find more errors. For instance, in describing No. 137, she claims that it was painted by "Ying Chiu" whose works are "not very common." Actually this bottle is a typical example of the rather familiar work of Pi Jung-chiu, who, as the reviewer has previously mentioned, sometimes signed his work informally, using only his personal name, as he has done here; and the inscription, barely visible in the illustration, announces that it was painted in 1906, at a time when this artist was flourishing. Also, she mentions Chang Pao-t'ien as "Chang Pao Tien." The lateness of the whole tradition of inside-bottle painting is admirably illustrated in this book by No. 127, done by Chou Lo-yüan, the earliest artist in this school of miniature painters, for this portrays an assemblage of African mammals in Western style, obviously copied from a colored picture in some European geography or zoology textbook of 60 years ago. By contrast, No. 130, although it bears a date corresponding to 1934, represents a scene from Chinese literature drawn in the traditional Chinese manner, so we see that old themes and time-honored means of representing them continued to be popular, in spite of the impact of the West and the vogue for foreign novelties in 20th-century China. Actually, this seeming survival of the traditional culture virtually unchanged, in the decoration of these bottles, may have little historical significance. Snuff,

and bottles to contain it, dropped out of regular use in China after the end of the Ch'ing Dynasty, which fell in 1911, so the old-style paintings in the snuff bottles may merely represent a case of the later, commercially-minded bottle painters producing what they thought would best appeal to foreign tourists in search of the exotic. Some of these last painters, as I have remarked elsewhere, became impatient with the narrow confines of the little bottles, and chose much larger ones in which to display their talents. There does not seem to be any evidence for the statement on page 29 that such large bottles were in general use as "table bottles" from which to replenish those of the usual size.

To conclude, *Chinese Snuff Bottles* makes very pleasant reading as one comes to know and appreciate the engaging personality of its author. If, in spite of its stated purpose, it does not always show the collecting game in a very favorable light, it still offers many useful tips to the beginning collector. Unfortunately it cannot serve as a dependable reference source for the general subject, because it contains too many erroneous statements and has almost nothing to say regarding the all-important topic of subjects and motifs used in decoration. However, until a more comprehensive work is produced, any serious collector of Chinese snuff bottles will want to own a personal copy of this beautiful book.

SCHUYLER V. R. CAMMANN

*Netsuké.* By F. M. Jonas. Rutland, Vermont, and Tokyo, Japan, 1960. (Reprint of the Kobe edition of 1928.) 181 pp., including appendix, 55 pls., 8 in color. \$5.00.

Mr. Jonas was a foreign resident in Japan who made an extensive collection of the Old Japanese belt toggles known as netsuke. He wrote this book to pass on to other collectors the information that he had acquired on these

and related topics, drawing on his own experience and on previous writings in English and in Japanese, apparently having had the latter translated for him.

The author's stated object was to present a history of the netsuke, a discussion of the principal motifs portrayed on them, and a list of the chief makers with detailed biographical comments on some of the best artists, the last of which appears in the appendix. In addition to the main subject, he has devoted chapters or smaller sections to discussions of Japanese and Chinese cultural and military history, religion and art, literature and folklore, Japanese sculpture, lacquer, metalware, music and drama, wrestling and feats of strength, calendar and festivals, and the tea ceremony. His remarks on all these subjects are illustrated by examples of netsuke from his own collection, of which 213 specimens are shown. If he had possessed accurate factual knowledge on all these subjects, this would be an indispensable source book on the netsuke and on Japanese culture in general; but, since he was an uncritical amateur, this is a dangerously misleading book, crammed with wrong names, misstatements, and false generalities, so that the reader soon finds himself bogged in a morass of misinformation.

The publishers announce that this book was originally issued in a limited edition, of which less than 300 copies were distributed. Probably this small number can be explained by poor reception of the book among the more discerning collectors of that time, but it is also fortunate that it was not more widely dispersed, because this prevented the earlier dissemination of a vast body of erroneous statements. Now, the book is less dangerous, because general knowledge of the subject has greatly increased, and so many more worthwhile books on the subject have recently been published to present the facts with greater accuracy. Luckily, too, the text is for the most



part so pedantic, so disorganized, and so tediously littered with foreign names and terms (often unexplained) that the average reader is not likely to get beyond the first few pages, and thus is not apt to absorb very much misinformation. There remains the danger that more serious-minded readers or beginning collectors might be misled by the authoritative manner of its pseudo-scholarly presentation, and the detailed appendix with its formidable lists of carvers, metalworkers, and lacquerers with their dates, and thus be deluded into thinking that this should be employed as a source book for consultation. Used in this way, the book would serve only to perpetuate outdated collector's fables, as well as creating some new ones, thus setting back the whole study of the subject for decades.

The first chapter sets the general tone for the rest of the book. It presents a dull and tedious account of "Epochs of sculpture in Japan," a subject which is not entirely relevant to the main topic, written in a forbiddingly scholarly manner, crammed with references to periods which are not sufficiently explained, and not even presented in strict chronological order. Its style and wording suggest that it represents a stilted, somewhat abbreviated, and rather inaccurate translation of a Japanese article, by someone who did not know that language very well. (Not the author himself, because he obviously could not read Japanese at all.) Some mannerisms are particularly annoying, in this first chapter and later. For example, large Buddhist monasteries such as the Hōryūji and the Yakushiji are described as "the temple of Hōryū" and "the temple of Yakushi." The latter term is especially misleading, because Japan has many temples dedicated to Yakushi, the Buddha of Medicine, although there is only one great Yakushiji; and this way of handling temple names reaches the height of absurdity when he speaks of "the famous temple of Tōdai," for thus the "East-

ern Great Temple" becomes "Temple of the East Great," which is meaningless.

Another exasperation, encountered in the first chapter and recurring throughout, is the author's old-fashioned and provincial habit of rendering Chinese names of people and dynasties in their clumsy Japanese pronunciations, not always consistently. Thus, the T'ang Dynasty appears as "Tō," the Han as "Kan," the Southern Liang as "Nanryo" (without the required accent over the final vowel): while the Sung Dynasty appears as "Sō" in some places, "Shu" in others, and once as "Tung," the last suggesting that the author (or translator) did not know whether to use T'ang or Sung and decided to compromise. Sometimes the combination of misspelling and other errors requires real detective work to determine what the author was intending to say; for example, only the context makes it evident that when he speaks of "Emperor Shinkō of Shin (120 B.C.)," he really meant Shih Huang-ti of Ch'in who died in 210 B.C. This presentation of Chinese names in Japanese style achieves maximum confusion and absurdity when he attempts to describe in detail certain episodes from Chinese history which led to the use of certain netsuke motifs, as on pages 60 and 61, where once again a combination of errors and unfamiliar renderings make the narrative difficult to follow even for an experienced orientalist.

With false confidence and naiveté, the author sometimes tries to explain Japanese terms, as when he says (on page 22) "Tōbori, that is Chinese carvings of the Tō Dynasty." However, the Japanese do not use the term *tōbori* that literally, and the first syllable here does not mean "T'ang Dynasty" but merely "Chinese." In fact, the Japanese commonly used the term *tōbori* to describe their own native carvings in Chinese style, or even carvings from other Asian lands, as well as actual Chinese carvings. (The *Sōken Kisshō*, so fre-

quently quoted—or misquoted—by Mr. Jonas, included a Siamese chessman and a Javanese sword hilt among its illustrations of *tōbori*.) The same Chinese character for T'ang is also read *kara* in Japanese. If our author had known this, he might have been tempted to translate the word *karako* (used repeatedly in the caption to plate 52) as "T'ang child," instead of "Chinese boy," which is its real meaning as a subject for the netsukes shown there; but he apparently did not understand the word at all, and considered that "Karako" was a proper name.

The author's ignorance of the Japanese language is matched by his misconceptions about Japanese religions, which would be quite funny if this book had not been intended for the guidance of others. It is not too serious to find the bodhisattva Gakkō repeatedly called Gekko, the name for a kind of lizard; but it is outrageous to find the arhat Pindola described as Buddha (pl. 24, No. 66), or the proper name Kwannon being confused with the Japanese word for bodhisattva, *bosatsu*, to produce the weird expressions "Manju Kwannon" and "Fugen Kwannon," as names for the bodhisattvas Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra (Monju Bosatsu and Fugen Bosatsu in Japanese). Furthermore, although the term *Niō* is described in the text as referring to two kings of Indian origin (actually they are the Hindu gods Brahma and Indra, taken over into Buddhism as guardian deities), in several instances only one of them is shown, still called *Niō*, as though this were a proper name instead of a descriptive phrase meaning "two kings."

Aside from these rather technical errors, the student of Oriental religions will be amused to read the author's attempts to condense the complicated doctrines of Buddhism and Shinto. On page 7, we find the two faiths tersely defined as follows: "Shintoism (reverence for and worship of ancestors) and Bud-

dhism (faith in a future state of happiness)." Then, on page 63, he further says of Shinto, "It can hardly be called a religion, as it is merely a form of ancestor worship," going on to remark, a few lines below, "In the Shinto faith anything that is dedicated to God is called 'nusa' or 'gohei'." In short, the book varies unpredictably from detailed misinformation to excessively superficial generalities.

Another good example of the misleading details appears in the section that attempts to discuss the popular group of the Seven Gods of Luck (pp. 69 and 70). Instead of telling us that one of these seven gods was sometimes replaced by either of two other divinities, the author gives three separate lists intended to show the different constitution of the group at different periods, making each list appear to be radically different by varying the order of the names, and by using alternative names for some of the individual deities. For example, the warrior god in this group appears in the first list as Tamonten, in the second as Bishamonten, and in the third as Bishamon, his most usual name; while Daikoku is referred to in two of the lists as Daikokuten, and each time appears in a different slot. As if this were not already highly confusing for the general readers, he causes even the specialists to pause a moment by citing the goddess Kichijōten, who is referred to as one of the alternates, under the name of "Kisshōten."

In going on to describe this particularly popular series of gods, he makes the false statement that Bishamon is seldom seen in art. The Philadelphia Art Museum has a fine *kake-mono* depicting him, and small statutes of him were very common in Old Japan. Furthermore, the author categorically states that Hotei is always accompanied by one or more children, but the reader can quickly test the accuracy of this statement by looking at one of the netsuke on the facing page (pl. 26, No. 77), which depicts him entirely alone.



Leaving history, religion, philology, and the subject of motifs, and passing on to the substances of which the netsuke were made, we find similar basic errors. To cite one example, he refers repeatedly to "black persimmon (wood)" as if it were from a special kind of persimmon, but the persimmon tree is a member of the ebony family so its heartwood is characteristically dark, becoming still darker with age. He is thus referring to the heartwood of the ordinary persimmon tree, and not a special variety, as he seems to have assumed that it was. Then, in plate 5, a netsuke (No. 10) is described as being made of whale-bone and tortoise shell. If the picture (in color) is accurate, however, the base material cannot be whale-bone and the inlay certainly is not tortoise shell, but is probably taken from the sheathing of the casque of a helmeted hornbill, a rare substance called *hōden* in Japanese.

Even in his attempt to discuss the origin of the Japanese netsuke, which, as a typical instance of the author's sense of organization, does not appear until page 47, he makes some sweeping misstatements. After first recalling that the use of Chinese subjects and motifs (on the earliest examples) had led to the supposition that netsuke were of Chinese origin, he goes on to assert that this is not so, because "they are distinctly of Japanese origin." His vehemence in this regard is merely an echo of the old Japanese chauvinism. Long before Jonas wrote this book, a real authority on Japanese netsuke had already pointed out that belt toggles had long been in use by the peoples of other nations, and we now know that the Japanese variety known as netsuke represent merely a late, though luxuriant, branch on a tree that had long been flourishing on the continent of Eurasia. Since toggles had been used on the mainland for hundreds of years before the custom reached Japan, it is not at all surprising that the earliest Japanese examples show strong Chinese influence. A foreigner

might be excused for thinking that it seems rather odd for the Japanese to be so extremely self-conscious about the fact that they did not invent the belt toggle, when they have so much reason to be proud of their achievements in its later development, making simple accessories of costume into intricate works of art. The whole question of the origin of the netsuke, never directly faced by the Japanese or by collectors under strong Japanese influence, again emphasizes the point that it is impossible to gain any full comprehension of Japanese cultural history, language, religion, or art motifs without a thorough investigation of the developments on the mainland which served as the basis for Japanese culture in general. While the Japanese were not slavish imitators, and often showed real genius in building on the foundation of ideas and traits from China, Korea, and distant India, they still clung so closely to the original borrowings that their own native achievements cannot be fully assessed without a rather thorough knowledge of the foundations on which they were building. Also, as Mr. Jonas has unintentionally shown us, it must be obvious that no real contribution to the study of the arts and culture of Japan can be made at this stage by anyone who does not have a good command of the Japanese language and some knowledge of Chinese as well.

If this book were really intended as a guide to collectors, the welter of proper names, technical terms, different substances, and various motifs would require a good index to permit quick reference to any given topic; but the index here is pitiful. Many key items are totally neglected, and some minor ones are separately listed without cross-references to indicate their kinship, such as "Kamakura-bori" and "Kamakura carvings." (Incidentally, the former is spelled *Kamakura-hori* in the text.)

In view of all the misspellings, misstate-

ments, and false conclusions which destroy the value of this book for serious readers and collectors alike, it seems rather ironic to read in the "Publisher's Note" at the head of the volume that "two distinguished netsuke scholars" had pointed out the errors (16 of them, 12 being in the names or dates listed in the appendix), and that it was remarkable that a pioneer work in such a little-known field should have contained so few errors in fact. Actually there are so many errors that the reviewer gave up an attempt to list those in the captions alone, and confined himself to citing only a few typical gaffes. Aside from the fact that this

book was not really a pioneer work at all, having been preceded by some quite solid studies in Western languages, it seems unfortunate that it was not permitted to remain "a rare curiosity," instead of being dredged up again to delude the information-seeking collectors. At least this unfortunate effort may serve as a warning to other amateurs not to attempt serious books on the subject of netsuke, but to leave further work to specialists who possess sufficient background to make some solid contributions in the field.

SCHUYLER CAMMANN







JAMES MARSHALL PLUMER



## IN MEMORIAM

### JAMES MARSHALL PLUMER

In the prayers of supplication chanted by the pious Jew on the Day of Atonement, the life of man is compared to clay in the hands of a potter who can either draw and shape it or leave it as an unformed lump, for thus are we subject to the will of our creator.

Each man through his deeds has opportunity to assist the Divine Potter in forming the vessel of his life. It is this vessel of material, so fragile and yet endowed with strength, that serves as our memory of a man after he has said his farewell to life. James Marshall Plumer, who died suddenly on June 15, 1960, left us with many memories. He was devout in all faiths and an accomplished apprentice of the Divine Potter. The vessel of his life was subtly simple in form and at the same time refined to the heights of unconscious elegance. His death was a great shock to his many friends, students, and colleagues throughout the world. He is sorely missed.

James Plumer was born on July 10, 1899, in Newton Centre, Massachusetts, and spent his childhood and youth in New England. He commenced his adult studies at Harvard University and was awarded his Bachelor of Arts degree there in 1921. His New England background made him conscious of the values of a simple life in which the rustic and primitive far outshone that which was elegant and transient. This continued to be a guiding factor in his life and was constantly reflected in his love of folk art.

Following World War I the United States commenced its climb to a position of prominence within the world concert of nations. This brought with it an ever increasing curiosity about and responsibility to people and lands foreign to our shores. The increase in

internationalism and the old Yankee clipper ship tradition common along the east coast of the United States combined to serve as a catalyst and led James Plumer to put forth to sea, and eventually he reached the Far East. He undertook this adventure in October 1920 as an ordinary seaman on a ship engaged in trade between the ports of our east coast. In gradual stages he sailed farther and farther from his homeland until he reached China. The impression made by this first visit was a lasting one, for in 1923 he returned there and proceeded to enter the Chinese Government service, in the Maritime Customs, where he rose to serve as an administrative officer. His association with this organization continued until the year 1937 and must have been a very happy period for it brought him into constant contact with a land and people he had come to love. It was also here that he married and that his two eldest children were born. James Plumer had the opportunity to see much of China and, rather than limit himself to the cities and official contacts, he went forth whenever possible to wander about that vast land. In later years in conversations with his students he would often reminisce about visits to temples and kiln sites under constant threat from pirates and bandits who roamed the countryside. I only hope that someday the stories he related will be gathered together and published for they give us a fine and sympathetic picture of modern China in its formative years.

It was during his stay at Harvard that James Plumer came into contact with the great teacher Langdon Warner, and the art of Asia. He was inspired by what he learned and remained devoted to Warner throughout his life. This contact was strengthened by Plumer's appointment as Assistant and Tutor

in Chinese Language at Harvard University from 1929 to 1930. At the same time he acted as Secretary of the Harvard-Yenching Institute.

Early in his career ceramics captured Plumer's attention, for this was an art form that demanded the highest level of craftsmanship and yet involved the use of one of our commonest materials, clay. A feeling for natural materials was something that he had been brought up with in New England and its growth had been nurtured by Langdon Warner. While on one of his many excursions into the countryside of China in 1935, Plumer located the kiln site of *chien* ware. His discovery was reported to the world in the Royal Asiatic Society North China Branch, *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, and the *Illustrated London News*. In the same year he joined the staff of the University of Michigan as Lecturer on Far Eastern Art. He continued his research in China and in 1937 turned his attention to the location of some kiln sites of *yüeh* ware.

James Plumer's association with the University of Michigan brought new distinction to the entire scope of Far Eastern studies at that school. He continued on its staff until his death, and was appointed Associate Professor in 1941 and achieved full professorial rank in June 1960, just a few days prior to his untimely death. During the war years Professor Plumer gave unstintingly of his time and served his nation by helping organize and administer the China Unit of the Army Map Service at the Library of Congress. Throughout his career he fought against difficult handicaps, for his hearing was seriously impaired and he was often subject to severe asthmatic attacks. These frailties of the body he did not mask but accepted as the connoisseur accepts a blemish or flaw in pottery, as something which helps reveal the true nature of a vessel.

The interest of James Plumer in the art

of Asia was all encompassing. India, Korea, Japan, and Southeast Asia were all within his grasp and he treated them with equality. One of the happiest periods of his life was during 1948-49 when he acted in Japan as Fine Arts Advisor on the United States Commission for the Protection and Salvage of Historic Monuments in War Areas. It was largely owing to his sympathy, perseverance, and labor, as well as that of his predecessors and successors, that so much of the cultural heritage of Japan remained intact and was not disbursed. In the years that followed Plumer returned to the University of Michigan to teach. He returned to Japan briefly in 1958 at the invitation of the Chief Abbott of the Hōryūji monastery in Nara and the former Marquis Hosokawa, Moritatsu, to attend the dedication of a monument to his old friend and teacher, Langdon Warner. At these services he represented the Fogg Art Museum of Harvard University, The University of Michigan, and the Freer Gallery of Art. It was during this later period that Plumer guided and counseled the author of this memorial to the achievement of a doctoral degree. Without his assistance that would have been impossible. My personal debt leads me to copy his words in writing to me after he visited in Washington, "Words escape me. . . ." The rest of the paper was blank save for his signature. My gratitude to him could never be expressed in words.

James Plumer was a person of great warmth and kindness. He treated all his fellow men with equality, just as he loved not only fine porcelains but also tea ceremony and peasant wares of coarse and gritty clay. The laborer, beggar, and thief as well as the scientist and scholar were respected by him. I can recall an anecdote of his visit with his family to the Great Buddha in Kamakura in 1948-49. After a picnic luncheon he went off for a stroll and during his absence his coat, wallet, money, and documents all vanished. He ap-



peared to be undisturbed by this calamity for a bird that selects fortunes before the Great Buddha had brought a slip of paper to him stating that he was not to worry for all would turn out well. A short time later the police appeared and led him off to the police station to identify the thief who had taken his coat. When he reached police headquarters he found all intact as had been predicted in his fortune, and proceeded to reward the thief with a tip to the amazement of the police, for he had been a good thief and had not scattered his loot about nor had he abandoned the coat and papers in favor of the money.

He was a great and devoted teacher who reached down to his students and led them to understand and appreciate Far Eastern art. He would interrupt a class to serve coffee or tea in fine Sung dynasty *chien* ware tea bowls or ask you to join him for luncheon and a bowl of soup served in a Sung celadon. It was through this method that his students were able to study and learn the nature of these ceramics in everyday use. His theory was that to know and love art one must look at it and make use of it.

Although other forms of art were never neglected by James Plumer his true love was ceramics and the greatest portion of his effort was devoted to research in this field. In 1950 he assumed the editorship of the Far Eastern Ceramic Bulletin and it was largely owing to his labor that the journal was published with regularity. It is tragic that following his death its publication ceased.

He was a prolific writer as the appended bibliography, prepared by Mrs. Bertha Usilton of the Freer Gallery of Art, reveals. One of his most cherished dreams was to see Langdon Warner's unfinished work, titled *Japanese Sculpture of the Tempyō Period*, put into completed form. This Plumer accomplished in 1958 and it is a monument to both of these men. He never, however, strayed far away

from ceramics, and upon his desk at the time of his death were his notes and text for a definitive work on *chien* ware to be titled *Chinese Chien or Temmoku Ware: Its Origin, Nature, and Influence on Later Ceramics*. Portions of this may have been published in the last two posthumous issues of the Far Eastern Ceramic Bulletin, and it is to be hoped that some day the complete work will be available to scholars.

The death of a man and friend is an occasion of great sorrow. When James Plumer took leave of life on June 15, 1960, he departed in peace, for he was at rest in his beloved New Hampshire countryside that in the past had served as a tonic. The semester was over and his youngest son had graduated from college. It was time to rest. The Divine Potter stopped the wheel and completed the vessel of his life. It is before us to study and use but as James Plumer would always respectfully say to his students handling ceramics, "with both hands please."

HAROLD P. STERN

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## THE JAMES MARSHALL PLUMER COLLECTION OF ORIENTAL ART

A memorial exhibition, "Selections from the James Marshall Plumer Collection of Oriental Art," was held at the Detroit Institute of Arts from March 6 through April 8, 1962. The material shown, suggesting Professor Plumer's deep and wide-ranging interests, comprised examples from many different periods of Chinese, Japanese, Indian, and Korean art, was equally diverse in the variety of types and media included. None of the items was grand in scale; only a few were very well known; yet taken all together, they formed a group of clear significance. One felt keenly aware of Professor Plumer's continual sense of wonder and delight before the object, and of his wide and often very personal knowledge of its history and its use. Obviously he was in no way concerned with collecting "signed works"; it is a suggestive fact that of the 145 objects shown, all were the products of unknown artists. Anyone who remembers how Professor Plumer looked at objects, felt them, and felt about them would understand that for him the character of the piece itself was its proper signature, and signature enough.

Chinese art was particularly well represented in the Detroit exhibit. The ceramics, ranging in date to the Ming period, included a fine group of vigorous T'ang jars, with a variety of forms and glazes, and a series of exquisitely defined Sung celadons. A monumental stoneware vase of the former Han dynasty was an unforgettable example of earlier date; ponderously robust in character, decorated with a few simple incised bands of spirit creatures, it stood as a kind of patriarch in the midst of its more sophisticated progeny.

A fine selection from Professor Plumer's unique collection of Chien ware was given

special prominence. With their strong, simple shapes and rich, dark glazes, the dozen examples included played upon a sustained theme, a theme continually modulated by those intentional and fortunate variations which delight both the potter and the admirer of pots. One very appropriate inclusion in such a personal exhibition was a handsome Chien-ware bowl stuck in its saggar, irretrievably damaged through a fault in firing at the Sung kiln site. It was picked up from an ancient waste pile there by Professor Plumer himself, appreciated for what it had nearly been, as well as for what fate had ordained it to be; it was certainly carried many a time into seminars and classes at the University of Michigan where Professor Plumer taught after his return from years in China.

Earlier periods in China were seen in a number of late Chou and Han mirrors (many known to scholars through Professor Plumer's writings), by numerous bronze weapons and chariot fittings, and by other characteristic bronzes and jades. Probably the most notable single item was the large inscribed *ting* of the Shang period, excavated near An-Yang in 1933. As if to compensate for the corrosion of minor surface areas, this piece as a whole speaks with the highest authority; the *t'ao-tieh* masks on the body, the dragons above, and the patterned ground have retained their original freshness and have been enhanced by a richly developed patina.

A selection from Professor Plumer's large collection of early Buddhist bronzes of the Six Dynasties and T'ang periods was also included. Many of these pieces, only a few inches high and unpretentious in aspect, captured in swiftly and surely rendered miniature the same elements of style which are to be seen in monumental form in the cave sites of China. A small bodhisattva from the sixth century caves at Lung Men and the head of a bodhisattva from the nearly contemporary

caves at Yun Kang were included in the exhibition.

There were fewer pieces from India, but they were familiar and significant in style. Four examples of red sandstone sculpture from the Kushan phase at Mathura were on view, including a fine *yakshi* bust and a carved lotus medallion. A few later Hindu bronzes from north and south India gave reference to the development of the more florid plastic traditions of that country. The extension of Buddhist influence into Afghanistan was reflected in a sensitively sculptured small stucco relief of about the fifth century A.D. showing a seated Buddha and two attendants, an iconographic type much less common in American collections than the familiar heads of the same period.

Japanese art was likewise represented by fewer examples, and Korean art by a small but pleasing selection of ceramics. In both these areas the examples strongly reflected certain personal predilections of the collector, with no attempt at an all-inclusive coverage. In fact, one feels that this was true of all of Professor Plumer's collecting; he collected at random, according to the dictates of his sure taste, and certainly in the grip of certain compelling interests; but there was no touch of the programmatic or the institutional about him.

The feeling and craftsmanly treatment of wood, so characteristic of the Japanese sculptor, was shown in an excellent small image of a standing priest dating from Kamakura times. Nor could one fail to respond to the richly glazed and crackled 18th-century Seto and Oribe ware dishes from Japan; their quickly sketched designs showed an apt combination of subtle composition and wit in execution. The same very Japanese character was evident in the carved wood monkey of the Ashikaga period, a foot-high seated figure

too human in pose and expression to be shown quite so naked. There was something conscientiously ludicrous, one could say quite "Zen," in his confrontation. The same imaginative verve and humor within the Japanese folk tradition was preserved in the effectively "slapdash" peasant paintings from Otsu, one showing the devil disguised as a priest, the other a portrait of the folk hero Benkei.

It was in the Orient, of course, that Professor and Mrs. Plumer collected so many of the various works in this exhibition; it was at the University of Michigan that he found a special use for so many of them, bringing his knowledge and enthusiasm to students through his many "museum-quality" pieces, but equally through the great numbers of humbler examples and exquisite fragments which they also collected and cherished. As Mr. Paul Grigaut, who was responsible for the particularly fine arrangement of the exhibit, stated in his catalog introduction, these objects "were a tactile extension of his role as a *guru*."

The University of Michigan will retain the greater number of the major items Professor Plumer collected; these will comprise the James Marshall Plumer Memorial Collection. A number of other fine items will be within an hour's journey, at the Detroit Institute of Arts, where Professor Plumer also had a close personal connection. It is good to think, too, that many enviable study items not in the present exhibition, nor indeed ever collected with exhibit in mind, will remain at the University of Michigan for the use of teachers and students.

In "A Note on the Exhibition" Mrs. Plumer has written, "James Marshall Plumer believed that the works of men's hands are good and sufficient witness to men's beliefs, especially the deep religious and philosophical bases of their thought, and to the way of life that was the natural result of these be-



liefs. . . . He was not satisfied until he could visualize the image, the idea, that had been in the mind of the craftsman. Whether it was a ritual bronze from An-yang, a household rice-bowl from Lung-ch'uan, a stone image from Mathura, or a pilgrim painting from Otsu, he believed that it could be fully appreciated only if it was understood."

His collection is the tangible evidence of his understanding and of his interest not only in art and in those who created it, but equally in all who would respond to it. As a man who influenced for the better all who knew him, it is fitting that through the years something of his beliefs and his intent will remain in communication through the objects which he loved.

WALTER SPINK

### LEOPOLDO TORRES BALBÁS (1888-1960)

L'archéologie musulmane est en deuil: un des maîtres de notre discipline vient de mourir, victime, dans une rue de Madrid, d'un lamentable accident de la circulation. Collaborateur fidèle d'*Ars Islamica* et d'*Ars Orientalis*, Leopoldo Torres Balbás était bien connu de tous les historiens de l'art islamique et ses ouvrages sont sans cesse entre les mains des spécialistes de l'Occident musulman.

L. Torres Balbás était né à Madrid le 27 mai 1888. Par ses ascendances—un père andalou, une mère de Santander—il réunissait en lui des qualités complémentaires: il avait le sérieux, la passion du travail, la fermeté intransigeante des hommes du Nord, mais aussi la sensibilité artistique et l'enthousiasme—chez lui masqué de discrétion—des Andalous. Dans sa famille même il eut les plus beaux exemples de vie intellectuelle: un oncle, professeur de droit; un père, géographe éminent qui fut membre de l'Académie d'Histoire de Madrid.

Tout jeune, Leopoldo Torres Balbás mani-

fésta un goût très vif pour les arts—surtout pour l'architecture—et une véritable passion pour les voyages, s'intéressant, autant qu'aux monuments, aux paysages et à toute la vie espagnole. Il n'abandonna jamais cette habitude de jeunesse: peu d'hommes ont aussi bien connu l'Espagne, pour l'avoir parcourue en tout sens, avec un amour profond et une attention sans cesse en éveil.

Il fit, à Madrid, d'excellentes études secondaires où il révéla un autre trait de son tempérament intellectuel qui allait s'accroître avec les années: la passion de la lecture et un sens exigeant de la précision.

Pour satisfaire l'attachement que le jeune homme montrait envers les monuments de son pays, le père de Torres Balbás décida de faire de lui un architecte: à l'Ecole d'Architecture de Madrid, il eut à s'initier au dessin pour lequel il n'avait pas de dons spéciaux. Il y fit de 1910 à 1916 des études très poussées et en sortit, non seulement excellent technicien, mais ayant déjà mûrement réfléchi sur la théorie et l'histoire de l'architecture.

En même temps qu'il entreprenait des études d'architecte, il se faisait inscrire au *Centro de Estudios Historicos* où il fut l'élève de Manuel Cossío et surtout de Don Manuel Gómez-Moreno, dont il fut le disciple enthousiaste et qu'il accompagna maintes fois dans ses voyages d'études. Sous un tel maître, il eut vite fait son apprentissage d'archéologue: il avait trouvé sa voie.

Nanti du diplôme d'architecte, il ne chercha guère la clientèle privée mais se passionna pour les travaux de restauration. Son premier grand travail, après d'intéressantes notes et monographies, fut, dans un Congrès d'architectes espagnols, en 1919, une étude sur la conservation des monuments historiques et artistiques. Dans le même temps, il était secrétaire de la revue *Arquitectura*, qui, tout en suivant les réalisations et les tendances con-

temporaines, savait faire place aux oeuvres du passé.

Dans ses recherches personnelles, il s'intéressa d'abord à l'art roman et gothique d'Espagne, en particulier aux monuments cisterciens et il ne devait jamais abandonner cet ordre d'études. Mais il avait visité les églises mozarabes avec Don Manuel Moreno qui lui avait appris la place que tenaient, dans le Moyen-Age ibérique, l'art hispano-mauresque et ses dérivés.

En 1922, il était nommé architecte-conservateur de l'Alhambra de Grenade et ce choix allait orienter définitivement sa carrière scientifique. Dans ce poste, il fit une grande oeuvre d'architecte. Jusqu'à la guerre civile, il allait se consacrer avec passion à sa tâche et accomplir à l'Alhambra même, dans la ville de Grenade et dans tout le Sud-Est de l'Espagne une prodigieuse série de dégagements, de fouilles, de restaurations et d'aménagement. Il restaura avec une technique savante —mais aussi avec une discrétion et un goût parfait—des dizaines de monuments. Nous lui devons la résurrection du Partal, le rétablissement des toitures primitives de la Cour des Lions, la remise en état de nombre de patios et de tours, la restauration des monuments musulmans de la ville même, comme le Corral del Carbón et la Casa del Chapiz. Il eut le souci, à l'Alhambra et au Generalife, d'enchasser tous ces vestiges du passé dans d'admirables jardins.

La guerre civile le surprit loin de Grenade. On lui demanda d'être professeur d'histoire, ce qu'il fit volontiers et avec une entière compétence. Bientôt il eut à consolider des monuments touchés par les combats : il sauva ainsi la cathédrale de Sigüenza.

En 1939, il vint occuper la chaire qui l'attendait à l'Ecole d'Architecture de Madrid. Jusqu'en 1958 il y enseigna l'histoire et la théorie de l'architecture. Sa haute conscience, sa science profonde et vivante, son

goût, lui valurent l'admiration et la reconnaissante affection de ses élèves qu'il aimait initier, par des voyages d'études, aux beautés monumentales de leur pays.

En dehors même de sa chaire, il n'abandonna pas ses travaux d'architecte : il dirigea ou contrôla mainte restauration. Mais il put consacrer à ses travaux d'archéologie et d'histoire plus de temps qu'il ne leur pouvait donner à Grenade.

Les honneurs lui venaient malgré son effacement volontaire. L'amitié de Miguel Asín l'appela à l'Ecole d'Etudes Arabes. Don Manuel Gómez-Moreno lui transmit la direction du magnifique musée de l'Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan. L'Académie de l'Histoire l'appela à lui en 1954. Il y a trois ans, l'Université d'Alger le faisait docteur honoris causa. A l'Académie de l'Histoire il fut un des membres les plus écoutés de la docte assemblée où il se faisait le défenseur infatigable des monuments et des sites en péril. Il fut ainsi pour la Direction Générale des Beaux-Arts le meilleur des conseillers.

Dès 1934, il avait demandé à faire, dans la revue *Al-Andalus*, en dehors des comptes-rendus bibliographiques, une chronique archéologique de l'Espagne musulmane. Il en assumait presque toute la rédaction. La série de ces chroniques forme aujourd'hui plusieurs volumes, précieux entre tous. On y trouva, non seulement la publication d'une foule de monuments et de vestiges inédits mais, de plus en plus, l'étude d'ensembles urbains et de questions d'urbanisme médiéval.

Jamais Torres Balbás n'omettait de replacer les monuments dans leur histoire : il avait une parfaite connaissance des sources et une méthode rigoureuse. Mais cette érudition minutieuse ne nuisait jamais chez lui à l'esprit de synthèse. Il aimait à dégager l'évolution d'un style monumental, d'un thème architectural ou décoratif, à étudier, dans leur fonction et leurs vicissitudes, des organismes ur-



bains. Ses travaux des dix dernières années apportent presque autant à l'histoire de l'urbanisme au Moyen-Âge qu'à la connaissance de l'art hispano-mauresque.

C'est aussi dans cette seconde période de sa vie scientifique qu'il donna toute une série de grands livres de synthèse: fidèle à ses premières études, il étudia l'art espagnol du Haut-Moyen Âge et de la période romane, puis celui de l'âge gothique. En art musulman, nous lui devons de grandes monographies d'oeuvres maîtresses—l'Alhambra et la grande mosquée de Cordoue—et surtout une suite de gros ouvrages qui firent époque et qui restent à la base de nos études: l'art hispano-musulman jusqu'à la chute du Califat de Cordoue, l'art almohade et enfin l'art nasride pour lequel il avait tant oeuvré. A cet homme qui n'avait jamais séparé l'étude des arts musulman et chrétien, nous devons un admirable travail d'ensemble sur l'art mudéjar et une récénsion historique des villes musulmanes abandonnées, qui souvent ont été romanes et wisigothiques et qui attendent la pioche des fouilleurs.

Depuis qu'il avait pris sa retraite de professeur, L. Torres Balbás se consacrait tout entier à ses recherches. Sa chronique était plus nourrie que jamais et il préparait un grand ouvrage sur l'urbanisme médiéval en Espagne. Architecte, archéologue, historien, étudiant avec une égale maîtrise les arts de la Chrétienté et ceux de l'Islam, il avait dans le monde scientifique une place unique.

Ceux qui ont eu la bonne fortune de le connaître personnellement savent quel ami il fut: nul n'était plus obligeant, plus délicat, plus fidèle. Il attirait l'affection autant que l'admiration. Sa mort a été profondément ressentie en Espagne. Tous ceux qui s'intéressent aux arts du Moyen Âge et de l'Islam n'oublieront pas celui qui a su édifier une telle oeuvre et laisser un tel exemple d'entier dévouement à son pays et à la science.

HENRI TERRASSE

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Cette liste a été établie d'après les documents qui m'ont été fournis par le directeur de l'Ecole d'Etudes arabes et de la revue *Al-Andalus*, Don Jaime Oliver Asín: nous le prions d'agréer nos vifs remerciements.

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